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PORTRAIT OF COLUMBUS.

(Presented to City of Genoa by City of Venice in 1867.)

AMERICA,

FROM DISCOVERY IN 1492

TO

The Present Time.

A COMPREHENSIVE VIEW

OF THE

UNVEILING OF THE CONTINENT; TAKING OF TITLES; GRANTING OF
CHARTERS; FOUNDING OF COLONIES; EXTENSION OF TERRI-
TORY; NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE; CONSTITUTIONAL
EXISTENCE; ADMISSION OF STATES;

Plan of Federal Government;

EXECUTIVE, LEGISLATIVE AND JUDICIAL DEPARTMENTS; BUREAUS,
BRANCHES AND FUNCTIONS; GROWTH AND EXTENT OF
NAVY, COMMERCE, MANUFACTURE, AGRICULTURE,
MECHANICS, SCIENCE, ART, EDUCATION,
RELIGION AND POPULATION;

The National Administrations;

ELECTORAL VOTES; CABINETS; PARTY PLATFORMS; WARS
AND CONQUESTS; HOME AND FOREIGN POLICIES;
CONGRESSES AND LEADING MEASURES; POLITICAL
AND INDUSTRIAL SITUATIONS.

BY JAMES P. BOYD, A. M.,

AUTHOR OF "MILITARY AND CIVIL LIFE OF GENERAL GRANT," "WONDERS OF THE
HEAVENS, EARTH AND OCEAN," "LIFE OF GENERAL SHERMAN," "LIFE
OF GENERAL SHERIDAN," "RECENT INDIAN WARS,"
"STORY OF THE CRUSADES," ETC.

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by

JAS. P. BOYD, A. M.

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INTRODUCTORY.

WHERE a theme is so tempting as the unveiling of a continent, the planting of a mighty nation and the permanent establishment of free institutions, it is difficult to write a history without tedious details. The plan of the present volume embraces a sacrifice of non-essential details to essential facts, and a grouping of those facts so as to afford a pleasing and comprehensive view of the finding of America, the peopling of the land, and that marvelous march of civilization which culminated in our own national extent, strength, wealth, freedom and grandeur.

If, as has been wisely said, "History is philosophy teaching by example," then this nation is the source and scene of a philosophy more variegated and profound than any ever before taught or learned, for no history is at once so rapidly eventful and vividly impressive. Its teeming examples stand out in bold and startling contrast with those furnished by any other nation, or, indeed, by all other nations. No single mind, no score of volumes, can grasp and contain them all; and yet, in the conception and preparation of this work, we have dared to indulge the full belief that satisfaction could be rendered to both student and general reader by following the historic lines as laid down in the book, and by judiciously using those facts and events which constitute our highest examples, set forth in most faithful relief our material, political and moral achievements, and enter most fully as corner-stones, strengthening beams and supporting pillars into the majestic architecture of our American institutions.

After the Crusades there was a turn in the thought, religion and ambition of Europe, and a thrill all along her business nerves, which impelled to ocean enterprise and made discovery desirable and possible. These led to that drama of adventure whose hero was Columbus, whose revelation was a new Continent. Our work outlines this stupendous drama, lifts the veil from an unknown world, and introduces us to that even more

wonderful and thrilling story of American adventure, ambitious struggles for conquest and possession, jealous divisions of territory among rival nations, colonial occupancy by means of royal grants and charters, and then that mighty westward surge of pioneers, conquerors and settlers which stamped the image of Europe on the shores of the trans-Atlantic West.

Now order and strength spring out of chaos and weakness. Colonies take firm root and begin to throw out stalwart branches and exuberant foliage. Soil, climate, opportunity, awaken industry, induce thrift, breed a broad spirit of independence. The helpless adventurer of Plymouth, Jamestown and Raleigh is transformed, in less than a hundred years, into a sturdy, self-reliant citizen of a community aglow with the thought of freedom, imbued with modern notions of political rights, pervaded by a new confidence in the sovereignty of humanity.

Then opens the most vivid and inspiring act of the magnificent drama. The effete old became jealous of the vigorous and confident new. Age envied youth, royalty revolted at democracy, tyranny gnashed its teeth at freedom. The crushing process began by kingly edict and parliamentary enactment. But oppression proved to be as a fan to embers. The entire coasts of the Atlantic burst forth spontaneously into liberty's bon-fire, and amid the light of its blaze that grand and inspiring march was made toward the Declaration of Independence, the glorious triumphs of the American Revolution, and the bold experiment of organic Confederation.

The reader is now prepared for those other acts, ever rising in majesty and increasing in interest, which introduce the steps toward, and the events which culminated in, a National Constitution, a Union of full-fledged States, a Government of, by and for the people, woven by law, pledged by patriotism, strong for self-protection and conquest, replete with the possibilities of sustained progress and elevated civilization.

Then the proud "Empire of the West" lengthens its arms till they embrace the shores of near and further ocean, upper lake and lower gulf. The fabric within expands by added States. There are large purchases of domain and wars for conquest. Grave questions of State admissions rise and lower. The din of parties and the jar of measures are heard and felt in all the borders. All these make graphic reading and delightful study. But neither the reading nor study would be complete without the great primitive charters of national faith, which are given—The Declaration, The Articles of Confederation, The Constitution, Washington's Farewell; nor yet without that full mapping

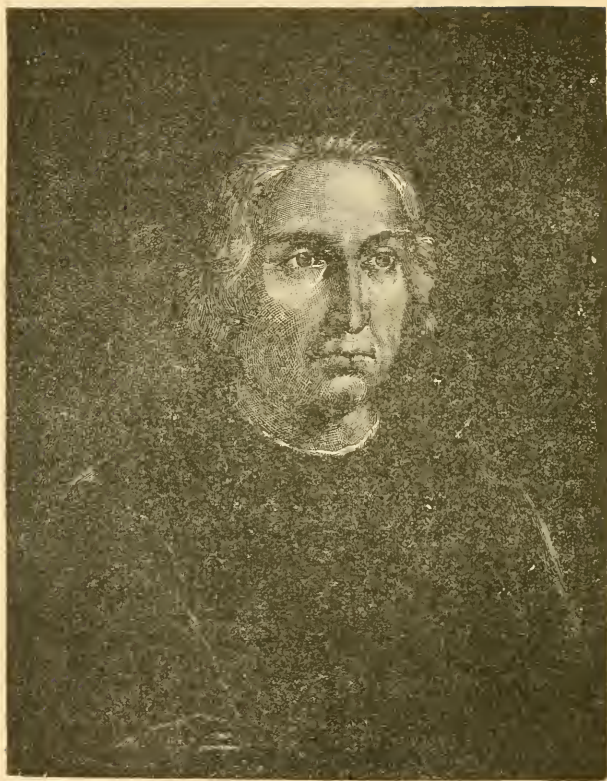
of the Federal plan of Government found in the volume, wherein is shown and explained those vast primary divisions—Executive, Legislative and Judicial—and all their varied Departments, Bureaus and subdivisions, with their organization, officers and functions.

With fidelity to plan, the drama introduces the material side of our national history, and narrates in brief a growth and development unparalleled among the peoples of earth. Here all is marvel and surprise. No national reckoning begins to compare with it in rapidity of progress and splendor of results. Yesterday nothing, to-day a crowded nation; yesterday chaos, to-day majestic government; yesterday poor, to-day opulent beyond every economic dream. What story more invigorating and sublime than that which tells of our pleasant lines of home life, our goodly climate, gracious soil, wealth of vegetation, pouring rivers, majestic population, variety of callings, mineral riches, singing mills, groaning ships, lightning railroads, speaking telegraphs and telephones, numberless schools, diffusive libraries and saving churches!

Passing to the public men and important measures that have shaped nationality, assured stability and invigorated progress, the plan of the book embraces a succinct history of the policy, achievements and results of every National Administration from Washington to the present. We cannot truly know what we were and are without these striking chapters on political growth, containing, as they do, the essential steps toward that perfection of institution enjoyed to-day by the Great Republic.

With the hope that the plan of the book may be found acceptable and its elaboration in the writing of the work faithful, and with thanks to the publishers for the very expensive and highly artistic way they have illustrated, printed and bound the volume, it is now offered to the reading public by the

AUTHOR.



CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS.
(*From Marine Museum, Madrid.*)

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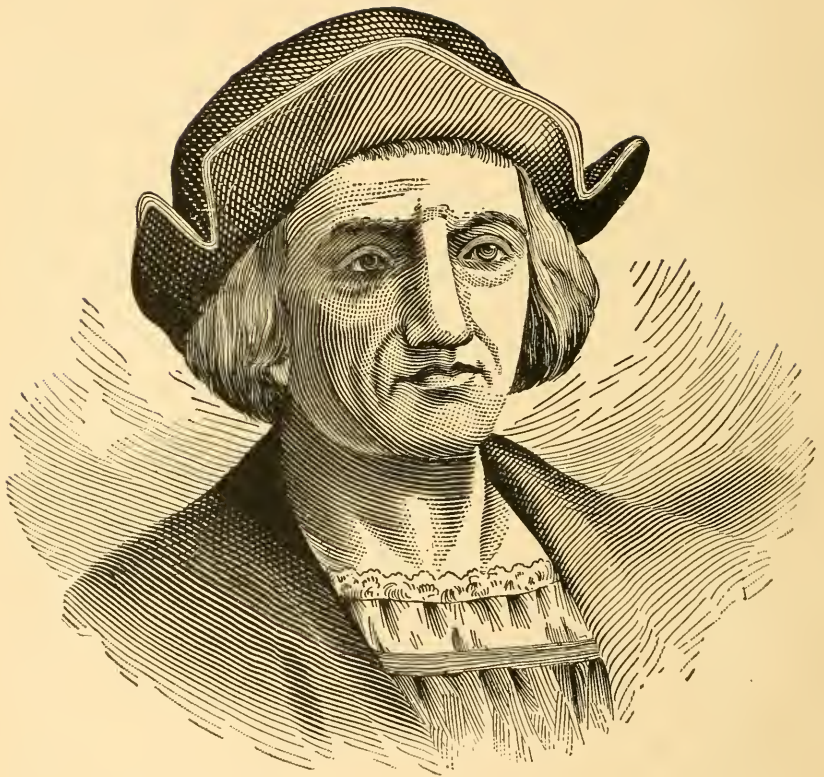
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CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS.

(From an Old Painting.)

COLUMBUS

AND

THE NEW WORLD.

ARTH SHAPES.—Plato dreamed of an Atlantis sunk beneath western waves. Seneca prophesied that the girdle of Oceanus would, one day, be unloosed, revealing new lands to mortal eyes. The geographer, Strabo, taught the possibility of inhabited lands in the Atlantic, on the parallel of Athens. Pulci said, "At the antipodes are cities and states and thronged empires, ne'er divined of yore." These, and other, dreams of the ancients, pointed to a belief in the rotundity of the Earth. But notwithstanding these, the belief that the earth was flat was the prevailing one, because it was the religious one, at the time of the discovery of America.

FORMER DISCOVERIES.—The Chinese tell of the discovery of Fusang, A. D. 458, and many books have been written to prove that Fusang and America are identical. It is beyond historic question that the Norsemen discovered Greenland, and that it was a colony of Norway for 400 years. It may be accepted as true that they discovered Labrador in A. D. 986, and that one of their navigators, Leif, son of Red Eric, pushed his way as far south as Cape Cod. The Welsh have a tradition that their Prince Madog sailed away and discovered America in 1170. The Arabs claim that certain of their sailors found inhabited islands in the western Indies in the twelfth century. But none of these traditions or facts serve to diminish the glory of that discovery which belongs to Columbus, for the simple reason that the conditions did not exist by means of which

previous discoveries could be turned to practical and permanent account.

LOOKING EASTWARD.—What will ever appear remarkable about the discovery of a Western world is the fact that it came about with eyes and ambitions set upon an Eastern world. Europe, plunged into midnight by the fall of the Roman Empire, revived her contact with the East through that four hundred years of stupendous fanatical endeavor, known as the Crusades. Baffled as to every direct object, and even inviting to her very doors the dangers she sought to visit upon the Infidel, she nevertheless profited indirectly and most surprisingly. She gained a knowledge of Eastern peoples, traffic, and riches, which neither the oriental conquests of Alexander nor of the Roman Empire had imparted. We read of the Crusades as an armed Christian surge upon the East, but we must not forget that they called into play the commercial spirit of the little Republics which lined the Mediterranean coasts, enlarged their inquiry and energy, put them in shape to resist the westward surge of the Mohammedan church militant after the Christian church militant was defeated, and finally prepared them for that splendid outburst of fresh energy which was to reveal new lands and girdle the globe.

MARCO POLO.—Two hundred years before Columbus, the father and uncle of Marco Polo (born 1254) sailed from the Republic of Venice, with a rich cargo, for Constantinople. Hundreds of ships and thousands of sailors had done the same before, but they were no ordinary traders. To trade for the spices, the silks and the treasures of the East in the ports of the Mediterranean was one thing; to tap the same in the homes of their production was quite another. The routes from the East to the West were many both by water and by caravans across the deserts. These traders exchanged their cargo for jewels and pushed their way toward the orient. They journeyed to China, or Cathay, and were received with favor by Kublai Khan. After nineteen years, they returned to Venice, to find the son, Marco Polo, grown up. In two years they started for China again, taking Marco along. The young man became a favorite of the



SPANISH SUPERSTITION REGARDING THE END OF THE WORLD,
19

Khan and was taken into his service. Thus twenty-four years passed, and the Polos returned to Europe, rich in oriental treasures, and fully acquainted with the lands that lent their riches to Europe. Marco Polo came to be known as "Marco Million," on account of his wealth. He wrote a book of his travels in the East, which was largely read and excited a great desire among Europeans to know more of the East and to come into commercial contact with it.

HENRY OF PORTUGAL.—One hundred years after Marco Polo, Henry of Portugal (born 1394) came into possession of his story and maps. He applied the magnetic needle, then newly discovered, to navigation, imagined that the Continent of Africa could be rounded, and pushed Atlantic adventure till he brought to light the Madeira Islands. Encouraged by this, he drove discovery as far down the West coast of Africa as Cape Verd, and exploded many of the existing superstitions respecting "*Ultima Thule*," or the ends of the world, among which may be mentioned that of Spain, to the effect that the Atlantic Ocean poured like a Niagara into an unfathomable abyss, at whose bottom was the nether region.

CHRISTOFORO COLOMBO.—Christopher Columbus was born in Genoa, Italy, about 1446. His parents were weavers of wool and silk, and there is reason to believe that young Columbus was reared to the same trade. Some opportunity for a primary education came to him through the little schools established by the weavers of Genoa for their children. There is no evidence that he ever received other school education, and, therefore, must have educated himself for that career which was to make him famous. Genoa, like other Italian cities that have enriched themselves by sending out and receiving ships, offered a fine field for that teaching which comes from observation, and no doubt Columbus spent much of his leisure time, when young, about the wharves of Genoa, watching the coming and going of vessels, and gathering from the seamen their stories of adventure. It may be that in this way he first became acquainted with the exploits of Marco Polo, the riches of the East, the discoveries of Prince Henry of Portugal in the Atlantic Ocean,



COLUMBUS AS A BOY.

and the then almost universal desire among commercial nations and ocean navigators to reach India by a water way around Africa. Certain it is that he had a lively imagination and a great deal of ambition, and he may have pictured to himself, while yet a youth, adventures stranger than those of Polo and discoveries far more momentous than those of Prince Henry.

COLUMBUS THE TRADER.—For the young men of the Italian commercial cities the sea opened almost the only path to fame and fortune, and we read of many enterprising sailors who flocked westward to Portugal to swell her marine and join in her spirit of ocean discovery. In 1470 Columbus entered upon a short trading voyage, on his own responsibility. He was then only twenty-four years old. More than likely this was not a successful venture, for the next year we find him with his father, who had moved to Savona. Here Columbus remained, working at his trade, till 1473, or until he was twenty-seven years old. At about this date he gave up his trade and took to the sea. In a year or two more we find him in Portugal, where he married a Portuguese lady, and made many trading voyages, presumably through the Mediterranean, northward to Iceland, and along the African coasts, for these embraced the then known navigable waters of the world.

PERSONAL APPEARANCE.—Columbus is pictured as a tall, strong, long-visaged man, with brilliant blue eyes, aquiline nose, red hair, and ruddy, freckled complexion. His manners were rough and abstracted, his temper was quick, and he dressed plainly and shabbily.

EVIDENCES OF GENIUS.—As Columbus enlarged his acquaintance with the sea, his genius began to expand. He made maps and globes, from whose sale he derived part of his living, and began the study of geography, adopting many new theories respecting the earth and the possibility of further ocean discoveries, most of which he lived to prove false. Taking Marco Polo as authority, he guessed that already two-thirds of the earth was known, and that it would be an easy thing to reach India by traversing the other third. If either the true shape or full extent of the globe had been known in that day,

Columbus might not have had the honor of discovering America.

LOOKING WESTWARD.—As already seen, the commercial countries of the Mediterranean, and indeed all navigators of the day, strove to reach the riches of the East by sailing around Africa, that is, eastward. But the thought dawned upon Columbus that Asia could be reached by sailing directly west, instead of going around Africa. He did not couple with this thought the



CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS.

(An Ideal Conception.)

idea of discovering a new continent. It is not known whether the thought was original with Columbus or not. Quite likely it was not, for we are told that one Toscanelli, an astronomer of Florence, had sent maps to the King of Portugal, accompanied by letters suggesting a short route to the East by sailing to the West. Columbus wrote to Toscanelli about the matter, and received from him valuable maps and a full explanation of his theory. These maps are still in existence, and they serve to

show the crude geographic notions of the times by bringing the further coasts of China and the East quite close up to the Western coasts of Europe, while the small intermediate space is dotted with the islands of the Azores, Canaries, Japan, and others then known to exist, besides many which existed only in the imagination, such as the fabled island called Brazil, the fabled islands seen to the west by the dwellers on the Madeiras, and the wonderful island of Cipango, five hundred leagues east of China, where, according to Marco Polo, were abundance of precious stones and palaces plated with gold. But those maps and theories, such as they were, served to confirm the belief of Columbus that he could reach Asia by sailing directly west, and that the voyage need not be longer than 2500 miles.

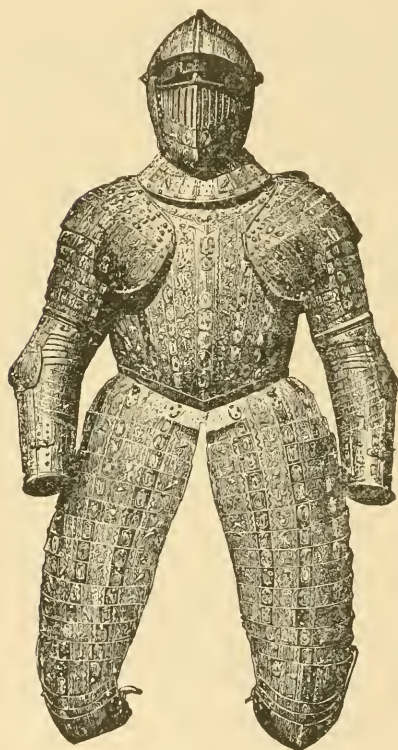
KING JOHN II.—The Kings of Portugal had followed up the discoveries of Prince Henry, and had come to know a great deal about ocean navigation. They united the religious spirit with enterprise, and looked upon foreign discovery and acquisition, for the sake of Christianizing the heathen, with as much favor as they did the accumulation of wealth and power. King John II. (1480) was no exception to the rule. His court became a literary centre, toward which all the learning of the day gravitated. From it emanated that patronage and favor which set great projects on foot, and secured their results. Columbus was one with him in Christian zeal. It remained for him to secure that material aid and that royal sanction without which endeavor would prove profitless. To this end Columbus visited King John, and laid his project of finding a shorter way to India before him. The King heard, but delayed answer for a long time, and finally refused the proposals of Columbus. He felt that the seamen of Portugal were now sufficiently hardy and experienced to carry on the work of ocean exploration. Besides, Columbus, being poor and very sanguine of success, demanded the vice-royalty of all the lands he should discover, the title of Admiral, and the tenth of all profits. The King regarded these demands as too exorbitant. But in dismissing the projects of Columbus, King John resolved to test them with his own seamen, and he fitted out an exploring expedition to try the

unknown waters of the western ocean. It returned without success. On hearing of this, Columbus grew very angry, and felt that he had been cheated. This broke off his negotiations with the Portuguese King.

COLUMBUS IN SPAIN.—Though disappointed in Portugal, Columbus persisted in his plans. About the year 1485 he went to Spain, then ruled by Ferdinand and Isabella. At the same time he sent his brother, Bartholomew, to present his project to the Kings of England and France. Ferdinand and Isabella had united in their marriage the thrones of Aragon and Castile, had solidified the petty states of Spain, and were engaged in the herculean task of driving out the Moors. Spain had, as yet, given little or no attention to ocean discovery, and the fact that she was taxed with her wars, and that her court was but a military and moving camp, made the solicitation of Columbus difficult and unpromising. But after much patient waiting the King and Queen agreed to call a council of their wisest men at Salamanca, to hear what Columbus had to say. The council met during the winter of 1486-87, heard the projects of Columbus, and decided that they were impossible of execution. Columbus did not accept this as final, but followed the royal court to Cordova, and kept urging his plans on the King and Queen. During this period he was a beggar of royal favor even for the means of subsistence; for it is on record that, May 5, 1487, he received a gratuity of seventy-five dollars, kindly charged to account of "service done their Highnesses." Others say he earned his living while in Spain by sale of maps, which were now printed instead of being drawn by hand.

STILL A BEGGAR.—Columbus followed up the moving Court of Spain, in vain quest, for a long time. Sometimes he was favored by certain of the nobility with a temporary home, and at others received help from the King and Queen. During this time his wife and all his children, except his son Diego, died in Portugal. Spain was now, more than ever, interested in her final wars with the Moors, and her treasury was bankrupt. Utterly disappointed and heart-broken, Columbus resolved to give up his suit and go to France or England. But just then

he met the wealthy Duke of Medina-Celi, who owned vessels and seaports, and was much interested in navigation. The Duke took Columbus into his own home, kept him for two years, and became so impressed with his projects that he fitted out an expedition of three or four vessels at his own expense.



ARMOR OF COLUMBUS.

But the Queen refused to permit the expedition to sail. Columbus then made another appeal directly to the Queen, but the final siege of Granada was on, and he begged in vain. Discouraged more than ever, he began his journey to England and France, where his brother, Bartholomew, had received some encouragement.

A FRIENDLY MONK.

—In 1491 Columbus started from Spain with his son, Diego. The father stopped at the monastery of La Rabida, near Huelva, to beg a little bread and water for his boy. The prior, Juan Perez, noticed his broken Spanish accent, and asked who he was. Columbus told of his projects for discovering new lands, and

how he had plead in vain for help from the Spanish Court. The prior became interested, invited him into the monastery, listened to his plans, and finally sent for the learned Dr. Garcia Hernandez, who lived at Palos. The Doctor was astronomer and geographer, as things went in those days. The three had many talks together, with the result that Columbus converted his



COLUMBUS AND THE EGG.

friends to his views. The prior had once been father confessor to Queen Isabella, and he wrote to her, begging her not to let Columbus leave Spain through her discouragement. This was the turning point in the career of Columbus. He had now a friend at Court, and a clerical friend at that. Word came back that Perez should visit Isabella at the Court at Santa Fe for a talk. The result of the visit was a request by the Queen for Perez to bring Columbus to Santa Fe, and a present from her of seventy-two dollars with which to buy a presentable suit of clothes.

COLUMBUS AND THE EGG.—With the lightest heart he had known for years, Columbus journeyed, with Perez, to Santa Fe, where Isabella called a council of learned men to decide on the schemes to be presented by the navigator. There were many and long discussions in that council. The clergy broached all the old learning against the plans of Columbus—the earth was flat, there could be no beings on the opposite side of it; sphericity was impossible, for how could men walk with their heads down? trees could not grow, everything would fall off; it was impious to doubt what Scripture and the ages had taught. There was another class of disputants who denied the theories of Columbus, but favored a trial on his part just to see what would come of it. A third class was composed of those who had kept pace with the discoveries of the Portuguese, and who had accepted the growing idea that the world was round. This was by far the most learned and influential class, and it embraced the Cardinal Mendoza and Geraldini, who taught the royal children. The latter fully accepted the rotundity of the earth, and cited the fact that the Portuguese had sailed out of sight of the North Polar Star and into sight of a South Polar Star, and had never yet discovered a country that was not peopled. Of course, Columbus was called upon to explain minutely all his theories and to combat all opposition. This he must have done in a masterly manner, for it is related, as an evidence of his readiness, that when questioned as to how he could hope to do all he claimed while another could not, he took an egg and, by a trick familiar in the old books of legerdemain, broke



THE QUEEN MOVED TO TEARS BY THE WRONGS OF COLUMBUS.

the yolk by holding it in his hand, while he struck his fist on the table, and then easily balanced it on end, while others failed who tried eggs whose yolks were unbroken. The result of the conference was that Cardinal Mendoza favored the project of Columbus, as did a majority of the assembly. About this time Granada surrendered, and Spain's wars with the Moors ended. Ferdinand and Isabella came to the front as the greatest of Christian sovereigns; yet they were not prepared for that added glory which was to come through the Genoese weaver, who had sought their favor through poverty and despondency for so many long years.

GETTING READY.—It was now 1492. Columbus had begged in Spain for seven years. Isabella accepted the decision of the council, and agreed to send Columbus in search of India. But Columbus was stubborn as to terms. He wanted too much honor, power and profit. The negotiations were declared off, and Columbus started in disgust for France. King Ferdinand, who did not believe in the scheme of Columbus, but who saw in it a grand national opportunity if it should succeed, remonstrated with the Queen. Isabella thereupon sent a courier after Columbus, who came back to court once more, touched by the change of sentiment on the part of the Queen, yet indignant at the injustice she had done him. He naturally felt that he occupied stronger ground than before, and, it is said, he made bold to complain directly to the Queen of her treatment of him. It is further said that the Queen felt so self-condemned at his eloquent complaint that she could not restrain her tears. Isabella's only hesitation now was occasioned by her poverty, but Luis de Santangel came to her aid with cash. The papers were signed creating Columbus an admiral, giving him the title of viceroy over discovered lands, assuring him the tenth of all profits, or an eighth if he bore an eighth of the expense, and conferring on his family the title of Don or Lord. Isabella's share of the expense was \$60,000, which provided two of the three ships for the expedition. Columbus provided the third, but where he got the money is not known, since he was very poor. Palos was ordered to fit out the ships, but the thought that they were to

visit the "Sea of Darkness" occasioned great resentment, and Isabella was forced to press the ships into service. Two of the ships were mere caravels, or open-decked vessels, with cabins on bow and stern. The third was a closed-deck vessel. None had a greater tonnage than an ordinary river schooner of to-day. All were badly calked and illy fitted, as it was next to impossible



SPANISH CARAVEL OF TIME OF COLUMBUS.

to get carpenters or sailors to have anything to do with them. But by August, 1492, Columbus was ready to sail. He occupied the largest ship, the *Santa Maria*, or *Marigalante*, belonging to Juan de la Cosa, who commanded her. The second ship, the best sailer, was the *Pinta*, commanded by Martin Alonzo Pinzon and owned by two men of Palos, who sailed in her. The small-

est ship was the Nina, commanded by another member of the Pinzon family. The sailors were a mixed lot, embracing different nationalities, and many of them released prisoners, of desperate character, and willing to risk the dangers of ocean rather than remain in a dungeon. The crew of the three vessels comprised about ninety men. All took the sacrament before starting. Letters were sent overland to the Emperor of China, whom Columbus expected to meet by his water voyage. An interpreter was taken along, skilled in all the languages of the East. Good-byes were given, and on August 3, 1492, the three little ships quitted the Spanish Port of Palos for the great unknown.

THE FIRST VOYAGE.—Columbus was forced to stop at the Canary islands in order to repair the broken rudder of the Pinta. Starting thence, he was becalmed near Teneriffe, whose volcano the sailors looked upon with awe. On September 8 a breeze caught his fleet and it plunged into unknown waters. The sailors sighed and grew mutinous at thought of distance from home. Columbus resorted to all sorts of stratagems to keep them in subjection. He kept a short and long reckoning of the distance sailed, the former for the sailors, the latter for his private use. On the third day after leaving the Canaries a broken mast was picked up. This frightened the sailors, who saw only wreck ahead. On the sixth day even Columbus himself was amazed to find that the compass showed material variation. His pilots stood aghast at this now well-known phenomenon, and Columbus was compelled to invent an ingenious theory to explain it. Soon the ships entered the course of the trade winds, and were blown gently along on smooth seas and amid a balmy atmosphere. By-and-by, birds began to appear of a kind that did not fly far away from land. Then patches of seaweed floated by, indicative of neighboring islands or reefs. Soon it was noticed that the seaweed bore crabs, and that the fishes ran in schools. Of course everything was observed closely—the westward flight of birds, the indications of land, the winds and currents; and everything affected the sailors, who were hopeful or despondent according to their superstitions. At length Columbus found his most hopeful signs of land in a change of



DEPARTURE OF COLUMBUS FROM PALOS.

wind, a shower of rain and a visit from land birds who parted from his ships at nightfall. All were hopeful, for in their desperate strait the men depended on Columbus for their courage, though they frequently grew tired of his signs. On comparing distances and the maps, Columbus and his pilots agreed that they must now be near the coasts of Japan, for they had sailed over 1200 miles. Many times cries of Land! Land! had been uttered, for a pension had been offered him who should first descry it. But in each case the discoverer had been deceived by sunset clouds. Despite these false alarms the birds grew thicker, and their nightward course was toward the southwest. Columbus changed his course, and held to it for many days. On October 12, 1492, land odors were observed, the seaweed grew fresher, the fishes were such as swarmed near rocks. Branches, reeds and canes were picked up. Even a board was found. Columbus ordered prayers, harangued his men, and encouraged them to keep a sharp lookout during the night.

LAND! LAND! LAND!—At two o'clock on the morning of October 12, 1492, a sailor on board the *Pinta* saw land, and a signal gun was fired. The sails of the entire fleet were furled, and all rejoiced till morning, Columbus being the happiest of all. At daylight every eye was turned toward the coveted spot, which was a low, verdure-covered island. Never was sight more welcome to men, for they had been thirty-three days in mid ocean. Never was sight more welcome to navigator, for he had found land by sailing westward, whether that land were Japan, China, or something unsuspected and unknown. The scene on board the vessels was impressive. Solemn ceremonies were held, and thanks were rendered for the great discovery and deliverance, for it was as much the latter as the former to desperate men. The scene on board the *Santa Maria* exceeded all in solemnity. The name of the land first seen is disputed. But whether it was Watling's Island, Grand Turk Island, Cat Island, Samana Island, or what, the morning revealed the fact that it was peopled. But, alas! the people were naked, and none of the magnificent cities of Japan appeared. Columbus dressed himself in admiral's uniform, put off to land with a fleet of boats, and took possession



COLUMBUS DISCOVERS VARIATION OF NEEDLE.

in the name of the King and Queen and of San Salvador, or Saviour. It was all very formal, audacious beyond precedent, and awfully ostentatious, especially when he was greeted by his men as viceroy of a new world, and when, like a potentate, he extended pardon to each cringing mortal for the offences committed during the voyage. Never had mortal such an audience. Innocent natives gazed at the ceremonies in solemn awe, and even participated in the ceremonies, little dreaming that they were compromising their most precious possessions. They looked on the ships and men as a visitation from some superstitious source, and were wonderfully delighted with the trinkets and baubles Columbus dispensed for their favor and lands. They proved to be an innocent people, highly pleased and easily beguiled by the offerings of the white men. In this they began the story which has been repeated by every subsequent discovery. Columbus explored the island coasts as best he could with his boats, always receiving the same kindly recognition from the natives, and always practicing the same impositions on them. He then, in the plenitude of his courage and knowledge, resolved to push further on for the coasts of China and Japan, amid whose outlying islands he thought himself already. The golden ornaments of the natives, their pointing to the southwest as a source of riches and power, seemed to imply that thither lay the coveted East with all its regal splendors.

EXPLORING ISLANDS.—It seemed that Columbus called his first island San Salvador. He visited another contiguous island, which he called Santa Maria. The natives being the same, and gold being scarce—it is wonderful what an inducement gold was—he sailed for other islands. He struck a larger island, which he named Fernandina, where he found rich vegetation, May weather, and a kindly people, as susceptible to his trinkets as any thus far met. He then found an island he named Isabella, whose foliage and spices convinced him that he was in the Orient. To all inquiries as to where gold was to be found, the innocent natives pointed in the direction of Cuba, which Columbus did not doubt was the Cinpango of the Chinese, or perhaps Japan itself. He took formal possession of all the



islands he visited, and confidently felt that he would soon be in direct intercourse with the great Khan of China, to whom his letters had been directed.

CUBA APPEARS.—Sight of Cuba inspired Columbus and all his followers. With its mountains and evidences of a higher civilization, it was the threshold of China, sure. But his interpreters proved to be useless, for no oriental speech was found. He did, however, find a superior native race, and first became acquainted with the potato, tobacco, Indian corn, and cassava. But he had gold in his vision and sailed away for Hayti, which he named Hispaniola. Here he found timid natives, but a beautiful country. He met a personage who passed as king, and went through the ceremony of a treaty with the now historic wampum belt. While in the waters of Hayti, his ship, the Santa Maria, was wrecked, and the crew were received and kindly treated by the islanders. Here Columbus built a fort, and left it in possession of thirty-nine of his crew, who, being criminals at home, were thus glad to find escape from crime. This was the fort of La Navidad, or Nativity.

HOMEWARD BOUND.—While Columbus was at Hayti the Pinta, in command of Pinzon, had gone off on an exploring expedition of her own. She now returned, with rich stores of gold aboard, and many natives, whom the thrifty Pinzon had captured, intending to sell them in Spain as slaves. Among these were two Indian girls. Though Columbus himself had brought on board many natives, both to interpret for him and with the intention of carrying them back to Spain, and though among them was the beautiful maiden named *Fleur de Or*, or "Flower of Gold," he ordered Pinzon to put his captives ashore, lest the natives should harbor resentment against the Spaniards. After repairs at Samana, and the taking of food and water, the Pinta and Nina started for Spain. All went well till February 12, 1493, when a violent storm separated the ships, and both were in danger of foundering. During the storm, which was of long duration, Columbus wrote a detailed account of his discoveries, and sealing it in a barrel threw it into the sea, determined that the results of his labors should see the light, in case he



LANDING OF COLUMBUS.

perished. On February 15 land was signalled. It proved to be the Azores, belonging to Portugal. The jealous officials here arrested a part of the crew of Columbus, and put him to great trouble to have them set free. The storm still raged, but Columbus resolved to brave it. On March 3 his ships started for Spain, but were driven into the port of Lisbon, Portugal. Wonder at the escape of such frail barks from so terrific a storm came to their rescue. Columbus was received with open arms, and was invited into the presence of King John, to tell of his wonderful voyage and discoveries. Jealous as the King of Portugal was, he could not help admiring the fortitude of the great discoverer. On March 13 Columbus sailed for Spain, and in two days entered the port of Palos, whence he had started. It must be remembered that Columbus made the journey from the Azores to Palos in the *Nina*, and separate from the *Pinta*, which was supposed to be lost. Pinzon, on board the *Pinta*, supposed the *Nina* was lost. Therefore, when the *Pinta* reached Galicia, Pinzon sent an account of the discovery to Ferdinand and Isabella, as though Columbus were no more. But Columbus had taken the precaution to do the same, while at Lisbon. The motive of Pinzon thus became plain to the King and Queen, and he was refused an audience. He died soon after of a broken heart, it is said.

COLUMBUS AT COURT.—Ferdinand and Isabella received Columbus with great honors at the Court, then at Barcelona. There was a grand procession, in which thousands participated, and the windows and housetops were crowded to catch sight of the great navigator and the wild men—six in number—of the New World. The King and Queen received Columbus, seated on their throne, but when he bowed to kiss their hands they caused him to sit in their presence. The monarchs then heard his story, and examined his trophies, such as parrots, plants, ornaments, and the Indians themselves. Then the King and Queen thanked God for the great discovery. Thenceforth, Columbus was the recipient of the highest royal favors. News of the wonderful revelation spread to all the courts of Europe, and it was regarded as “more divine than human.” All be-



FLEUR D'OR ON BOARD THE SANTA MARIA.

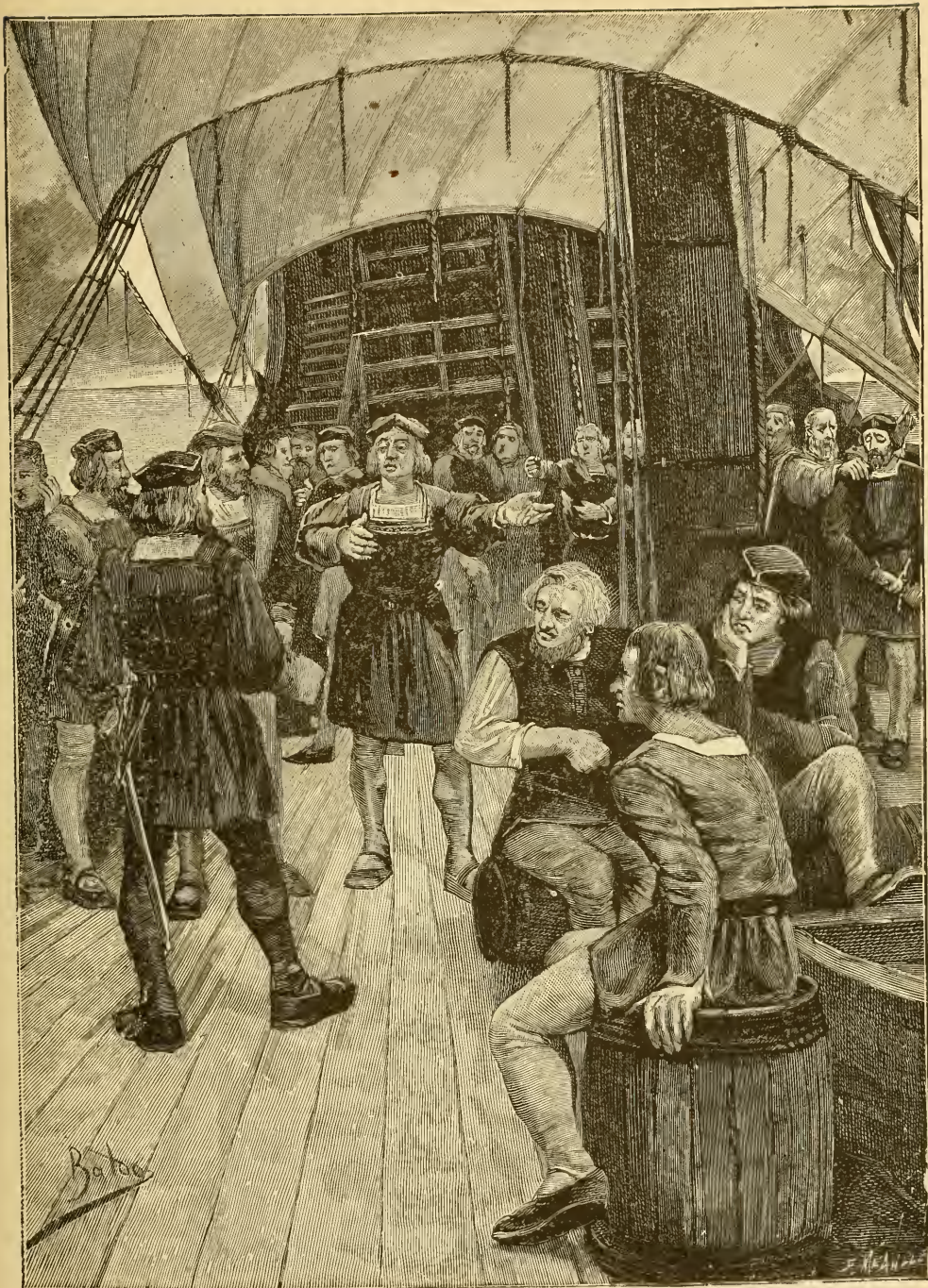
lieved that the Eastern part of Asia had been brought to light, and the country was called the Indies. Not for some time did it come to be known as the West Indies, and the islands of the Caribbean as the Antilles, after the Antilla, supposed to be lost in the Atlantic Ocean. As the Pope was supposed to have universal temporal sovereignty, he was informed of the discovery and asked to confirm the title in Spain. He did so, and, in order to appease the jealousy of Portugal, drew an imaginary line north and south in the Atlantic Ocean, westward of which all discovery should enure to the benefit of Spain.

A SECOND VOYAGE.—What a difference between the first and second voyage of Columbus! Then all was doubt, solicitude, poverty. Now royalty made all haste to fit out a second expedition to confirm titles. Fame was in store for adventurers, and thousands of volunteers offered. The magic word "gold" had been spoken, and swarms clamored for the privilege of voyage to the new lands. No less than seventeen ships were made ready, and the port of departure was to be Cadiz. The royal treasury gave freely of its stores. The furore was like that which had preceded a Crusade, and this in more ways than one. The heathen Indian of the West was classed with the Infidel of the East, and the duty to convert him justified his conquest, theft of his lands and possessions, murder of himself, wife and children. Moreover, in order to provide means for this great work of Christian discovery, conquest and propagandism, it was deemed right to persecute and rob the Jews of Spain, as before each of the Crusades. This nefarious business was participated in, or encouraged, by even Columbus himself, who, it is said, took occasion more than once to manifest his Christian superiority, and religious detestation of the Jewish race, by the visitation of blows upon their heads. The fleet carried away nearly 1500 adventurers, among whom were many of the most distinguished citizens. That they went with the intention of making the most of the situation is plain from the fact that they took along cattle, seeds, sugar-cane and plants of various kinds, and it is equally plain that they had about the same idea of the fancy or cupidity of the Indian as we have to-

day of the African of the Congo, from the fact that they took along immense amounts of beads, bells, looking-glasses, and gew-gaws for the purposes of trade. It was not until Sept. 25, 1493, that the bustle of preparation was over and the ships were off. The ships sailed for the Canaries, where they completed their stores, and where Columbus distributed sealed orders to each of his captains how to reach Hispaniola, or Hayti, in case they became detached from the fleet. They left the Canaries on October 13th, and with favoring winds sped across the ocean and struck land in twenty days. Their course had been south of the former one, and the first land greeted was one of the Caribbee Islands. It was Sunday, and Columbus, therefore, named the land Dominica. The land was clothed in the rich green of the tropics, but, there being no visible harbor, Columbus sailed for the next island in sight which he named Marigalante, after his own ship. After possession was taken in due form he sailed for the prominent island, which he named Guadalupe, in honor of the Convent of Guadalupe. The natives fled the presence of the Spaniards, but much was learned of their habits by the cabins, weapons and utensils left behind. Some of the women were captured, who informed Columbus that there were many islands to the south, and that off in the west was a main land. Columbus was intent on reaching his colony on Hispaniola, and on his voyage thither he discovered so many little islands that he grouped them under the high-sounding but convenient title of the Eleven Thousand Virgins. He took captive many of the natives, who gave him much valuable information. On reaching Hispaniola he found his fort deserted, and every colonist dead either through disease or the enmity of the natives, which last they had no doubt provoked. Notwithstanding this fatality Columbus resolved to effect a permanent settlement on Hispaniola, and he laid out a town which he called Isabella. Soon, malaria swept off scores, and death continued till they learned the native laws of food and habit. While learning these the natives were hardly less shrewd as to the Spaniards, whose power they had to acknowledge, and whose morals they para-

phrased in the sentence, "Behold the Christian's God!"—pointing to their bits of gold.

HUNTING GOLD.—The site for the city of Isabella had been chosen because it was supposed to be near the gold-bearing mountains. Expeditions were fitted out, led by native guides, some of which returned with specimens of gold. Columbus wrote a glowing letter to Spain in which he prophesied that the King and Queen would soon be the richest sovereigns in the world. Twelve of his ships were dispatched homeward bearing specimens of everything strange to the old country and incident to the new. But the very strangest thing they bore, and the least creditable to the great discoverer, was his proposition to capture the natives of the Caribbean Islands and trade them as slaves in Spain for cattle and such things as his colony on Hispaniola would quickly need. The failure of the adventurers to find gold, or any of the riches and advantages they had come for, made them homesick and discontented. A violent mutiny broke out on board the ships, and a plot was formed to seize them and return home without the Admiral. Columbus resorted to extreme measures to quell the mutiny, and landed the leaders in prison. All arms and ammunition were placed aboard of one vessel, which was placed in command of his brother Diego. Columbus now headed a grand expedition of 400 men, richly dressed, preceded by drums and banners, accompanied by a large body of natives from about Isabella, the object being to find the gold fields of Cibao, and to impress the natives with his power. They climbed the mountains of Monte Christo, crossed the beautiful valley of Vega Real, ascended the rugged slopes of Cibao, and laid out a fort, called St. Thomas, because of the doubt which had been expressed about finding gold. The natives received him kindly, offering food and grains of gold in exchange for Spanish gew-gaws. Leaving fifty-six men to build the fort, Columbus returned to Isabella on March 29, 1494. He found that the wheat, sugar-cane, cucumbers, and other seeds which had been planted about Isabella, had grown, and he was greatly pleased with the fertility of the soil. But the climate proved deadly to the colonists, and they grew more and more



COLUMBUS QUELLING THE MUTINY.

discontented. Many of them were of noble blood and unused to work, and they rebelled at the rules laid down by Columbus, whom they looked upon as a foreigner and plebeian. He did his best to keep them employed, that being his safeguard against open mutiny. As a means to this end he ordered some to build mills, sent forth another expedition to Fort St. Thomas, and prepared for another voyage of discovery, having by this time concluded that the firm land of Asia lay not far to the west of Hispaniola.

LOOKING FOR ASIA.—On April 24, 1494, Columbus sailed westward for the Continent of Asia, in three small ships. He was most anxious to discover and claim all the new lands in the name of Spain, before the Portuguese should reach them by sailing around Cape of Good Hope in the opposite direction. From this we may infer that Columbus had accepted the theory of the rotundity of the earth. He struck the island of Cuba and skirted its southern coasts, finding the natives friendly, and always propitiating them with presents. He then discovered Jamaica, which he named Santiago. Here he met with slight opposition from the natives, who were soon dispersed by the superior weapons of the Spaniards. He did not remain long in Jamaica but sailed again for Cuba, determined to find out whether it was main-land or an island. He learned from the natives that Cuba was an island, and that there was a great country called Mangon beyond, about which the natives had many fables to relate. Both the name of the country and the character of the fables sounded so much like those mentioned by Marco Polo in respect to Asia, that Columbus was encouraged to push ahead in search of a land where men wore clothing. But with all his sailing, in leaky ships, through island-dotted and treacherous waters, with a low stock of rations, and with discontented crews, he could not find the western bounds of Cuba. So by June 13 it was concluded that Cuba was the Continent of Asia. Every officer was sworn to this, so as to prevent the possibility of contradictory statements, and then Columbus returned to Hispaniola, discovering, on his way, the island of Pines.

AT HISPANIOLA.—Columbus did not get back to Hispan-

iola (Hayti) till the middle of September. He then fell sick with malarial fever and lay a long time unconscious and at the point of death. He came back to health to find that his brother Bartholomew had arrived from Spain with ships and stores for the colony. This rejoiced him very much, but he was sad over the condition of affairs on the island. His expedition to St. Thomas had quartered among the Indians of the Vega Real valley, and the troops had driven them to hostility by their excesses. The garrison at St. Thomas had also estranged the natives by their tyranny and cruelty. Isabella was in danger of attack. Sickness and want prevailed. In the midst of a people naturally kindly, amid a climate and soil that promised abundance, Hispaniola was simply a first chapter in American colonization, to be repeated a thousand times, the gist of the verses being 'cruel, rapacious adventures; a sense of superiority and tyranny; indolence that refused support even where soil was kind; starvation except as help came from home; disappointment and failure of honest enterprise; contempt for compact with the natives; hostility and extermination.' To outwit, deceive, kidnap, enslave, kill, a native, became an adventurer's ambition, a warrior's glory and a Christian's right. Columbus found Hispaniola at virtual war with the natives. Sickness and threatened famine added to the confusion. Fortunately four more ships came out from Spain, loaded with provisions. Columbus sent them back with five hundred Indians aboard to be sold as slaves in Spain. The excuse was need of money, and the hope that they would become Christian converts. The hostility of the natives, which the Spaniards themselves had provoked by their cruelties, disappointment at not finding gold, the instability of food supplies, had made the Spaniards hate the Indians, and furnished justification for any and every outrage upon them. The Indians sent to Spain escaped a prolongation of their fate by speedily dying in a climate and under conditions they were not born to. At length war broke out on the island, and Columbus was forced to fight the combined forces of the five chiefs. He was victorious, and placed them all under tribute of a certain amount of gold dust each year. This

assured peace, but it proved so exacting to the Indians as to reduce them to poverty and helpless subordination.

BACK IN SPAIN.—The malcontents who had returned to Spain had told the King and Queen terrible stories of affairs in Hispaniola, and blamed the situation on Columbus. They deputized one Aguado to visit Hispaniola and report on the condition of affairs. He proved to be an officious intermeddler and an enemy of Columbus. When he returned home Columbus prudently resolved to go with him. But a storm destroyed all the vessels except the *Nina*, and Columbus, not wishing to sail in the same vessel with Aguado, had to wait till he could build another vessel. Meanwhile Miguel Diaz, who had killed a man in a fight, ran away to escape punishment and arrived at a native village where San Domingo now stands. Here he met and married an Indian queen named Catalina, who revealed to him the existence of gold mines near by. Diaz hastened back to Isabella confident that such good news would secure him immunity from punishment. Columbus was pleased with his story, and sent his brother, Bartholomew, to investigate, wishing to confirm so important a discovery, that he might bear the news to Spain. Bartholomew confirmed the story. Diaz and his queen became very important personages. Columbus, imagining himself to be in the far East, thought he had struck upon the ancient Ophir whence King Solomon drew his treasures of gold for the temple.

Columbus sailed for Spain in March, 1496, taking along 225 sick and discontented colonists and thirty Indians, among whom was a captured chief, Caonabo, whom he promised to return. After a most tedious voyage on short rations, Columbus landed his starved, sick and bilious-looking crew in Spain. Many of the Indians had died, among them Caonabo. When the people of Spain saw the poverty-stricken and sallow crowd, they declared that all the gold they had brought with them was in their faces.

COLUMBUS AT COURT.—Columbus was invited to Court by the King and Queen. Knowing that the impression was abroad that there were no riches in the West Indies, that naked savages, imaginary spices, and undug gold, did not compensate for the



COLUMBUS STRIKES THE JEW.

expenses of his expeditions, and that his ability to colonize and govern wisely was in question, he travelled towards the Court with his Indians decorated with feathers, trinkets, and chains of gold, and with a full display of the ornaments, images, fabrics and woods he had gathered abroad. He was well received at Court, exposed his curiosities with great effect, told very plausibly how he had coasted along Asia (Cuba), and wound up with the request for eight more ships to continue his discoveries. The ships were promised, but the money for them was not immediately forthcoming. Columbus had a long wait, and was chagrined to find that other discoverers were actually receiving the favor he asked, and were sent off on expeditions calculated to rob him of his hard-earned honors. After waiting patiently for two years, during which time the Queen remained his pronounced friend, six ships were equipped and placed at his disposal. All the old titles were conferred on him and made hereditary, as his ambition was to found a family. Two misfortunes now fell upon him. One was that the sentiment in Spain was so much against seeking a permanent home in the Indies as to make it next to impossible to secure colonists outside of the criminal classes. The other was that he got into a dispute with one Ximeno, a man of great wealth, high standing at Court, and of Jewish extraction, whom he knocked down. This freak of anger is said to have done him more harm at Court than all the disparaging reports from Hispaniola.

THE THIRD VOYAGE.—Columbus sailed on his third voyage May 30, 1498. He steered farther to the south than before, believing that the main-land of Asia lay farther south, and that the most precious metals and stones were to be found in the hottest regions. At the Canaries he divided his fleet, sending three ships directly to Hispaniola with food for the colonists. With the other three he sailed for Cape de Verde Island, and thence westward nearly on a line with the Equator. Calms and intense heat forced him to change his course more to the north. On July 31 three mountain peaks rose into view. They were named Trinidad (Trinity), and the land proved to be an island whose southern coast he skirted. While at anchor on the south

side of Trinidad, land was descried to the southwest. The waters were very rough and torn by conflicting currents. Columbus made it out that he was in a Strait which he named Mouth of the Serpent. He feared to try his vessels on such tumultuous waters. Little did he dream that the land beyond the Strait was a main-land. After being nearly swamped by an immense tidal wave occasioned by the swift volume of the Orinoco river, as it empties into the ocean, he sailed across the Strait, and was surprised to find fresh water well out to sea. Turning northward, with a continent on one side and Trinidad on the other, he saw a settlement on the main-land. The natives came off to him in boats. They called their country Paria, and said it extended indefinitely westward and southward. The fact that Columbus had found fresh water where it should have been salt, helped him to believe that Paria was indeed a main-land, for how could there be fresh water and such tidal agitation so far out to sea, except upon the theory that some mighty river was finding an outlet? He found the natives friendly and dressed lavishly in ornaments of pearl which they obtained from their pearl fisheries. The existence of pearls was a valuable discovery, and Columbus profited by it. His provisions began to run short, and he was forced to sail for Hispaniola, discovering, on the way, the Cubagua group of Islands. On his arrival at San Domingo, the port of Hispaniola at which he had left his brother Bartholomew, he made known his supposed discovery of a new continent, and indulged the theory that the earth was pear-shaped, that in its centre lay the Garden of Eden, and that thence flowed down in great volumes the sweet waters he had found off the coast of Paria.

AGAIN IN HISPANIOLA.—Bartholomew Columbus had been left in charge of Hispaniola during the absence of Christopher in Spain. He had proven to be a severe, indiscreet, but industrious governor, and had transferred the seat of trade and power from Isabella to San Domingo. He had warred with the natives and generally lost their favor. The idle and dissolute colonists, whom he made work, detested him and had broken into rebellion under the lead of one Roldan. The priests had

made very little headway in converting the Indians. Ships had arrived from Spain in 1496 and 1498, which had brought supplies of food, much to the delight of the indolent and discontented colonists. Now that Columbus had come again, he found the situation anything but promising. The rebellion of Roldan was fully on. It was August, 1498. Columbus had been much disheartened while in Spain. He was sick with gout, and nearly blind. He had had dangerous sailing in the Strait of Paria, and had been carried fifty miles westward of San Domingo by the gulf stream. He was afraid of the rebels, who outnumbered his own forces. His own forces could not be trusted, for they too had felt the severity of Bartholomew. So he entered into compromises with them, offering them immunity from punishment and passage back to Spain, thinking thus to get rid of them. They refused to go, but grew more exacting. They demanded grants of lands and Indian slaves. Columbus was forced to gratify them by giving them large tracts of land, and, as he himself set the example of slavery by shipping natives to Spain, he permitted them to enslave the Indians to their heart's content.

Nor was this all that Columbus had to contend with. One of his former officers, Alonzo de Ojeda, had gone back to Spain, secured favor at court and started on an exploring expedition of his own. Having secured the maps of the third voyage of Columbus, he followed his route, visited the pearl fisheries of Paria, and had stopped on the west end of Hispaniola to lay in a cargo of dye-wood and slaves. On the ships of Ojeda were two other of Columbus's old pilots, and the famous Amerigo Vespucci, who afterwards got into print so effectually as to give his name to the New World. Columbus sent Roldan to find out why Ojeda had landed without asking permission. Ojeda promised to sail to San Domingo and explain, but instead he sailed to another port, placed himself at the head of the former followers of Roldan, and marched toward San Domingo. Roldan was loyal enough to Columbus to help check this second rebellion. Ojeda was driven back to his ships and forced to go elsewhere for his cargo of slaves. Columbus ordered the execution of all

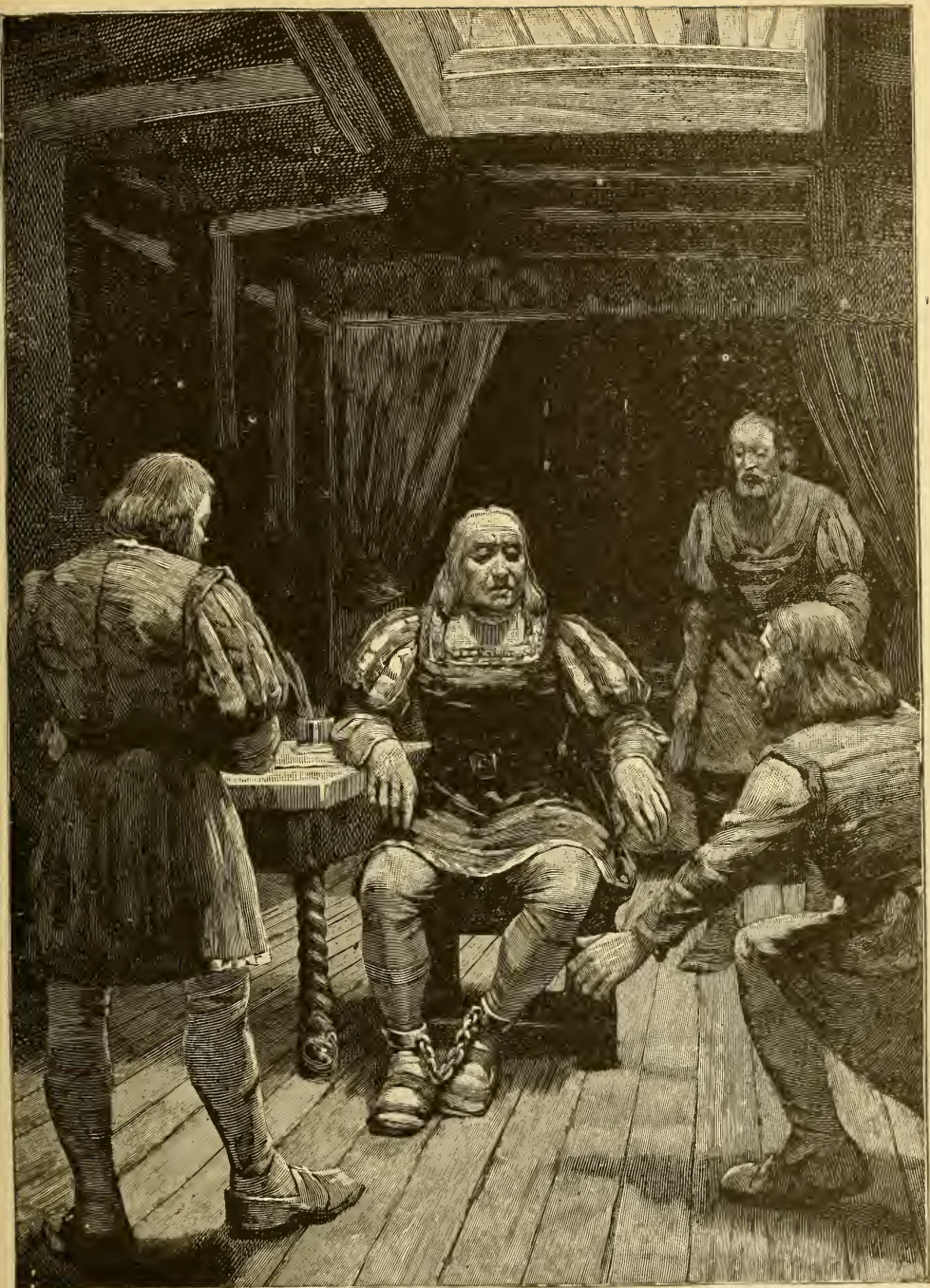
the leaders of these rebellion who were captured, and thus re-established his authority.

But reports of the doings were continually reaching Spain and discrediting Columbus. Moreover, his imagination had been so vivid, and such his pictures and promises of riches and power, that royalty was suffering disappointment and disgust at their failure to materialize. Those who envied Columbus harped on the fact that he was not a Spaniard and was meanly born. As such they looked upon him as a dangerous person to be entrusted with so much present and prospective power. That he was a very weak and unpopular governor was manifest to royalty, from the fact that he was continually referring to it the petty disputes which an heroic official would have settled forthwith, even if he had permitted them to arise. He had lost his best friend—Queen Isabella—because he kept sending the Indians to Spain as slaves.

COLUMBUS IN CHAINS.—The Spanish Court deputed Francisco de Bobadilla to go to Hispaniola to investigate matters, and to take the government away from Columbus, if he found it in a bad state. The Queen sent along with him many of the slaves which had been sold in Spain. Bobadilla arrived in August, 1500, to find Columbus in great disrepute and everything in confusion. All the malcontents poured their tales of hardship and cruelty into Bobadilla's ears. Being a needy man, ambitious and a Spaniard, he quickly decided that Columbus was a cruel, incompetent ruler and must be deposed. He headed a mob, captured the fort at San Domingo, took possession of Columbus's house, books, maps, and accumulated gold, and made himself popular by paying the overdue salaries with what he had stolen. Columbus was at Fort Concepcion, in the interior, when Bobadilla landed and seized San Domingo. There he received word that he must surrender the fort and his authority. He refused at first, but when he learned that Bobadilla bore a commission from the Spanish sovereigns, he started for San Domingo. Immediately on his arrival he was put in irons and held a prisoner. The same fate befell his brothers, Diego and Bartholomew. After lying in prison for two months in the

tower of San Domingo, which stands to-day, he was ordered, with his brothers, on board ship for transport to Spain. One Villejo had them in charge. Being of gentlemanly turn, he offered to take the chains off Columbus, after they were well out to sea. "No," answered Columbus, "their majesties commanded me to submit to whatever Bobadilla should order in their name. I will wear these chains until they shall order them to be taken off, and I will keep them afterwards as memorials of the reward of my services." When Columbus arrived a prisoner in Spain, he felt that he could not approach the King and Queen directly, so he wrote a letter to Donna Juana de la Torre, their favorite, in which he made plain the whole situation in Hispaniola. This letter was so full and frank, so full of weakness and strength, as to damn Columbus in the eyes of some and excuse him in the eyes of others. Whatever his boldness on one hand, or his baseness on the other, it proved that he was sincere. The King and Queen heard of his imprisonment with horror. They ordered the release of his brothers, and invited him to the Court, where he was received with tears, and with promises of comfort.

But his reputation had suffered a severe shock not only with royalty but with the populace. He was as much a beggar for favor as when he first set his foot on the soil of Spain. All his honors were withheld, and his prospects for future advancement were cut off. The Portuguese had stolen all his ideas of the Orient by rounding the Cape of Good Hope. Vasco da Gama had arrived in Calcutta and found the real land of spices, with more gold, pearls and substantial treasures than Columbus ever dreamed of. Portugal had received Vasco da Gama with open arms, and had fitted out a fleet of thirteen vessels, which were blown westward to the coast of Brazil, and thus made the accidental discovery of the main-land of South America, before Columbus was sure of what he had done. Cabot had proved that there was a North American Continent. Thus the genius and daring of Columbus were placed at a discount, and Spain became anxious lest other powers should run away with the new lands which were coming to sight. She fitted out many expedi-



COLUMBUS REFUSES TO HAVE HIS CHAINS REMOVED EXCEPT BY ORDER OF THE KING.

tions, under the old captains of Columbus, and one of them had come back loaded with pearls and gold. The opinion grew that Columbus was neither a good discoverer or governor, in comparison with others, and that the privileges which had been granted him were entirely too vast.

But a ray appeared in his favor in the fact that Bobadilla had proved a worse governor than he. His favoritism led to disorders, slavery became more than ever a confirmed institution, and the worthless colonists lolled in their hammocks at the expense of the natives whose lands they had stolen and whose liberty they had sacrificed. So crying became the situation in Hispaniola that Bobadilla was deposed and Nicholas de Ovando made governor. Under Ovando came the magnificent Christian reforms which limited slavery of Indians to those who worked for the Crown for pay, and which substituted for the system which Columbus had adopted, the enslavement of negroes, stolen from Africa. Thus the heroic native race, which could not brook slavery, was eliminated by the imported race, for which slavery seemed to have no terrors, except those of capture and separation from parents and friends.

Ovando was sent to Hispaniola with a fleet of thirty-three vessels, and with a blazonry that became a direct representative of royalty. Columbus was naturally chagrined at this diversion of favors from himself. Whether honestly or not, is neither here nor there, but he sought the favor of the King and Queen by means of a letter in which he undertook to prove that the best means of instituting a new and successful Crusade and recovering the Holy Sepulchre would be to push through to the East by means of such straits as he might discover in the West. This substitution of a holy for a scientific motive induced royalty to give him the control of four little ships, on condition that he was not to visit Hispaniola, but should find out what was yet undiscovered of the New World.

The wonder is that the terribly independent, confident, daring and successful Columbus, of whom we have read, should ever accept such humiliating terms. The wonder is equal, that the

royalty which clouded all his past efforts with suspicion should commission him for further honors.

THE FOURTH VOYAGE.—Columbus sailed on his fourth voyage, May 9, 1502, taking along his brother, Bartholomew, and son Ferdinand. He made quick passage, and after passing many islands, was forced to touch at Hispaniola, though forbidden. Here he met the fleet of Ovando about to return to Spain, loaded with gold and culprits. This fleet went to the bottom in a storm which Columbus predicted, and which he himself avoided by hugging the shores. He then visited Jamaica and Cuba. Thence he sailed westward and finally reached Honduras, where the natives were more civilized than any he had seen. In expectation of a strait which would lead him to India, he turned southeast, and skirted what is now known as the Mosquito Coast, also the coast of Costa Rica, landing occasionally to barter with the natives and inquire for gold. Through traditions he learned of a populous country in the interior, inhabited by a superior race, rich in gold and cattle, with houses and cultivated lands. Though this description doubtless referred to the Aztecs or Montezumas, Columbus saw in it the Eastern country which haunted his imagination, and sailed confidently along the coasts expecting to find a strait through which he could pass to his destination. He thus skirted the coast of Veragua, trading trinkets for gold, and finding everywhere a civilization superior to that of the Caribbean Islands.

Columbus next touched at Puerto Bello on the Isthmus of Panama, where he found the ground cleared and under cultivation. After sailing somewhat further eastward, he was forced to give up hope of finding a water-way through to the East or to the Pacific, though he knew nothing at all of the Pacific, nor that he was within forty miles of it when at Puerto Bello. He therefore put backward along the coasts he had skirted, expecting to gather more gold and make further acquaintance with the natives. In the Veragua country he met a native chief, named Quibian, who showed Columbus a gold-producing section, but took good care to locate it in the country of his most powerful enemy. The great navigator was delighted with the prospect

of riches, and felt that he was indeed within reach of King Solomon's mines. He therefore determined to found a colony in Veragua, and to this end sent his brother Bartholomew inland with a force of eighty men to select a site and erect houses. They found it a veritable land of plenty, abounding in corn, yams, potatoes, bananas, pine-apples, cocoa-nuts, etc. But Quibian resented the permanent settlement of the Spaniards and the theft of his lands. His hostility forced Columbus to abandon his settlement, and he started homeward with his two remaining ships, and these worm-eaten and leaky. On his way he was driven by winds and currents to Cuba, and thence to Jamaica, where his ships were stranded, and their two hundred occupants were rendered dependent on the natives for support.

A MUTINY.—There was no hope for the adventurers except the desperate one of reaching Hispaniola by means of a small boat and bringing thence a ship of rescue. This undertaking was entrusted to one Mendez, who started in a large canoe manned by native rowers. His absence ran into weeks and months. Columbus was confined to his cabin with gout. His companions grew desperate and threatened the life of Columbus unless he immediately consented to lead them back to Spain. Columbus showed that no way was open except by marching to the further end of the island and taking canoes for Hispaniola, but he declined to desert his stranded ships till Mendez had been heard from. He gave the mutineers full liberty to try the risky experiment for themselves. They did so, but many of them perished in the attempt. Their absence was a relief to Columbus, for he was enabled to get along better with the natives, whom he caused to be called into council on the day preceding an eclipse of the moon, telling them that the white man's God, who dwelt in the heavens, would darken the moon in anger that very night if more and better provisions were not furnished to his companions, and if they did not cease all conspiracies to harm him. They laughed at his story, but when the eclipse came on the moon, they ran to his cabin begging for his intercession, and promising him provisions and protection. Columbus withdrew to his cabin and shut himself up till the



DEATH OF COLUMBUS.

minute the eclipse began to recede. Then he appeared and told them that through his intercession he had appeased God's anger, and that if they would prove faithful to their contracts he would withdraw the eclipse. They were delighted to see the darkness pass away, and thenceforth had the highest respect for the great navigator.

THE RESCUE.—The situation of Columbus on Jamaica grew more and more desperate. Mutiny broke out a second time, which was only quelled after a hot battle in which several were killed. Mendez had succeeded, after a perilous trip, in reaching Hispaniola, but he found the Governor, Ovando, indifferent to the fate of Columbus, whose presence he feared, since Ovando's administration of affairs had been far worse than that of his predecessor. But after an interval of eight months some ships came out from Spain. Mendez bought one of these and sent it, well laden with supplies, to Columbus. Great was the joy of Columbus and his companions when this ship arrived at Jamaica. They had lived nearly a year in the cabins of their stranded vessels, and had suffered appallingly from famine, exposure, sickness and feuds. In another month Columbus reached the harbor of San Domingo.

DEATH OF COLUMBUS.—After spending a month on Hispaniola, Columbus fitted up two ships for his return to Spain. One vessel was forced by storms to put back to Hispaniola. He arrived on the other in Spain after a long and tempestuous voyage, and was carried to Seville, to recover his broken health. He soon had to regret the death of his best friend, Queen Isabella, which proved to be a great loss, for King Ferdinand was much more selfish and calculating than his Queen. The best Columbus could do under the circumstances was to keep his son, Diego, and his faithful Mendez at the court to petition for a fulfilment of the royal contracts with him. But Ferdinand looked indifferently on the claims of Columbus. He thought Columbus far too tenacious of his rights, had found more profit in the corrupt governorship of Ovando, and did not wish to be limited in his selections of future governors of Hispaniola from the family of Columbus.

As winter passed Columbus resolved to journey to the Court, then at Segovia, and afterwards at Salamanca and Valladolid. This was the winter of 1504-05. All the next summer Columbus was a petitioner for his rights at the Court of Ferdinand. In despair of living to enjoy his rights, even if he regained them, he pleaded with the King to confer the government of Hispaniola on his son Diego, and in consideration of this offered to lay down his title as admiral, and all other advantages to himself



HOUSE WHERE COLUMBUS DIED.

and family. The King promised, but delayed, hoping that Columbus would be finally tired out, and would be content with the title of a Spanish nobleman.

As the sovereignty of Castile passed, in reality, to the heirs of Isabella, Columbus transferred his suit to them, but it was not heard amid the excitement of their accession to the throne. He grew gradually worse at Valladolid, and amid worriment of mind and pain of body made his will, giving to his son Diego all his rights and revenues, after him to his descendants, and after them to King Ferdinand. Thus prepared, he died at Valladolid, May 21, 1506. His death passed almost unnoticed, except by a few of his closest friends, owing to the excitement occasioned by the arrival of the new King and Queen of Castile.

There has been no end of disputes over the final resting-place of Columbus's remains. They were probably buried in Valladolid, and after some years removed to Seville. Later, they were exhumed, and together with those of his brother, Bartholomew, and son, Diego, carried to San Domingo, where they were interred in the cathedral. In 1795, when San Domingo became a French possession, the Duke of Veragua, a descendant of Columbus, removed what he supposed to be the remains of his illustrious ancestor to Havana, Cuba. This last removal is doubted, and as there is no official record of their interment in Havana, the claim that they still remain in the cathedral at San Domingo is strongest.

Diego was forced to go to law to sustain his rights, and finally won his suit. He married a Spanish lady, a near relative of Ferdinand, and soon after received a commission as governor of Hispaniola. He sailed thither in 1509, with his wife, two uncles, Bartholomew and Diego, and a splendid retinue of ladies and gentlemen, and soon had a mansion and court that surpassed in beauty and luxury those of Spain. But he found his subjects turbulent, and himself in the midst of endless lawsuits to collect his revenues. Like his father he became the victim of complaints at the Spanish Court, and like him he crossed the ocean several times, a petitioner of royalty for his rights. He died in Spain, in 1526, leaving his affairs so unsettled that his wife and son were forced into a compromise with the Crown, by which the descendants of Columbus were to accept a pension and the title of Duke of Veragua.

Christopher Columbus passed away with only the knowledge that he had made a great discovery and had earned distinguished honor. He died maintaining the idea that his discoveries were the insular approaches to Asia, and that somewhere existed a water thoroughfare, like the Mediterranean, by means of which Asia could be reached. We all know now how erroneous his geography was. We know equally well that the halo of heroism and saintship which early historians threw around him is a false one. He was a clever, a notable product of his time, a genius of vivid imagination, a persistent, hardy, daring man, with all the ambi-

tion for power, vanity for glory and greed for gold of his age. In all his long experience and with all his vast opportunities, he cherished the scientific errors he started with. As a governor, he was a failure, having all the elements of tyranny in his bosom, none of the arts of civil discipline, and lacking that appreciation of mine and thine which would have made Indian slavery impossible. But as against these there stands to his credit a great and novel purpose, carried out with sublime fortitude. Hardship lent pathos to his career, and misfortune crowned it with majesty. Measured by results to civilization, no man's achievements are more conspicuous than those of Columbus. The New World will ever stand as his monument, and its triumphs will ever excuse his shortcomings of character. *



COLUMBUS



PONCE DE LEÓN



SEBASTIAN CABOT



AMERIGO VESPUCCI

PIONEER DISCOVERERS AND EXPLORERS.

BIRTH AND GROWTH OF THE COLONIES.

MARCH TO INDEPENDENCE.

ACQUIRING OUR PUBLIC DOMAIN.

THE FIRST OWNERS.—When America was discovered the title to the soil was in the Indian. He was sovereign proprietor. He acknowledged no obedience, allegiance, nor subordination to any foreign nation. He has never to this day yielded a jot or tittle of his original right of dominion, except when he sold out voluntarily, or was forced by arms into a treaty. His claim was precisely like that of all civilized nations, a claim based on exclusive possession and use for his purposes, for hunting, for trading, for subsistence. If he had no fields, no fixed towns, few of the things which fasten other folks to one spot, it was nobody's business. That did not invalidate his claim in the least.

THE EUROPEAN TITLE.—The discovery of America in 1492 brought across the ocean the doctrine that general title to all the new lands and the right to govern them rested on the fact of discovery. Perhaps it would be better to say, the discovery of America was the date of the invention of this doctrine. The legal doctrine of discovery was, that title to the soil was in the discoverer provided the territory discovered were unoccupied, uninhabited. Why was this doctrine twisted out of all legal shape, or so greatly enlarged? Because the Indian was a heathen. The Christian thought of the time did not draw a line between political and spiritual sovereignty. The right to convert a heathen carried everything with it—right to govern him, right to own his soil. In a word, he was, if unconverted, an encumbrance, and it became a Christian duty and glory to con-

quer him and possess his domains.* This is what made the broad claim of title by discovery defensible, or rather, it is what reconciled it to the European mind, for no lawyer would ever agree, without fee in advance, to establish the righteousness of a title by discovery to an unknown inhabited land, be the inhabitants heathen or not. Imagine the King of the Cannibal Isles sailing out and striking the, to him, unknown coast of America at San Francisco, and, landing and planting his banners in the soil, taking possession and declaring the whole country his by right of first discovery. How many of us would quake at the thought that we, heathen to the great king, would have to give up our titles and pass under a new dynasty?† How many of us would acquiesce in his bold claim, or do other than the Indian has done—deny his right to soil and dominion, and fight to the death against it?

ARE OUR TITLES GOOD?—In law, time is a great curative. We can at least plead that we ought not to be disturbed, because lapse of time has come in to cure the defects of our title by discovery. However indefensible in law or morals the European title to our soil was, the then civilized nations stood committed to it, and we are entitled to the excuse which this general commitment furnishes. It was a policy erroneous and despotic. But even such policy may lead to results which, after a long time, ought not to be questioned or disturbed. Besides,

* It might be curious to inquire how far we are away from this doctrine now. Is not the red man still in the road? Has not our national policy toward him always savored too much of the policy of the pioneer, that because he is in the way and his land is good, therefore it is right to drive him away and take it?

† "The truth is, the European nations paid not the slightest regard to the rights of the native tribes. They treated them as mere barbarians and heathens, whom if they were not at liberty to exterminate, they were entitled to deem as mere temporary occupants of the soil. They might convert them to Christianity, and, if they refused conversion, they might drive them from the soil as unworthy to inhabit it. They affected to be governed by the desire to promote the cause of Christianity, and were aided in this ostensible object by the whole influence of the papal power. But their real object was to extend their own power, and increase their own wealth by acquiring the treasures as well as the territory of the New World. Avarice and ambition were at the bottom of all their original enterprises."—*Story on the Constitu-*

tions.

the Indians were much dealt with outside of this policy. In some instances it was modified by the sovereigns themselves in granting charters; in others by the proprietaries in acquiring their lands; in others still by the actual settlers. These, in a more becoming spirit of humanity and with a view to having their titles peaceable and perfect at the start, actually bought the soil of the Indian, and left him free to enjoy his tribal form of government. It need not be assumed that any very clearly or elegantly worded contracts were made, nor that deeds containing exact descriptions of the lands were given, nor even that anything like fair prices were paid, according to our notions of value, yet the fact that the Indian, accustomed to roam a continent, with no attachment to locality, and therefore with no idea of an acre or its equivalent in cash, assented to the terms, gives the transaction validity in law.

FIRST ENGLISH PATENT.—What a grand rush there was for discovery and possession as soon as land was known to exist amid the waters which supposably stretched from Western Europe to Eastern Asia! In this rush, and so far as we are concerned, England got the lead. The Cabots, father and sons, Bristol merchants in long commerce with the fishermen of Iceland who may have told of Greenland, first discovered the continent of America.* With a boldness second only to that of Columbus, and a confidence which almost compels us to think they were familiar with Icelandic traditions, they went into the midst of the unknown waters, bearing a patent from the politic Henry VII., one clause of which read: "Empowering them to search for islands, countries, provinces, or regions, hitherto unseen by Christian people; to affix the banners of England on any city, island or continent they might find, and, as vassals † of the English crown, possess and occupy the territories that might be discovered."

* We readily accept the Icelandic history—it is certainly more than tradition—that their people were in communication with the fishing-grounds of Newfoundland and the eastern coast of America centuries before Columbus sailed. But, so far as national or political results followed, we must speak of Cabot's discovery as the first.

† Observe the feudal word *vassal*. "The first maxim of feudal tenure (title) was

ENGLAND GETS A CONTINENT.—This clause is interesting as part of the most ancient American state paper in England; and, further, it gave to England an entire continent. Its date is March 5, 1496. The Cabots struck the continent in N. lat. 56°, Labrador, in June, 1497, fourteen months before Columbus, on his third voyage, came in sight of the mainland off the mouth of the Orinoco. You ask why England didn't hold the continent if she claimed by right of discovery. The answer is she did not know she had one to hold. Again, when she learned that it was really a continent, and was anxious for a title as against some other discoverer or occupant, she always made bold to set up the one founded on this discovery. It always served her when she was the stronger party and nothing was wanting but a pretext to title. And just here it is well to note that this whole matter of title by discovery underwent many changes. Several nations set up claims to the continent because each thought it had discovered it. Ignorant of its geography and of the discoveries of others, each nation had to modify its claims under certain circumstances.

FRENCH CLAIMS.—Not knowing what they had struck, the planting of the English banners on Labrador did not deter other nations from joining in the hunt for possession. Nor did a second voyage (1498), by Sebastian Cabot, which resulted in a profile of the coast from Newfoundland to Albemarle Sound. The French came skirting up the coast* from North Carolina, stopping at New York, at Newport, thence on to Nova Scotia, striking the grand fishing-grounds, a field they never quit till driven off two hundred and forty years afterwards (1763) by the English.† Though ten to twenty years later than the Cabots‡

that all lands were originally granted by the sovereign and therefore held of the crown. The grantee, who had only a use, according to the terms of the grant, was called the feudatory or *vassal* (tenant).”—*Blackstone*, vol. ii., p. 53.

* The voyage of John Verrazzani, an Italian in the employ of Francis I., of France, in the “*Dolphin*” (1524), reads like a novel.

† We use the modern names of these places for convenience. The French names, as St. John, St. Lawrence, Cape Breton, are all early.

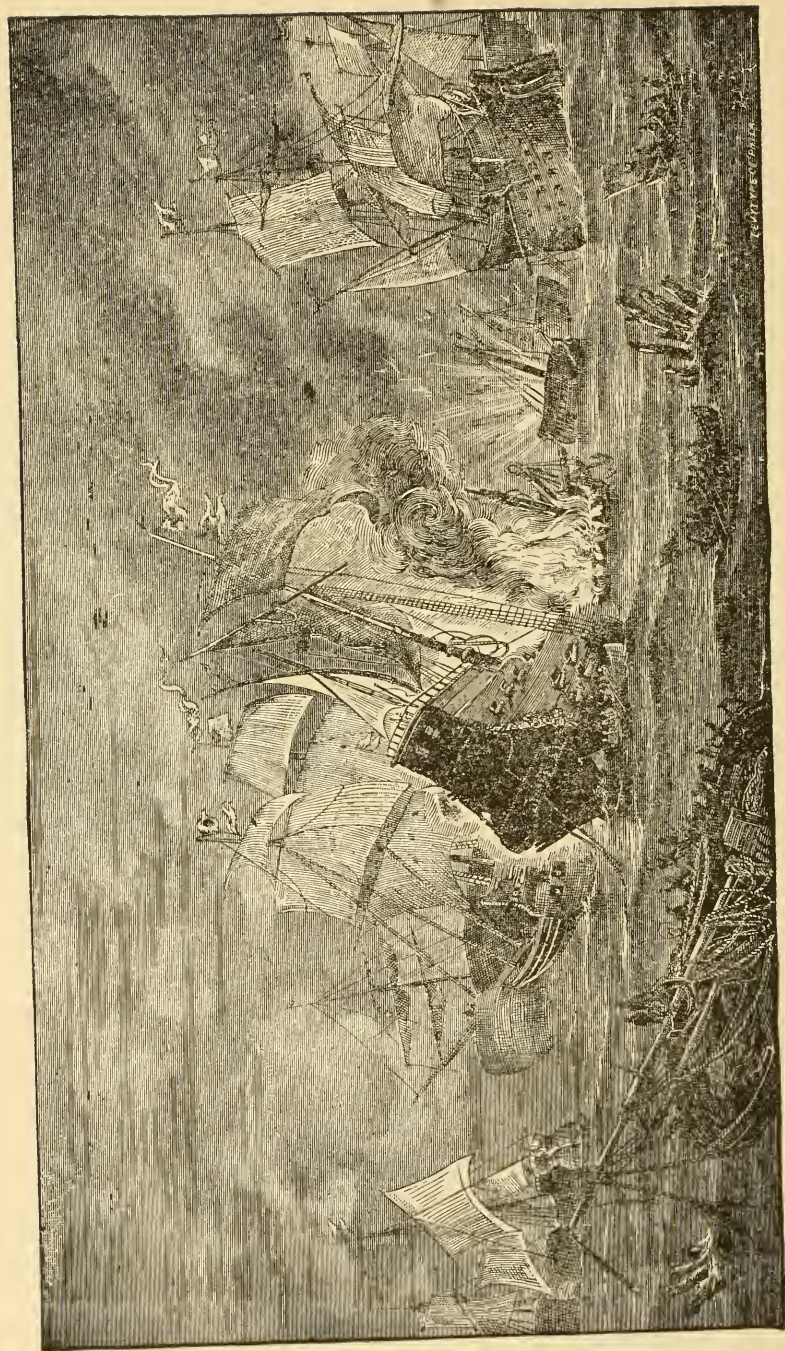
‡ Within seven years of the discovery of the continent, the fisheries of Newfoundland were known to the hardy mariners of Brittany and Normandy;—*Bancroft*.

in asserting title, the French took a decided lead in discovery and settlement in their St. Lawrence region, New France. Champlain was anxious to found a state, and he backed up De Monts, who had gotten a patent for the sovereignty of Acadia, extending from Philadelphia to beyond Montreal (1603). It was to be a Huguenot country, but the Jesuits came also. Though they wrangled much, Champlain managed to hold the line of the St. Lawrence for France, and the settlements there became the source of that wonderful Jesuit movement beyond Niagara, out the chain of the great lakes and down the Mississippi to the gulf.*

SPANISH CLAIMS.—For years after 1492, Spain had been working her way through the Caribbean Islands, and in 1512 struck Florida. Ponce de Leon first saw this land on Easter Sunday (*Pascua Florida*). This meant a continent for Spain, as much as the discovery of Labrador by the Cabots meant one for England, though De Leon supposed it only an island. He was to have its government on the condition that he colonized it. Spain did not trust to mere discovery so much as to actual settlement. The natives fought the Spanish off, and wounded De Leon unto death. Thirty years after along came De Soto, an old friend of Pizarro, who desired to rival him in wealth and Cortes in glory. He began his wonderful freebooting march to the Mississippi, beneath whose waters he found a grave.† What was Florida? In Spanish imagination it was everything from the Gulf of Mexico to Newfoundland, and as far west as the "River of Palms" (Mississippi) or as land extended. Canada was in the Spaniard's Florida; so was Louisiana; and so every intermediate mountain chain and waving prairie. The Mississippi rose in Florida and emptied in Florida. Not a nation disputed her claims so far as they embraced the Gulf coast.

* Cartier's voyages (1527 to 1542) planted the French standard in all that indefinite country of Norimbeca. He built a fort at Quebec in 1541.

† Narvaez previously made a similar march to the "River of Palms" and on to the Pacific. The story of his exploits is too wild for belief. The Spanish under Gomez had also skirted the coast to New England, calling the country The Land of Gomez.



SIR FRANCIS DRAKE IN CENTRAL AMERICA.

THE RIVAL CLAIMANTS.—Here then were three rivals, all claiming the same lands as discoverers. England claimed a continent, or would have done so had she known it was a continent. France in mapping her New France claimed from Delaware bay northward. Spain claimed for her Florida, or New Spain, everything from the Gulf of Mexico to Newfoundland. What a chance for future troubles! But as yet these claims were so misty and vague as not to be worth fighting about. Indeed they did not serve even as a bar to other claims on the ground of discovery by these same nations or by others, especially when a permanent settlement followed. Thus when Coligny wanted (1562) to establish a Huguenot colony and found a Protestant French empire in America* he selected Florida as the site, and calling it Carolina, after Charles IX. of France, gave it a limit extending from St. Augustine to Port Royal entrance. His first colony failed (1563). In 1565 he tried another which brought a storm about French ears. Maddened at this audacious attempt to set up a Protestant empire within her Catholic domains, Spain drove the French colonists out and proclaiming Philip II. monarch of all North America hastened to found St. Augustine (1565), the oldest town in the United States by forty years. The fighting period had now arrived, and home jealousies and wars had as much to do with colonial disturbances as anything else. England had broken away from Catholicism: why shouldn't she be jealous of Spanish ascendancy in the New World? The century, or thereabouts, since the discovery of America, had fired European rulers with a mania for the enlargement of their empires by discovery. The idea grew more and more popular that titles by discovery, in order to be substantial, should be backed by actual settlement. It was found that no mean trade could be driven with the natives in the shape of furs, etc., and that our coasts furnished favorable fishing-grounds. The thrilling stories of Spanish adventure, conquest and enrichment in Peru and Mexico had gotten abroad and were filling men of every nationality with dreams of El Dorados in all parts of the

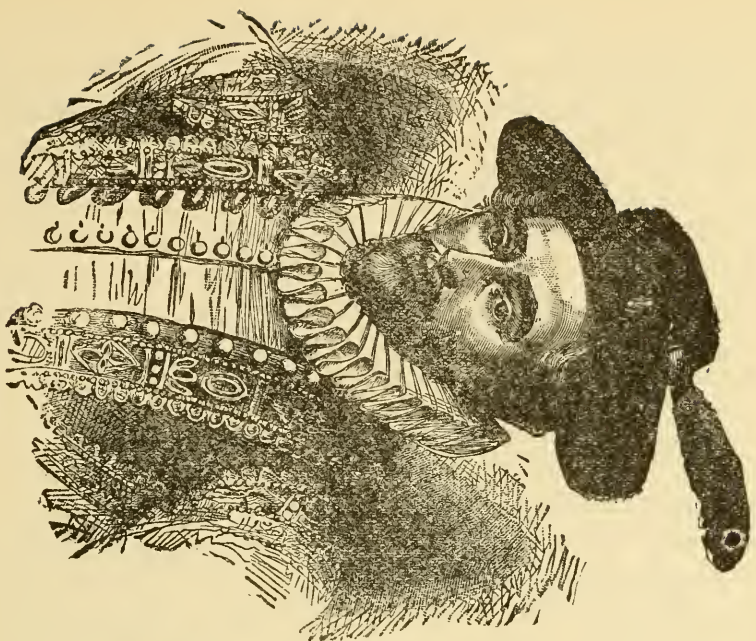
* A disastrous attempt, under the special co-operation of Calvin himself, had been made to found a similar empire at Rio Janeiro in Brazil.—*Southey's Brazil.*

New World. Religious enthusiasm built imaginary abiding-places in the wilderness for the faithful, away from persecution, competition and all state interference. Humanitarians, philanthropists, political theorists, saw golden opportunity in the American wilds for great reformed and reforming empires. Bankrupt nobility pictured to itself a renewal of estates and titles amid our splendid virgin areas on a far larger and grander scale than their fathers had ever heard of.

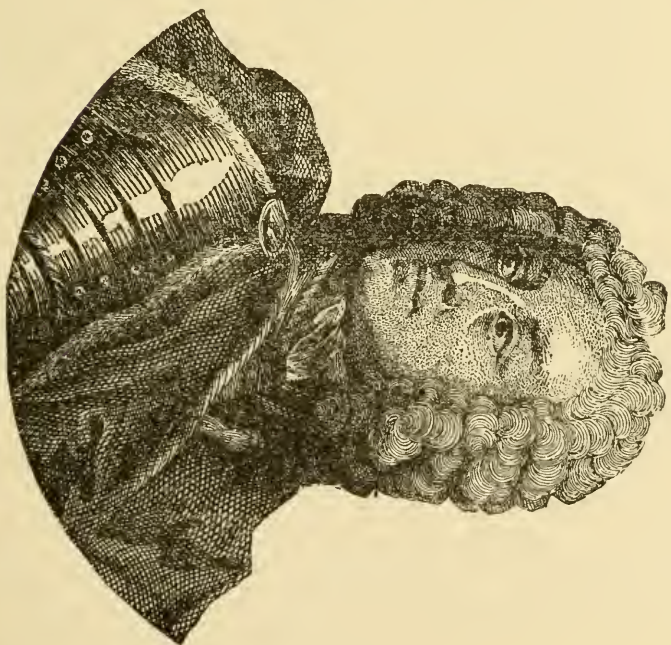
RALEIGH'S SCHEME.—Raleigh had been a pupil of Coligny. He dreamed of an empire for England on the very spot whence the Protestants of France had been expelled. He therefore took up Coligny's failure. Armed with a patent from Queen Elizabeth (1584) he tried his experiment a little farther north and under more favorable auspices. But failure awaited him also. His abandoned "City of Raleigh" on the barren island of Roanoke (1587) was two centuries later (1792), and by solemn act of the legislature of North Carolina, revived in its capital "The City of Raleigh." As Coligny's scheme gave to the Carolinas (the New France of the South) a name, so Raleigh's gave to the indefinite territory of his patent the name of Virginia, after the virgin queen.*

FIRST COLONIAL CHARTER.—Turning the century (1600) England was better prepared than any other country for adventure, or say permanent settlement, in North America. The

* This attempt of Raleigh to found a Huguenot colony under English auspices as a set-off to Spanish Catholic influence on the South did more to spread a correct idea of the soil, climate, inhabitants and resources of the new land than any other thus far. Its historian, Hariot, was a keen observer. He observed the culture of tobacco and accustomed himself to its use, after the Indian fashion. He studied the maize crop and noted its productiveness. He also tried the potato with the natives and found it very good food. The natives were treated as men, and the chief, Manteo, was given a peerage, the first in Anglo-American annals. It ought not to escape attention that Raleigh took possession of this Virginia country, so signal a part of Spanish Florida, and at so late a date, by reason of discovery. He of course knew of Coligny's claim to the same for France. But France and England could afford to pull together in the scheme of a Huguenot (Protestant) colony or empire right down upon and overshadowing Catholic Florida. It was a long-headed, deeply concocted scheme on the part of Raleigh and Elizabeth, and one that England, or rather Protestantism, could afford to take much stock in.



SIR WALTER RALEIGH.



GENERAL OGLETHORPE. (*From a Portrait by Knecht.*)

timid policy of King James I. (1603-1625) in throwing out of employment the gallant seamen who had served under Elizabeth left them no option but to engage in the quarrels of strangers or seek employment, wealth and fame in the new world. The vague uncertain title of the first discoverer could now be backed up by actual settlement. That possession which was then as much as even ten points of law could be brought into play. A true colonial scheme could be developed and practised which would not only reduce the wilderness to an inchoate government, but anchor it safely at the foot of the throne.

Now see the hold this spirit of colonization had gotten in England. The influential assigns of Raleigh's patent, the wealthy Gorges, governor of Plymouth (Eng.), the experienced Gosnold who first set English foot on Cape Cod (1602), the enthusiastic Captain Smith, the persevering Hakluyt, historian of all the early voyages, and towering above all, the Lord Chief Justice himself, Sir John Popham—these formed a coterie whose plea "to deduce a colony into Virginia" James I. could not resist. He granted them the first colonial charter under which the English were planted in America, April 10, 1606. Do not forget the date: it is an important one, the beginning of many real things in connection with our government. Do not forget the coterie. They were tenacious men, representative of England's wealth and influence at home and her adventure abroad, and they or their assigns come up continually from this time on to disturb future titles and worry future colonists. Do not fail either to look a little into the charter itself, for its bearings on our history and institutions are direct, and it shows in what shape English monarchy first fastened itself on our soil.

The charter gave twelve degrees, reaching from Cape Fear, N. C., to Halifax, Nova Scotia (34° to 45° N. lat.), to two rival companies, one of London, the other of towns in the west of England.* The London Company (Southern Colony), which

*The first goes, popularly, by the name of the London Company. As its portion of the above grant was the southern part of Virginia and its settlement on the James river, it is known to our history as the Southern Colony. The second company, whose residents were mostly at Plymouth, is called, popularly, the Western Company



QUEEN ELIZABETH,

alone succeeded, had right to occupy from 34° to 38° ; that is, from Cape Fear to the southern limit of Maryland. The Western or Plymouth Company (Northern Colony) had right to occupy from 41° to 45° ; that is, from say New York to Halifax. From 38° to 41° was open to both, with right to the soil fifty miles north or south of any actual settlement they might make therein.* The government was a Council in England appointed by the king. A Local Council had charge of local affairs in the respective colonies. The king reserved the right of supreme legislative authority and supervision. The emigrant and his children should continue to be Englishmen. The original grantees or patentees were to hold the lands and other rights by the tenure of free and common socage, and not *in capite*.† The patentees could of course regrant their lands to actual colonists according to the tenures they held. The hard, impracticable features of the charter were that the emigrant had no elective franchise, no right of self-government. The power was first

or the Plymouth Company, and as their part of the grant was in the north of Virginia, *i. e.*, from New York to Halifax, it is known in our history as the Northern Colony, but chiefly by its failures.

* "The name of 'Virginia' was generally confined to the Southern Colony, and the name of 'Plymouth Company' was assumed by the Northern Colony. From the former the States south of the Potomac may be said to have had their origin, and from the latter the States of New England."—*Story on the Constitution*.

† This is very important as marking a point of decided departure from the feudal tenures based on military service, or tenures *in capite*. However rapidly the process of undermining feudal institutions may have been going on, it must have been a very bitter pill for a sovereign like King James to give such a signal recognition of their decadence, for be it known his signature to this charter not only broke in on all precedent for military (capite) tenure to land in America, but established the most democratic tenure then known in England, tenure by "free and common socage." This tenure existed only in Kent (Eng.) under the title *gavelkind*, "given to all the males alike." Says Blackstone, "It is probable the socage (plow service) tenures were the relics of Saxon liberty, retained by such persons as had neither forfeited them to the king nor been obliged to exchange their tenure for the more honorable though more burdensome tenure of knight service. This is peculiarly remarkable in the tenure which prevails in Kent, called *gavelkind*, which is acknowledged to be a species of socage tenure, the preservation whereof inviolate from the innovations of the Norman conqueror is a fact universally known, and those who have thus preserved their liberties are said to hold in *free and common socage*."



BUILDING THE FIRST HOUSE AT JAMESTOWN.

in a trading company composed of a select few, of which the actual settler was not one; then in a Local Council, in which he had no voice; then in a Supreme Council at home, which could never know him and could never have sympathy with his rights; lastly in the king himself, who not only created and dismissed the Supreme Council at pleasure, but held the power of making or revising their legislation. It was a truly wonderful scheme, and one, in most respects, well calculated to tickle the vanity of a weak prince. What wonder that, under it, the Local Council got to be a pure aristocracy entirely independent of the settlers, the people! What wonder that no element of popular liberty found its way into the government of the colony when its code of laws was completed and received kingly sanction! And what wonder the parliament of England speedily raised the question—a question which would not down until the American revolution—of how far the king was a usurper of their powers in assuming legislative authority abroad! Even the religion of the colonist was, under this memorable instrument, to be that of the Church of England.

One may well say all this was a long way off from what kings were afterwards taught to grant, and from that spirit of free thought and action which now pervades our institutions. Under such a charter and code permanent colonization at a distance from home, and in a spot where everything invited to freedom, was impossible. Every effort to plant under it, or to make it work for the good of emigrants, showed its imperfections in glaring colors. The weeding and paring process began early.

ENGLAND'S PERMANENT FOOTHOLD.—Under this charter the London Company founded Jamestown, Va., May, 1607, one hundred and nine years after Cabot's discovery of the Continent, and forty-one after Spain had settled Florida. As the Puritan, destined for the Hudson, was blown upon Cape Cod, so the three ships with the Virginia Colony were blown past Raleigh's old settlement at Roanoke, and into the waters of the Chesapeake. One year would have settled the fate of Jamestown, but for Captain Smith, who had fought for freedom in Holland, roamed France for pleasure, visited Egypt for study,

plunged into Mohammedan warfare for glory, escaped from Constantinople to Russia for safety, and now entered as hero on a drama the most exciting and thrilling of all. Even his ingenuity in handling hostile natives, and his unbending will, stronger than that of cowardly governor (Wingfield and Ratcliffe) or fanished, rebellious emigrant, could not have saved the colony, but for an amendment to the charter government which robbed the king of the supreme legislative powers he had reserved and turned them over to the company and its governors. This gave to Smith's genius a fuller rein. He made the gentlemen colonists work, saying, "He who would not work might not eat." He entreated the company to send "more suitable persons for Virginia." "I entreat you," he writes, "rather send but thirty carpenters, husbandmen, gardeners, fishermen, blacksmiths, masons and diggers up of trees' roots, well provided, than a thousand of such as we have." Hopeless as his task seemed he held his control of the unruly colonists till disabled by an accidental explosion of gunpowder he was forced to go to England for treatment, without reward of any kind but the applause of conscience and the world. He was the true father of Virginia, and, vastly more, the pioneer who secured to the Saxon race its first permanent foothold within the borders of the United States. Virginia was a fact, but as yet a limitless fact. And this it proved, and continued to prove, that just as the king was shorn of his charter powers, and just as the Home Council and the governors were deprived of their arbitrary control, and the same passed over to and began to be exercised by the people under the forms of law, in that proportion the colony thrived. America was no place for restricted individual rights nor absolute foreign authority.

TOBACCO, COTTON AND SLAVES.—The Jamestown colonist got to be an industrious man. It was a clear question of the "survival of the fittest." He grew tobacco and the cereals, and found both profitable. The former became a staple and a currency. He was not satisfied with his farm title. It was amended so as to make him secure. He clamored for representation. This too he got. The first colonial assembly met at Jamestown,

June, 1619. This was the dawn of legislative liberty in America. They who had been dependent on the fickle will of a governor demanded a code of laws based on those of England. Such a code came over in 1621. It was a form of government away outside of the harsh and narrow provisions of the charter. Under it the colony got a parliament, very like that of England. Thenceforth Virginia was the Virginia of the colonists. It was their country, and their country reached from North Carolina to Halifax, and as far west as imagination chose to go. The king was still king, and of a new empire, but of a people who had gradually acquired rights they would never voluntarily part with. He had a rival though. In 1621 the first cotton-seed was planted with success. The infant thus cradled grew into "King Cotton." Strange to say, only one year before, August, 1620, fourteen months after the first Virginia Assembly, four months before the pilgrims landed at Plymouth rock, more than a hundred years after slavery had disappeared from England, six years after the abolition of serfdom in France, a Dutch man-of-war entered the James river and landed twenty negroes for sale. Unfortunately the constitution and code of laws which were received by the colony the next year had been prepared without knowledge of this event, or they might have contained some clause prohibiting this kind of commerce. As it was, the commerce grew and the slave system got hold, in spite of a strong sentiment among the better class of colonists against it, and in spite of a few feeble colonial laws passed with a design to discourage it. By one of those strange contradictions in human affairs, the colony which had in fourteen years converted a despotic charter into a representative form of government, and had actually become an asylum of liberty,* became also the abode of hereditary bondsmen.†

*The Virginia Colony had not as yet paid much attention to its religious code, and even the heady Puritan could find an asylum there. His presence was not interdicted till the democratic revolution in England under Cromwell gave political importance to religious sects. Then to tolerate a Puritan was to favor a member of a republican party.

† Negro slavery was certainly an offence against the better instincts of all the colonies. Though all the earlier ones tolerated it, there was no lack of discourag-



CAPTAIN JOHN SMITH.



POCAHONTAS RESCUING CAPTAIN SMITH.

A ROYAL PROVINCE.—King James got jealous of the London Company. On the plea of mismanagement its charter was cancelled. Virginia was free from a control which, while it made a colony possible, had ever been an interference. Charles I. (1625–1649), in accordance with his father's intentions, would regard it as a Royal Province, to be governed by himself, but fortunately more with a view to securing a revenue from its tobacco and other staples, than with a design to interfere seriously with the political rights of the colonists. But up came the question of boundary. Virginia had no limits but those in the charter, and it was gone. There was, therefore, no Virginia for the map. Only the settlement called Virginia remained, and the best it could do was to claim the old charter limits, whether the charter existed or not. It therefore crossed swords with the Marylander who had come with his grant right into the midst of the Virginia territory. But the flurry soon passed over. The fate of Charles I. was sealed. Virginia thought to fight Cromwell, but by capitulating got terms which were almost equivalent to independence. Cromwell never bothered himself about governors nor anything else outside of the mere question of allegiance. So the colonists elected their own governors, and the custom once established, it ever after prevailed. A grand step toward popular independent government in the new world!

MARYLAND CHARTER.—The mind of the Virginian was not clear as to his country. Under the charter of 1606 his domain was practically boundless to the north. Under an amended charter he could claim to 41° (200 miles north of Old Point Comfort), which was vaguely supposed to be the southern limit of New England, or the southern boundary of the New Netherlands. At any rate he would, now that he was prosperous and had ambitions, push his enterprises north of the

ing laws and regulations. The force of sentiment outside of themselves, especially that sentiment born of traffic and cupidity, was stronger than the true and just colonial instinct, and hence ordinances discouraging slavery became dead letters. But time would have corrected the errors of cupidity, all along the colonial line, had it not happened that as long as the slave traffic was active, the climate, staples and commercial tastes of the Southern colonies permitted the introduction of the slave element to such an extent that heroic action against the system became impolitic.

Potomac and Susquehannah. But, alack! he was suddenly cut off. Sir George Calvert had tried a Catholic settlement at Avalon on the coasts of Newfoundland, but cold, a barren soil, and French fishermen, had driven him away. He would try again in a more favorable clime. His influence with the king (James I.) was great, and the canceling of the Virginia patents had restored to the monarch his authority over the soil. The French, the Dutch, the Swedes, were preparing to come. Why shouldn't Calvert have a slice of kindly soil for his experiment? He got it, and evidently wrote his own charter.* It gave him a clean slice of what was Virginia. Its bounds were the ocean, the 40th parallel, the meridian through the fountain of the Potomac, that river to its mouth, and a line from Watkin's Point to the ocean—almost the Maryland of to-day. Calvert's (Lord Baltimore's) province was a creation with a definite boundary, the first, it may be said, thus far,† and it was Maryland, after Maria, wife of Charles I. Lord Baltimore was a *Proprietary*, that is, the country was his estate. He was governor, subject to the provisions of the charter, which were very liberal indeed, securing to the colonists representative government from the start, and therein contrasting strongly with the Virginia charter, granted to mere trading companies. Christianity was by the charter made the law, but no preference was given to any sect, and equality in religious rights not less than in civil freedom, was assured. Sir George Calvert died April 15, 1632, but the charter was confirmed to his son, Cecil, June 20, 1632. As has been noted, Virginia was

* "The nature of the document itself, and concurrent opinion, leave no room to doubt that it was penned by the first Lord Baltimore himself, although it was finally issued to his son."—*Bancroft*, vol. i., 241.

† Ignorance of the geography of the interior left many of the early grants without western limits. Some had the clause inserted "and extending through to the Pacific," or "extending from ocean to ocean." But in general they were vague, and the source of much future difficulty, as were those north and south boundaries which so overlapped each other. The failure of the successive monarchs to understand what their predecessors had done, the lapsing of so many grants by time or by non-user, the desire of each monarch to gratify his friends or to map a new colonial policy of his own, all these contributed to the confusion of charter boundaries.

furious over this robbery of her domain. She at first warred a little about it, then carried her case to England, but the king's privy council told her to go home and cultivate amicable relations with her neighbor. Her wrath had time to cool while the boundary between her and Maryland was being adjusted. Calvert knew quite well the folly of attempting a Catholic experiment, no matter how liberal its provisions, so near the Virginia settlement, and within its claimed limits, without first securing for it carefully determined boundaries. Virginia's church was the established church, which, liberal at first, was nearly ripe for that uncharitable statute which banished all non-conformists and made their return a felony.

SETTLEMENT OF MARYLAND.—March 27, 1634, Calvert founded his village of St. Mary's, and his state. The Ark and Dove bore his colony. He treated with the Indians and bought their soil. Thus his possession was peaceable, except that Clayborne of Virginia wanted to drive him away by force.* The colonists stuck from the start, and, unlike those of Virginia, went to work. In six months St. Mary's was ahead of Jamestown in its sixth year.† In one year the people, not liking Calvert's Code, passed one of their own which, though it did not go into effect, resulted in such modifications of Calvert's as they wished. The "religious freedom" of the charter took as wide shape in the statutes as was then possible. It embraced all Christians, but with the awful proviso that, "Whatever person shall blaspheme God or shall deny or reproach the Holy Trinity, or any of the three persons thereof, shall be punished with death." Nowhere in the United States is religious opinion now regarded as a proper subject for such a penalty or for any penal enactment at all. We have seen how Virginia profited by the neglect of Cromwell, under the English Commonwealth.

* The native tribe had been punished by the Susquehannahs on the north, and was just about to quit its seats on the Potomac, when Calvert came. He therefore was able to drive a good bargain with them, and to quiet his title with a few presents of clothes, axes, hoes, knives, etc.

† "Within six months it (the Maryland colony) had advanced more than Virginia had done in as many years."—*Bancroft*, vol. i., p. 247.



CHARLES I. OF ENGLAND.

New England did the same. But Maryland went through the fires of angry disputation. With the king gone, where was the Proprietary who held from and under him? "Gone too," said Virginia. "Gone too," said Cromwell, though he was going to trust to Calvert's good sense to manage things. But Virginia, through the ambitious Clayborne, got over into Maryland, and under cover of a commission actually ran away with the government. Maryland had invited Puritans. They were strong in Anne Arundel, and were Cromwellian republicans. Calvert was shrewd enough to save his charter, but when he went to reduce the Puritans he was whipped and his agent, Stone, was imprisoned. Clayborne could reduce neither Catholics nor Puritans. Thus matters stood for years, till the people voted themselves a lawful assembly, without dependence on other power in the province, and enacted compromise laws, which Virginia ultimately assented to, and which both Puritan and Catholic could respect. Thus Maryland like Virginia was, at the restoration of Charles II. (1660), in full possession of liberty based on the sovereignty of the people, and like Virginia it had so nearly completed its political institutions that not much further progress was made toward freedom and independence till the period of final separation from England (1776).

THE PLYMOUTH COUNCIL.—We must now go back a little in time and look northward. The Virginia charter of 1606 incorporated two monstrous companies, the London Company (Southern colony), and Western or Plymouth Company (Northern colony). We have seen how the London Company succeeded at Jamestown, and how it was shorn of its rights in Virginia. What did the Western or Plymouth Company do with its splendid grant of lands (in Virginia remember) between New York and Labrador, 41° to 45°, and its magnificent privileges? Under Popham himself it settled at St. George on the Kennebec (1607). But Popham died and the colony failed.* Inspired

* The Maine historians make much of this settlement, not only as ante-dating all others in Northern Virginia or New England, but as going to show the directness of the Maine title from the Virginia charter of 1606, and therefore the wrongfulness

anew by Smith, the Virginia hero, who had (1614) scoured the coast from the Penobscot to Cape Cod and named the country New England, another trial was made, but the colony never landed. Still Smith's enthusiasm was all pervading. A new and independent charter was sought for the company. This set the Londoners and Westerlings to fighting. But clashing interests could not stay results. Out of the conflicting claims came a charter to forty of the king's favorites, many of them members of both the old competing companies, and the best men in them. It was one of the most sweeping papers which ever bore royal signature. Its date was Nov. 3d, 1620, and it incorporated "The council established at Plymouth (England) for the planting, ruling, ordering and governing of New England, in America."

NATURE OF THIS CHARTER.—Note first the size of the territory it covered, and how it wiped out the entire field given to both the London and Western Companies in the charter of 1606, also how it silenced forever the legal claim of Virginia (not the popular claim) to her domain north of 40°. It extended in breadth from 40° to 48° north latitude, and from the Atlantic to the Pacific; that is, it embraced nearly all the inhabitable British possessions of to-day,* all New England, New York, more than half of New Jersey, nearly all Pennsylvania, and the mighty sweep westward of all these States. So grand an empire had never been given away by a single stroke of the pen. But more, and worse, the charter gave to forty men the soil, the sole power of legislation, the selection of all officers, the formation of a government, and powers over commerce as arbitrary as those con-

of the claim which Massachusetts subsequently made good. Had the Kennebec colony stuck, they would have much better ground for their position; or had not the character of titles shifted. Even at this early date the principle was abroad that a title confirmed by actual settlement was better than one with no such substantial backing.

* It paid no attention to the French possession of New France, which was already permanently occupied at Port Royal, Quebec, and many other places along the St. Lawrence. The thought evidently was to rely on the old Cabot title by discovery, claim the continent, and drive off settlers of other nationalities if necessary.

veyed to the Cabots by Henry VII., in "that oldest American State paper in England." No regard was shown for the liberty of a single colonist. Everything was left to the council at Plymouth. It was too big a monopoly to be of any use. Parliament rose in angry question of the king's right to thus fritter away the public domain. France laughed at the thought of thus appropriating her lands, in which settlements had existed for a score of years. The patentees fell to furious wrangling about their respective privileges, and while the confusion was at its height something far-reaching and wonderful took place.

FIRST PURITAN ADVENT.—The Reformation had made possible the Puritan and Pilgrim, the man who wanted, and was bound to have—for himself—religious and political liberty, at whatever cost. When he imbibed Genevan Calvinism he drank in at the same time the spirit of the Genevan republic. This was the ferment which was working in feudal England when Henry VIII. cut off the political horns of the pope, and which came to the surface when Edward VI. permitted the Protestant sects to show their heads without danger from the block. One of these sects, Cranmer's, wanted mild reforms. This one became the Church of England. The other would have no ceremony not enjoined by the word of God, no divine right of bishops, no inequality of clergy, no fixed rule of worship or interpretation appointed by parliament, hierarchy or king. This was Puritanism, pure and undefiled, and it had the sanction of Martyr, Calvin, Hooper and Rogers. Under Mary, the Puritan, as well as the Episcopalian, had to leave England, if he would talk and act his convictions. He went to Amsterdam, Leyden, Frankfort, Geneva, to every asylum on the continent, and he learned much. When he came back under Elizabeth he was no longer a monarchist, but wanted a state of his own, one in which he had a personal voice; therefore he was a politician,* and now doubly dangerous and doubly to be despised. The hard measure of Elizabeth to exile or hang all who should be absent from

* Even the English church charged them with seeking a popular state; and Elizabeth declared they were more perilous than the Romanists. The Romanists were for monarchy, and Elizabeth did not despise them on that account.

the English service for a month sent the Puritan abroad again, and especially the stiffer-necked branch called Independent or Separatist. The more politic remained to make Elizabeth ashamed of her hanging of Barrow and Greenwood, and to teach her that the spirit of liberty was sufficiently abroad to endanger the chances of her successor to the throne if she carried on in too high-handed a manner.*

Elizabeth, "dead and forgotten in four days," was succeeded by James I., a most cowardly sprig of royalty, who was a Puritan in Scotland, but who was no sooner over the border than he couldn't distinguish between the interests of the English church and his own political prerogatives. "No bishop, no king" was his inspiration, and the Puritan was more a "viper" than ever, even if the king was a Protestant. He would "harry them all out of the kingdom, or, better, hang them, if they did not conform," and then when the Pilgrim wanted to go he had to escape. Wherever he went in Holland or on the continent this was true of him: he was industrious, nearly always a farmer or tradesman, frugal, patient, pious, shrewd, liberty-loving, and though a Pilgrim, attached to his nationality. He was not content in Holland, but, like others, began to dream of a colony in the wilderness which should augment the king's realm, give him the government of his native land without its hardships, and thus secure him the liberty he wanted. Whom should he consult? It was 1617, and the London Company which had given life to Virginia was yet in existence and claiming everything north of North Carolina. It therefore was consulted, and would have responded favorably but for bickerings. The king was petitioned for a charter. He promised nothing, but gave out the impression that if the Puritan would only betake himself to America and there behave himself he would be let alone. That was something; perhaps all he had a right to expect. Then he went back to the London Company, which granted a patent, but being made in the name of one who failed to accompany the Pilgrim expedition it was of no use. There was nothing left but the

* "The precious spark of liberty had been kindled and preserved by the Puritans alone."—*Carte's England*, iii., 707.

king's promise of neglect. With this for a charter the "Speedwell" (60 tons) and "Mayflower" (120 tons) were equipped for the voyage. A solemn fast (the original of the American thanksgiving), and the Leyden Pilgrims sailed for Southampton. There the English faithful came aboard, and the two ships dared the ocean voyage. But the "Speedwell" gave out, and the two ships put back to Plymouth, where the rotten one was dismissed. A hundred souls, men, women and children,* crowded into the "Mayflower," and on the 6th of September, 1620, the ship was off again, off for the Hudson. Bad navigation or storms brought the Pilgrim boat to the bleak coast of Cape Cod, Nov. 9, 1620, thirteen years after the founding of Jamestown, and less than two months after the signing of the wonderful charter of the Plymouth Council, above mentioned. After a period of prospecting, on Monday, Dec. 11 (say Dec. 22 new style), 1620, a landing was effected at Plymouth rock, and actual New England had a beginning. The colony was that of Plymouth, whence they had sailed.

The government of the Pilgrim,† framed in the cabin of the "Mayflower," provided for a "proper democracy" in the Colony of Northern Virginia, based on religious and political rights. It promised loyalty to the Crown, which was its bid to be let alone. The Pilgrim weathered two years of cold, barrenness, and adversity which would have broken up any colony but a Pilgrim colony. His tenacity, industry, thrift, morals, family, organizing power, memory of wrongs, and intense love of freedom, gave him a foothold in spite of cheerless climate and unproductive soil. He placated the Indians by treaty, raised corn, drove a brisk trade, started his "little democracy," worshipped as he wished, partitioned his lands. Were his titles good? The Indians had

* The pilgrim brought his family along. The Virginian came without wife or child. Smith's prayer was for farmers, mechanics, and men with families. Till such came colonization was mere adventure.

† "Puritan" and "Pilgrim" are fairly interchangeable. The latter was the former in exile, before he crossed the Atlantic. Not all Puritans were Separatists and Independents. In general the Puritans were more diplomatic than the Pilgrims. Puritanism covers both very well.



PLYMOUTH ROCK.

said, "Come;" that was as good as a purchase. The principles of English law, and natural justice, said they were good. So the Pilgrim was secure. He struck deep in his own barren soil and branched out to the Connecticut, to Cape Ann, and to the Kennebec.

PLYMOUTH COUNCIL.—The shrewd Pilgrim heard of the wonderful grant to the Plymouth Council and knew it embraced his Plymouth. He worked into the good graces of the Council through the influence of Gorges and got a sub-patent. This attempt of the great Council to portion its powers and lands again brought up the grave question in parliament of how far the king had made a fool of himself in parting with so much territory and power without parliamentary sanction. The Council, monopolists as they were called, and the king were pitted against the parliament and such level-headed lawyers as Sir Edward Coke, who wanted the power of the Council broken and a free opportunity given to colonize the rest of New England. The Council, forced partly to the wall, determined to make the best of a bad bargain by breaking up its immense domain. There was a scramble for corporation patents. Mason got a patent for the lands between the Salem river and the farthest head of the Merrimac (1621). Gorges and Mason took a patent for Laconia, the whole country between the sea, the St. Lawrence, the Merrimac and Kennebec, and the plantations on the Piscataqua, as well as the towns of Portsmouth and Dover came into being, say 1623. Mason got a second patent (1629) for the country between the Merrimac and Piscataqua, which was afterwards known as the New Hampshire patent, and so the business ran into interminable confusion and endless law-suits. The omnipotent Council of Plymouth was fast frittering away its lands, influence and prerogatives.

SECOND PURITAN ADVENT.—The Puritan at home chafed under the constraints of English law and the severities of the English church. Minister White, of Dorchester, though not a Separatist, would lead a colony of the faithful across the waters. Despite his puritanism, he formed a company, which bought of the expiring Plymouth Council a belt of land extend-



JOHN WINTHROP.



JOHN ENDICOTT.

ing from the Atlantic to the Pacific, and from three miles south of the river Charles and Massachusetts bay to three miles north of every part of the river Merrimac. This was a strong company in men, for it included such as Sir Henry Roswell, Sir John Young, Thomas Southcoat, John Humphrey, John Endicot, Simon Whetcomb, and afterwards Winthrop, Dudley, Johnson, Pynchon, Eaton, Saltonstall, and Bellingham, all names well known in colonial history. Endicot, the sternest kind of a Puritan, was selected to begin the work of establishing a plantation of "the best of their countrymen" on the shores of New England and in safe seclusion, where the corruptions of human superstition might never invade. Not trusting to this patent from the Council, for it was in contravention of half a dozen others, it was confirmed by a charter from Charles I., and "The Governor and Company of the Massachusetts Bay in New England" was on its feet. Its date is March 4, 1629. The king was evidently mad when he signed it. He had made up his mind to govern his foreign territory, or have it governed, as he pleased and without the aid of parliament. So, the provisions of the charter were not unlike those of Virginia, not a whit more liberal as to the rights of the emigrant, equally as hard and close as to the powers of the corporation, which had even the right to elect its own governors. As in Virginia, "the blessed boon of freedom" for the colonist, the right to local self-government, was to come about over the wreck of corporation codes and amid the ruin of original charter claims.

MASSACHUSETTS COLONY.—Under the auspices of this Company of Massachusetts Bay, the Puritans struck Salem, but Charlestown got a few of the new-comers, and so did the village of Boston, soon to become the capital. These Puritans came full of notions of a church wherein they might worship after their liking, and with no, or very narrow, notions of a political state. But they were shrewd and business-like. The thought of being under a company whose members resided at a distance was not pleasant. An original idea struck them. Why not pick the whole company up and carry it across the waters? It could execute the provisions of the charter better on the spot

than 3,000 miles away. That is just what was done, and in a twinkling it changed a commercial corporation into an independent provincial government. Governors, deputy governors, members of the company, and all interested became colonists—a happy Puritan band intent on their religion and church, but wide awake as to their political freedom and all local and material interests. They held in their own hands the key to their religious asylum, and unceremoniously locked the doors against all enemies to its harmony and safety. Winthrop, the aristocratic, pious, conforming, discreet Winthrop, came over as governor. The hard trials and disappointments of colonists, especially on a shore so bleak, passed, the community settled down to an “assembly of all the freemen of the colony,” at Boston. Their first effort was a sort of elective aristocracy. Their second, the next year, 1631, was a sort of commonwealth of the chosen people in covenant with God—a theocracy, if you please. No man was admitted to the freedom of the body politic unless he was a member of some of the Puritan churches. But in all things their government was representative. That was a great point. The colony was politic. It encouraged peaceful barter with the Indians. It sent messengers of peace to the Pilgrims, and to all former colonists. It traded with the Dutch on the Hudson. It invited and got large accessions of colonists from England, the very best men there, such as Cotton, and Hooker, teachers and thinkers at home, the fittest material for preachers, governors, and long-headed diplomatists abroad. When the ministers would hold too hard to the theocratic idea, the freemen inquired more deeply into their liberties and privileges, demanded annual elections, introduced the ballot-box, instead of the old-fashioned show of hands, got to be as noisy and self-assertive as the modern politician. With the exception of a limited suffrage, the democracy of Massachusetts was as perfect then as now. Unfortunately the suffrage was limited only to the faithful. Hence the split with Roger Williams and his expulsion as an heretical fellow who taught that “The civil magistrate should restrain crime, but never control opinion; should punish guilt, but never violate the freedom of the soul.”

This doctrine would blot out the felony if non-conformity, would repeal every law compelling attendance on public worship, would give protection to every form of religious faith, would make every freeman a voter whether Puritan or not, would, in a word, smash the whole Puritan fabric. And then he had committed other offense by writing an article in which he argued that an English patent could not invalidate the rights of the Indian to the soil. This was very like treason against the charter of the colony. The very wise Bradford thought Williams crazy. All in all, he had to go, this first person in Christendom to assert fully the doctrine of freedom of conscience, the equality of opinions before the law, and this defender of them even in advance of the immortal John Milton and Jeremy Taylor. And his going meant what?

THE BIRTH OF RHODE ISLAND.—Williams stopped at Seekonk, but that was within the Plymouth patent. He pushed on to a spot where patents would not interfere, and having found it he called it Providence (1636). A deed from Miantonomoh quieted his title as to the Indians. His government was a pure democracy. Williams gave all power and lands to the people, and they decided everything in their conventions. A magistracy, executive officers, governors, were things of an after time.

CONNECTICUT TAKES SHAPE.—The shrewd Puritan would head off the Dutch who were creeping toward the valley of the Connecticut. The soil was in the Earl of Warwick, as proprietary, under a grant from the Council of New England, or rather, in Lord Say and Seal, Lord Brobke and John Hampden, as his assigns. But before they could colonize it the people of New Plymouth had built a trading-house at Windsor, and soon had settlements at Hartford, Windsor and Wethersfield. To the Puritans the valley of the Connecticut was indeed a new Hesperia. Thither they marched in no limited numbers under the lead of such as Hooker and others—emigrants from the most valued citizens, the earliest settlers, and oldest churches of Massachusetts Bay. The bloodthirsty Pequods could not intimidate them nor stay their westward march, but went down before it even to

the last of their tribe. The Puritan was a soldier as well as preacher. At New Haven, too, an independent Puritan colony sprang up with Davenport as pastor and Theophilus Eaton as governor, for twenty years (1638), with no statute-book but the Bible, and no freemen but the elect.

UNITED COLONIES.—Passing the long legal fight between the old Plymouth Council and the Company of Massachusetts Bay, which brought Puritanism under the suspicion of aiming more at a distinct political sovereignty than at simply a church of its own, the time had come for closer co-operation among the New England colonists. At least this was the Massachusetts thought, though it was doubtless suggested as much by her desire to extend her power and influence as anything else. The first move was on New Hampshire, which we have seen had existence under the Mason grants. She readily accepted the jurisdiction of the stronger colony, not doubting that a strict construction of her charter gave Massachusetts a valid claim on her territory, and wishing to avoid the disputes which were sure to follow refusal. The Pequod wars, and fears of the Dutch on the south, made it the policy of the Connecticut and New Haven governments to seek terms of union.

The Indian tribes of Narragansett wanted the protection of Massachusetts, so they granted to her their Rhode Island. But Williams, who had gone to England to get a charter, returned with it (1644) in time to save his little state from absorption. Down in Maine, Rigby, purchaser of the Lygonia patent, and the assigns of Gorges, were in bitter legal warfare about their right to own and govern. They agreed to refer their disputes to Massachusetts as umpire. The shrewd umpire decided that neither party was right, and told them to go home and live at peace. This was impossible, and the umpire knew it, but it knew also that the plum, not yet ripe enough for the plucking, would be as soon as the disputes had impoverished both parties. An appeal was had to England, but she took no stock in the controversy. Then Massachusetts offered mediation. The role of King Stork was repeated. Unfolding her own charter and pointing to its date, which was prior to that in the patents of either

of the disputants, and pointing again to her boundary line, three miles north of any point on the Merrimac, she politely informed the Maine folks that they had all along been shearing goats, and that the territory was hers at any rate, which claim she made good. Thus did Massachusetts extend her territory to Casco Bay, and there was such a thing as the "United Colonies of New England."*

A GENERAL ADVANCE.—All this colonial growth and consolidation made free local legislation more desirable, and the interference of parliament more intolerable. The principle was echoed from Virginia to the Kennebec, that the colonies were entitled to their own parliaments and legislatures. Royalty was pitifully situated, for kings did not wish to go back on their grants and their claim to give their soil to whom they pleased, to be governed as they prescribed. This was the three-sided fight, now fully on, and not to be determined till the American Revolution settled it. During the time of Cromwell (1648–1659) the northern colonies, being republican in spirit, gained a more solid footing, and made great progress. As the issue of Puritanism was popular sovereignty, Cromwell was pleased with the New England situation. "He that prays best will fight best," was his judgment, and he did not doubt the ability of the Puritan to take care of himself, without a king at the helm in England.

FREAKS OF CHARLES II.—The restoration of royalty in England (1660) was a period of apprehension in Colonial America. King Charles II. (1660–1685) had no respect for acquired rights on this side the Atlantic, and none for the acts of his royal predecessors. He would be original or nothing, would tear everything to pieces in order to enjoy confusion or the pleasure of reconstruction. His freaks in upsetting old colonial lines and titles astonished the world. Fortunately their very

* "The first conception of an American union entertained by the founders of New England was to join in political bonds only those colonies in which the people were of a similar way of thinking in theology, when, in the spirit of a theocracy, they aimed to form a Christian state in the bosom of the church. This was embodied in the New England Confederacy (1643–1684). Its basis was not broad enough to embrace the whole of this territory, or sufficiently just to include all its population."—*Frothingham's Rise of the Republic*.



OLIVER CROMWELL.

wildness defeated their aim in many instances, and averted the confusion which would otherwise have attended the king's folly. In other instances, some of the colonies got what they had never been able to get.

Winthrop got a splendid charter—in utter disregard of all former grants—for Connecticut (1662), which embraced both the Hartford and New Haven colonies, and extended from the Narragansett River to the Pacific Ocean, and the beauty of it was, it gave to the colonists unqualified power to govern themselves. Unwittingly, the king and Clarendon had set up a democracy where they only intended to create a close corporation.

Rhode Island was favored with a new charter (1663) almost as liberal as the old. The little State could now defy Massachusetts, who had denied her right to separate existence.

For Maryland the restoration meant the restoration of its proprietary to all his charter rights and privileges.

Virginia, through the faithless Sir William Berkley, was dismembered by lavish grants to the king's courtiers.

New Hampshire and Maine were metamorphosed, by reviving old proprietary rights therein, with a view of selling them to the Duke of Monmouth.

The country from Connecticut River to Delaware Bay was (1664), in spite of the Dutch possessions and the charter just given to Winthrop, granted to the Duke of York; so was part of Maine. Acadia was given back to France.

Thus there was disturbance all along the coast-line, and the ingenuity of the young governments was taxed to the uttermost to bring order out of confusion, and save their identities, where it was at all possible.

Massachusetts wanted her charter confirmed by the new king. A new one was granted which was not satisfactory, and the Puritans got so stiff about it as to throw them open to the suspicion of wishing to set up an independent nation. Had Clarendon, the king's prime minister, lived, there is no telling what the hostility of the throne to the attitude the Puritan was forced to assume would have led to. There must have been war, disastrous to the colonists, for they never talked bolder, though their

strength was not equal to independence as yet. Clarendon gone, the king and parliament had enough on their hands for a time with home affairs, and during this happy neglect the colonists had opportunity to test their coherence and fighting qualities by defending themselves against that grand old Indian chieftain King Philip (1676).

SMASHING AND PATCHING.—When Charles was about to turn his theft of Maine and New Hampshire over to the worthless Duke of Monmouth, Massachusetts got possession of the Gorges claims, paying \$6,000 therefor, and thus threw another obstacle in the king's way. After this, Maine was given a separate government and ruled as a province of Massachusetts (1680).^{*} New Hampshire was not so easily quieted. The Mason claim proved worthless. Therefore Massachusetts lost her hold, and New Hampshire was organized into a royal province, July 24, 1679, the first ever established in New England. It was a terrible experiment. The king's governor, Cranfield, would rule in accordance with English law and custom, and the colonists would have their local legislature. The contention went on till Cranfield withdrew in despair from those "unreasonable people" (1684).

Meanwhile the stiff-necked Puritans of Massachusetts had renewed their battle for sovereignty. The king attacked their charter. It must go, and go it did June 18, 1684. There was now no bar between the colony and the will of the English sovereign. Was property secure? Was religion in danger? The outlook was gloomy in the extreme.

DAWN OF NORTH CAROLINA.—Turn from the cold, sterile North to the sunny, fertile South, and to that part of it over which De Soto roamed at will, in which Coligny failed to plant his Huguenots, and Raleigh to carry out his designs. Here the freakish King Charles II. had enriched courtiers, like Clarendon, Monk, Lord Craven, Lord Ashley Cooper, Lord John Berkley, his brother, Sir William Berkley, Governor of

^{*} There were three titles in Maine at this time. (1) French, from the St. Croix to the Penobscot. (2) The Duke of York's, between the Penobscot and the Kennebec. (3) Massachusetts', between the Kennebec and Piscataqua.

Virginia, and Sir George Cartaret, by giving them, as proprietaries, the Carolina country. It was not now (1660) entirely unpeopled. There were Puritans all around Cape Fear and Virginians in Southern Virginia at Albemarle Sound, that is to say, in North Carolina; and it was to these Albemarle folks that Berkley (of Virginia) sent William Drummond, a Scotch Presbyterian, as governor, with authority to institute a government which should include "an Assembly of the people and guarantee liberty of conscience." This foothold was not enough for Clarendon and his associates, who dreamed of greater wealth and power in this goodly country. A new charter was obtained which, in defiance of both Spain and Virginia, granted all the land between the Atlantic and Pacific, and between 29° and $36^{\circ} 30'$ N. lat.; that is, all North and South Carolina, Georgia, Tennessee, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, Arkansas, much of Florida and Missouri, nearly all of Texas and a portion of Mexico. In this boundless domain—an empire was evidently intended—every favor was extended to the proprietaries. To Ashley Cooper, Earl of Shaftsbury, was entrusted the work of framing a constitution. He was an aristocrat, a skeptic and a scholar, and he and Locke, the philosopher, put their heads together. The result was that stupendous Carolina constitution which has ever since been a wonder to theorists and an object of praise or derision by statesmen. It created a nobility, befriended the slave system, limited the elective franchise to freeholders of fifty acres, partitioned the land into counties, one-fifth for the proprietaries, one-fifth for the nobility, three-fifths for the people, beyond whose reach lay the executive, the judicial and even the legislative power. The Church of England was to be the national religion, though other religions were not proscribed. This constitution was signed March, 1670, and was heralded as "without compare." A splendid scheme for landgraves and lords of manors, for courts of heraldry and admiralty, but ludicrously inflated and inappropriate for a few planters and traders in Carolina cabins! The fact is, the Virginia planter, the Puritan trader, the Quaker exile, went about their own legislation and governing, very much as if they had never heard of the proprie-

taries and their magnificent scheme of empire, and the foundations of free local institutions were so deeply laid among them by the time (1681-1688) Sothel came over to administer the government of the proprietaries that, after a squabble of five or six years, they condemned him to a twelvemonth exile, and went peacefully on with their own affairs. Thus North Carolina came, not rapidly, to be sure, for there was no fixed minister till 1703, no church till 1705, no printing press till 1754, but modestly and quietly, as well she might, for her people were mostly the colonists of other colonies, who, tired of restraints, sought serene, unanxious life amid the granges of a southern clime.

SOUTH CAROLINA.—So loudly had the coming of the Model Carolina Constitution (Shaftsbury's and Locke's) been proclaimed, and so much the soil and climate of Carolina been praised as the "beauty and envy of North America," that even before the former was signed, Joseph West, as agent and governor for the proprietaries, and William Sayle, as clerical leader, started with a number of emigrants (1670) for the spot (Beaufort) where the early Huguenots had engraved the lilies of France and erected the first Carolina fortress. But sailing into Ashley River, they stopped at the "first high land,"* and there started the government of South Carolina, the people electing their own legislature and claiming the privileges of full sovereignty. It wasn't in accordance with the "Model Constitution," but it was popular, and when the "Model" came, it was resisted (1672). Still the proprietaries sent over colonists, dissenters as well as churchmen. Already (1671) Sir John Yeamans had arrived from Barbadoes with African slaves.† Dutch emigrants came from New York. An Irish colony came under Ferguson. Even Scotchmen settled at Port Royal, only to be assaulted and scattered by the Spanish. But the most remarkable thing in the history of colonial South Carolina is the fact that what Provi-

* This spot is now a plantation. Not having any commercial advantages, it was soon overshadowed by Charleston and finally abandoned.

† Thus slavery in South Carolina was coeval with the first plantations on Ashley River. It was the only one of the original thirteen States that from its cradle was essentially a planting State with slave labor.

dence postponed for Coligny and Raleigh was, a hundred years later, to come about, and that through a persecution * which added greatly to the intelligence, moral worth and ultimate freedom of the American colonies, and for Europe hastened the revolution in the institutions of the age. Escaping from a land where their religion was a crime, their estates liable to be confiscated, their children hardly their own, and their lives never safe, Huguenot fugitives from Languedoc, Rochelle, Bordeaux, Poitiers, and the beautiful valley of Tours, men of Puritan hardihood and zeal, but without superstition or fanaticism, came to Charleston and to the Santee. Out of such material did South Carolina spring. It was a pretty southern picture of unity in variety, for all were agreed to rule themselves, and resistance to the proprietaries and their visionary code continued till the English revolution of 1688, when a meeting of the representatives of South Carolina disfranchised Collton, the proprietary governor, and banished him from the province.

THE DUTCH REALM.—The Dutch, splendid sailors, fond of trade, loving land and settlement, were abroad in the West Atlantic waters as soon as any nation. Henry Hudson's voyage (1606–1609) to Newfoundland, to Cape Cod, to the Chesapeake, to the Delaware, thence up the Hudson, his trading-post at Manhattan (New York), his claim, by right of discovery, to all the country from Cape Cod to the mouth of the Delaware, with no westward limit, as "The New Netherlands," make a story full of spirit and novelty. Had not his love of trade been so much greater than his love of acres and his tread not been more firm on the decks of his ships than on dry land, the Dutchman might have pushed his magnificent frontage of four hundred miles clear through to the Pacific. He was industrious, plodding, moral, brave, liberty-loving, in fact an excellent colonist, yet his early settlements were only trading-posts. Such was New York in 1623, and Lewistown, on the Delaware, in 1631. In his attempt to push into the valley of the Connecticut he was absorbed by the Puritan. Then, in Delaware Bay, he was forced

* The revocation of the edict of Nantes, October 22, 1685, and the slaughter of the Huguenots in France.

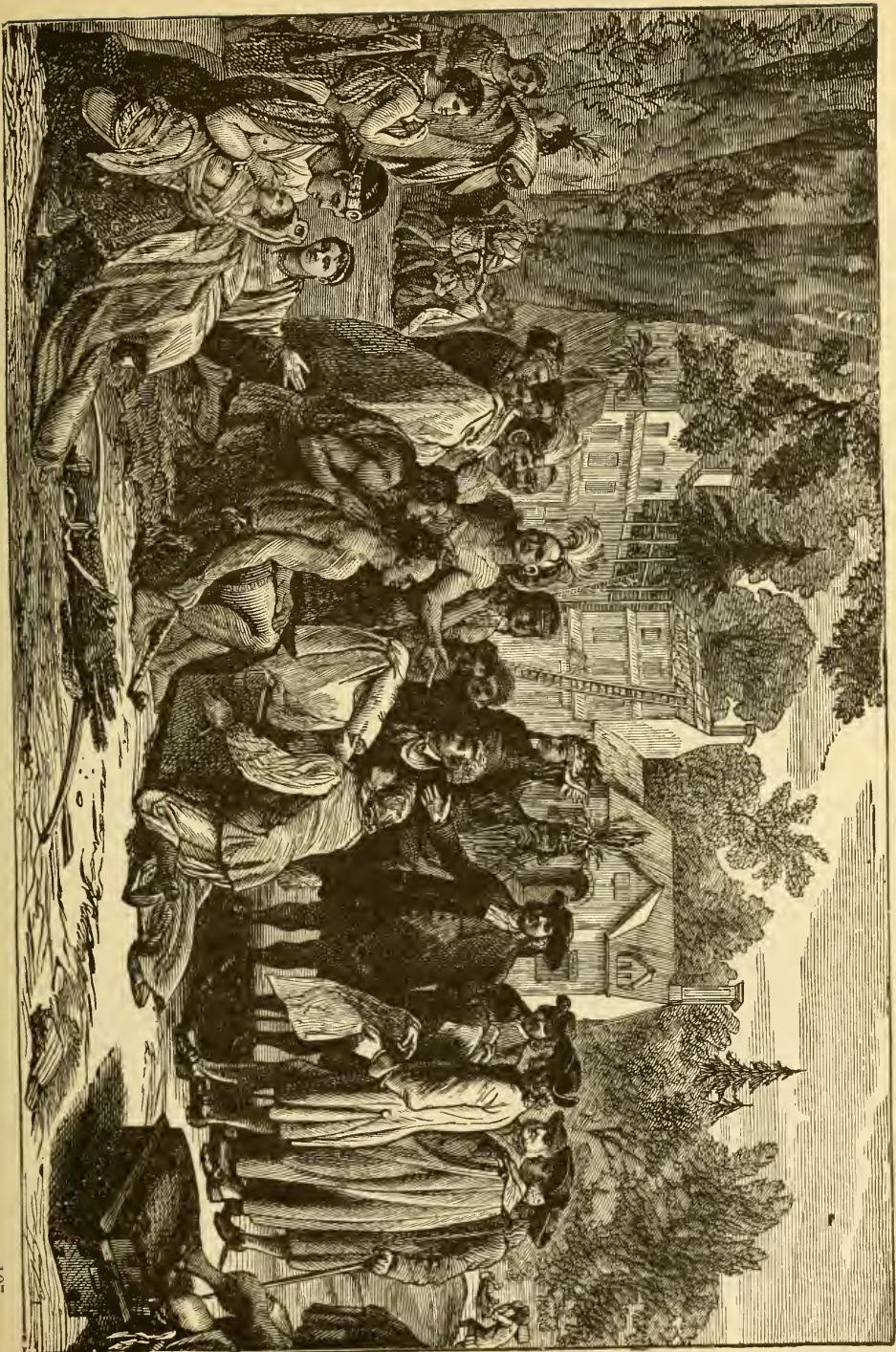


GUSTAVUS I. OF SWEDEN.

to meet the Swede, who came along with his liberal Christian scheme, prepared under the auspices of Gustavus Adolphus himself, who was backed by all Germany.

SWEDISH ADVENT.—Without charter, or patent, or grant of any kind, but relying on such title as purchase from the Indian might give when backed by actual settlement, the Swede sailed into the Delaware (1638), built a fort at Christiana Creek, and colonized Delaware anew. Then pushing to Upland, Tinicum, and even to the Falls of the Delaware (Trenton), he claimed by actual settlement parts of the three States of Delaware, New Jersey and Pennsylvania as New Sweden. The Swede's peaceful Indian policy, his quiet religious zeal, the beauty and balminess of his new possessions, the feeling of protection that the fame of his arms in Europe engendered, made New Sweden a desirable home for colonists. But his presence was a bold break into the New Netherland country. The Dutch remonstrated, but feared, for Gustavus was a famous fighter. Still they could not bear the loss of their trade which occupancy of both banks of so important a stream as the Delaware, by the Swedes, threatened. Resorting to a shrewd trick, they built a fort at Newcastle, below the Swedish settlement, and thus hemmed the interloping Scandinavian in. In a thoughtless hour the Swedish governor attacked this fort and drove the Dutch out. Stuyvesant, the Dutch governor, sent around a fleet from Manhattan (New York), which swept the Delaware of every Swedish stronghold (1635). But if his New Sweden was thus summarily wiped out, the Swede himself stayed; his impress is still visible in all the land he possessed; it was his Indian policy that Penn adopted; his history is loved and honored; he was entirely too good a man to drive away, and so became a factor, direct or indirect, in whatever appertained to after Delaware settlement.

NEW JERSEY TAKES FORM.—The Dutch were prouder than ever of their great realm, the restored New Netherlands. But there was a sad day ahead. Cromwell would strike Holland through her most prosperous colony. His plan of humiliation was never fully carried out, but it was remembered by Charles II. This monarch gave the country from the Connecti-



PENN'S TREATY WITH THE INDIANS.

cut to the Delaware to the Duke of York, and then proceeded to expel the Dutch from a domain he contemptuously called his own. Stuyvesant yielded in the face of superior force (September, 1664). In October, 1664, the Dutch and Swedes on the Delaware capitulated, and for the first time the whole Atlantic coast of the old thirteen States was in possession of England. The New Netherlands were speedily dismembered. Two months before their fall, and in anticipation of that event, the Duke of York assigned to Berkley and Sir George Cartaret, both proprietaries of Carolina, the land between the Hudson and the Delaware (June 23, 1664). This became New Jersey, already peopled by Puritans, Quakers, Swedes and Scotch dissenters. Cartaret became governor, and he gave the colony a liberal form of government.

THE QUAKER COMES.—All sects were finding an asylum in America, why should not the peaceful, pious, liberty-loving Quaker? His experiment was now ripe for trial. The son of a Leicestershire weaver and the apprentice of a Nottingham shoemaker, George Fox, had questioned his life, till the revelation came that truth is only to be sought by listening to the voice of God in the soul. Creeds and superstitions and idle forms of men were vanities. The Spirit was the true monitor. This was freedom in the abstract. Monarchy, hierarchy, code, every outward, hampering, trammelling thing, must go down before it. The Quaker rise was remarkable and memorable. It was intellectual freedom bursting out amid the masses, the old philosophy of the Portico playing its part among the people. Quakerism, as developed by Barclay and Penn, became intellectual freedom, the supremacy of mind, universal enfranchisement. Its reality was the Inner Light. As old as humanity, it embraced humanity. The first distinctive Quaker settlement was in West New Jersey at Salem, 1675, on a moiety of his province bought of Berkley. In this purchase Penn became interested. But the Quaker wanted more. Even the purchase of East New Jersey of the heirs of Cartaret was not enough. A grant must be had west of the Delaware. For this Penn became a suitor in 1680. England owed his father £16,000 for signal service in



FIRST SETTLEMENT OF NEW YORK.

naval warfare against the Dutch. Grant of a province was an easy way to cancel the debt. In favor with the Duke of York, he obtained from Charles II., Pennsylvania, which was included within three degrees of latitude and five of longitude, west of the Delaware. The Duke of York retained the three lower counties; that is, the State of Delaware, as an appendage to his New York possessions. Penn launched his experiment in 1682, at Philadelphia. His form of government was liberal. No colonist complained of power withheld or right endangered. His scheme is thus epitomized in his own language: "It is the great end of government to support power in reverence with the people, and to secure the people from the abuse of power; for liberty without obedience is confusion, and obedience without liberty is slavery." His policy with the Indian was that of the Swede, who had preceded him. The native was dealt with as a man. His lands were bought, not stolen. Respect for native titles secured firmness for the titles of the colonists.* The experiment was a success from the start. The Quaker asylum on the Delaware was thronged by Welsh, and Irish and Scotch, as well as English. The Low Countries and all Germany sent their grand contingent of inoffensive, religious, land-getting, forest-reducing yeomanry. No American colony moved off under such auspices nor with so firm a tread. The Pennsylvania which was in Virginia, in the New Netherlands, in the new Sweden, in the grant to the Duke of York, and as Lord Baltimore claimed partly in Maryland (hence the dispute which ended in the celebrated Mason and Dixon line) took a title which remained unmolested by royalty, and a territorial shape which corresponds with that of to-day, except the small triangle on Lake Erie, which was afterwards added.

DAWN OF NEW YORK.—New York, like New Jersey, Delaware and Pennsylvania, came into existence by the partition of the New Netherlands. When the Dutch authority passed to England (1664), the soil of the New Netherlands passed to the

* We are sorry, for the sake of sentiment, not to be able to draw the usual picture of Penn's treaty with the Indians. It is not historic, but a pretty piece of imagination, due perhaps to West's painting of Penn, the Indians and the treaty tree. Penn's treaty was simply Penn's policy.



PETER STUYVESANT.

Duke of York. We have seen how he disposed of New Jersey, how he withdrew his right in order to let Penn have a clear title to Pennsylvania, how he reserved Delaware, and now his claim to New York remained. It was not the New York of to-day, but Vermont also, and a vague boundary to the west of the Massachusetts Colony. Nor had the Duke of York to plant a colony. It was already planted—a hardy Dutch colony, wealthy, populous, prosperous. He had but to frame a new government in a concessory spirit, and rule, through governors, an empire of strangers. But do his best, things went crooked. The republican spirit was abroad there as well as elsewhere. The local assembly became as clamorous for popular rights as that of any other colony. To deny a colonial parliament and the freeman's voice was to deprive the colonists of the rights of Englishmen. At last, October, 1683, seventy years after Manhattan was first occupied, nineteen years after the territory passed to the English, the representatives of the people met in assembly, and their self-established "Charter of Liberties" gave New York a place in the colonial brotherhood of the Atlantic. Dutchman and Englishman agreed to a bond of government whose gist was "supreme legislation in governor, council and people, in general assembly met, franchise in freemen without qualification, trial by jury of peers, taxation only by consent of assembly, no martial law, free religion." A vast advance on Puritanism and on the State Churchism of Virginia. A last desperate effort was made by the Duke of York to hold defiant control of his domains and exercise arbitrary power, by a scheme to consolidate the colonies of the northeast into an empire. This attempt led to a general upsetting of boundaries and great uncertainty of titles, but the colonists were so securely nestled in their seats that few if any settlements lost their jurisdiction or identity.

INDEPENDENT DELAWARE.—The three lower counties which the Duke of York reserved as an appendage to his New York domain, when the charter of Pennsylvania was given to Penn, never became a part of New York, in fact. They were permitted to be ruled by the same council that was elected to rule Pennsylvania, all the people voting. But the Pennsylvania



WILLIAM PENN.



EXPLORERS AND FIRST SETTLERS.

strength largely preponderated in this council and its control grew irksome. So the lower counties withdrew, with the consent of Penn, and were incorporated into a separate government under Governor Markam. Thus did Delaware secure a separate existence (1691). It was the act of her own citizens. But one thing must be observed. The Stuart dynasty had fallen in England, and the revolution of 1688 had been completed by the induction of Protestant William and Mary. There was a new order of things beyond the water; there was to be here. Distinctive Delaware was not a Stuart creation, as were all the colonies before it. It therefore had no great change to contemplate, no radical innovation to fear. It would go on smoothly, toward that destiny which awaited all the colonies, when the hour of Independence came.

COLONY OF GEORGIA.—Like Delaware, Georgia was not to be a colony of the Stuarts. Every colony thus far had its motive for existence, moral, commercial or otherwise—Carolina for the Huguenot, Virginia for the Cavalier, Maryland for the Catholic, Pennsylvania, New Jersey and Delaware for the Quaker, New York and Connecticut for the commercial Dutchman and Puritan, Rhode Island for the Independent, Massachusetts and the Northeast for the Puritan. Georgia was to be dedicated to the cause of oppressed poverty in the old world. England and Spain had long been clashing about the Florida and Carolina boundary. England determined to settle the proud claim of Spain to a limitless Florida; in other words she determined to push her Carolina border as far down as she could, and thus open the magnificent area of the Savannah. Oglethorpe, the Penn of the South, a member of parliament, knew of it. He had long been impressed with the hardships of the British debtor laws; had seen thousands of really good but unfortunate men thrown into prison, lose their all, and their caste too, by means of them; had devised a plan of giving them a home in the new world, far from the scenes of their misery and disgrace, and where industry and freedom would enable them to recover manhood and fortune. To further this end George II. granted him a charter (June 9, 1732) for the country

between the Savannah and Altamaha, and from the head springs of those rivers west to the Pacific. It was the province of Georgia (after the donor) and was placed for twenty-one years under the guardianship of a corporation "in trust for the poor." With 120 emigrants, Oglethorpe planted his ensign on the "high bluff" where Savannah now stands. His enterprise had been undertaken with the best wishes of benevolent England. It was welcomed by the natives of every neighboring tribe. Under the happiest auspices Oglethorpe began the Commonwealth of Georgia, "a place of refuge for the distressed people of Britain and the persecuted Protestants of Europe." And it was truly a refuge (but not for Catholics), for there came numbers from England, from other colonies, and many Moravians from the continent of Europe. Augusta was laid out, 1734. Oglethorpe's government was somewhat crude, but it proved yielding and the colonists soon enlarged it to suit themselves. While it proscribed Catholics, it prohibited slavery. The fame of this youngest colony was much spread by Oglethorpe, who returned to England after a residence here of fifteen months. Scotch mountaineers came and pitched at New Inverness. Oglethorpe himself returned with large Moravian reinforcements. The enthusiasm of religion was abroad in the new country, and the colonists did not fear death. They were therefore brave to shove the Spanish back and make for England a southern border. Pushing to the St. John's and claiming it as the line, they planted Fort St. George, as the defence of the British frontier. At this Spain rallied. Negotiations ensued, and St. Mary's became the southern boundary of Oglethorpe's colony. But war soon followed, for England was not satisfied with the Spanish presence in Florida at all, neither was Spain satisfied with the Protestant menace which now hugged so closely her northern border. Oglethorpe valiantly defended his colony, drove off the Spaniards, and the "pious experiment" was on a substantial footing. The transition of power from the corporation of Georgia, at the expiration of its twenty-one years, to the people was easy, and sovereignty was as free and fully representative as in any colony.

REVOLUTION OF 1688.—One thing at least is clear in this sketch of colonial creations. The king ever denied the right of the English parliament to interfere with his power to grant lands and to ordain governments for them. The Stuarts clung to this principle with Spartan tenacity.

Another thing is equally clear. The colonies, accepting the Stuart doctrine, always claimed exemption from the laws of the British parliament. But in doing so they did not thereby fall back entirely under the legislation prescribed by the king. Colonists claimed the rights of Englishmen. Among those rights was that to a parliament or assembly. Local legislation was theirs by their birthright as Englishmen. Sovereignty meant the same thing here as at home. This at first, and afterwards vastly more, for the colonists had come here because their voice was not large enough at home, nor their rights as freemen broad enough. Here the word freeman meant vastly more than at home. The American assembly was therefore more clearly representative, more popular, more directly responsible. All freemen were in general eligible to it. There were no titles, no estates, nothing to hamper full, free representation. The republican or democratic spirit which had been undermining the Stuart dynasty at home and shaking monarchical institutions to their centres, here found that expression denied it at home. It here won a victory which the king withheld from his own parliament. But the time had come in England when Englishmen must speak more firmly through their parliament. It too must be made stronger against royal claims; in other words must become more truly representative of the wishes of the people. The Stuart who would further defy public opinion, who would blindly arrogate legislative power, who would refuse to move with the age and in obedience to overwhelming sentiment, must abdicate. This was the revolution of 1688. For the glory of England they passed from the throne, leaving as their monuments in America a tier of Atlantic colonies which owed their titles and limits to royal charters, but which in liberty and enlightenment were an hundred years in advance of the last representative of the line.

They were gone. The tide of liberty had rolled so high, even in England, as to engulf them. The people had assumed to sit in judgment on divinely appointed royalty. The old idea of a Christian monarchy resting on the law of God was exploded, and political power was to seek its origin in compact. Nothing was to bind freemen to obey government save their own solemn agreement. Power for the Stuart was a right. Power henceforth was to be a trust, whose violation dissolved the obligation to allegiance. Supreme power was to be in the legislature, which was the true embodiment of the sovereignty of the people. In 1688 England had gotten as far on as Massachusetts in 1620, or, for that matter, as any of the colonies at the date of their foundation. Yet not so far, for the parliament that arose to the full height of English sentiment in expelling the Stuarts and assuming to act as the guardian of power for the people, too boldly stood in the king's shoes. It was well enough at home, but when it claimed the right to legislate for the colonies, it was doing far more than smiting a dead Stuart; it was doing, now that there was no Stuart to interpose his despotic veto, that which would arouse in America a sentiment of opposition full of remonstrance at first, full of revolution at last. The parliament's fight was always with the king; now it would be direct with the colonies. Thus, by a strange conjuncture of affairs, the very dynasty which had all along stood in the way of English progress and reform, had been not only the protection of the colonies, but the chief contributor to the triumph of the republican spirit within them and to their ultimate independence.

But as yet the consequences of the change in dynasty could not be foreseen. Even if some prophetic soul could have taken in the next century as far down as to 1776 or 1783, and proclaimed what it saw in tones sufficiently loud to have been heard by every colonist, the rejoicing over the accession of William III. and Mary would not have been less spontaneous and emphatic. Charters which existed had been overlapped and confused beyond comprehension. Charters which covered heady and opposing colonies had been unceremoniously and ruthlessly cancelled.

Many colonies had fought the battles of the new American institution and civilization against the king's claim of legislative interference, to the very verge of despair and surrender. But above all the new dynasty was confirmedly Protestant, and in that respect representative of a great majority sentiment at home and in the colonies. A source of fresh colonial inspiration, it began by rejecting the old order of things. Cancelled charters were restored. New governors were commissioned. There was jostling here and shaking up there, but in general the liberties of the people became more securely imbedded in well-understood forms of law. Prosperity was not retarded, nor faith in colonial experiment weakened. The grand result was a rebound of strength and confidence, and a new departure in colonial spirit and enterprise. Only on one side was the sky dark, and there hovered the cloud of the rejuvenated English parliament. The seeds of the American revolution had ever been in its claim of a right to legislate for the colonies. Now the seeds were bursting through the ground, for parliament was already legislating on American commerce; they would grow and bear bloody fruit when the avowal came that the right existed to legislate for them in all cases whatsoever.

STATE OUTLINES.—We have now taken a hasty view of English titles to the territory on the Atlantic coast. We have followed the divisions of that territory among the colonies, and seen how each colony got metes and bounds. Further, we have endeavored to give a reason for the existence of each colony, its underlying and actuating motive for colonization, the class of mind that took part in the work of pioneering, the shape their new institutions took almost from the start; and especially have we tried to impress on the reader a knowledge of the active political spirit, the love of freedom, the desire for unfettered personal sovereignty, the rapid growth of the democratic idea and republican institutions, in the new land, all in spite of firm attachment to monarchy, and because the men, the time, the country, made other results impossible.

One can already see in these beginnings the dawn of the full state institution. The spirit which permeated each colony at

the time of the English revolution of 1688 did not change, except as it grew larger, freer, bolder, till the colonial yoke was broken.* And so one can see in the confused and overlapping boundaries of these colonies the dim territorial outlines of the thirteen original States. Indeed some, as Delaware, Maryland, Rhode Island, never afterwards shifted their colonial limits. With others, time brought about many geographic changes, and settled grave questions of boundary which arose chiefly from the fact that their charters and grants were either open at the western end, or extended clear through to the Pacific. The names of the colonies became the names of the respective States both under the articles of confederation and the present federal constitution.

FRENCH EMPIRE.—Though the Dutch, the Swedes, and the French had passed from the Atlantic front of the present United States, the latter were still the proud claimants of vast and fertile areas North, West, and South. French adventure in America was a strange admixture of commercial and religious zeal. A single person was often priest, trader, and colonist. As already seen, the French advent was early. Years before the Pilgrims anchored at Cape Cod, French missionaries had planted a Roman Church in eastern Maine (1615), and Le Caron, subsisting by alms from the natives, had, on foot and in canoe, pushed his way to the rivers of Lake Huron (1616). The grant of New France to Richelieu, Champlain, Razilly and the hundred associates, by Louis XIII. (1627), embraced the St. Lawrence basin, and that of all rivers running into the sea (hence the French claim to Maine and New York), and also all the country

* "Even if the colonists disclaimed any present passion for independence, they were, in the inherent opposition between their principles and the English system, as ripe for governing themselves in 1689 as in 1776."—*Bancroft*, vol. iii., 109.

"The independency the colonies thirst after is notorious."—*British Lords of Trade*, in 1701.

"Commonwealth notions improve daily, and if it be not checked in time the rights and privileges of English subjects will be thought too narrow."—*Quarry*, writing in 1703.

"The colonists will in time cast off their allegiance and set up a government of their own."—*Print*, of 1705.

south of Virginia and north of Spanish Florida (perhaps even all Florida).* To the West all was open, and to the Jesuit was entrusted the work of enlarging the French Dominion. Champlain held and peopled the line of the St. Lawrence. Brebeuf and Daniel pierced the Huron possessions, chanting their Te Deums among the pines and bringing the tawny natives to see the light. Quebec and Montreal got to be important towns, and the great lake water-ways became familiar. Frenchmen stood looking into the land of the Sioux, the great valley of the Mississippi, five years before Eliot addressed the Indian in the vicinity of Boston. Marquette established the Mission of St. Mary, at the outlet of Lake Superior, in 1668. It was the oldest settlement by Europeans within the present State of Michigan, but was not permanent. He projected the discovery of the true Mississippi, and designed to plant the banners of France on the Pacific or by the side of Spain, on the Gulf of Mexico. With Joliet for a companion, they ascend the Fox River, cross to the Wisconsin, and in two birch-bark canoes "happily float down the great river" between the wide plains of Illinois and Iowa, to Des Moines, then past the great Missouri, the Ohio (then called Wabash), and on to the Akansea (Arkansas). There they found that the Father of Rivers went, not into the ocean east of Florida, nor yet into the Gulf of California. Returning, they ascended the Illinois, passed up through Chicago to Lake Michigan (Lake of the Illinois), and on to the Green Bay Settlement (1673).

La Salle took up the wondrous tale and added one of its most brilliant chapters. His towns mark his trail. Leaving Niagara in 1679, he was at the site of Detroit,† Mackinaw, up the St.

* This New France of the South was the portion Coligny designed to settle with Huguenots, and after him Raleigh. It passed naturally from France to England, because both countries were anxious to see Raleigh redeem Coligny's failure, and to have a Protestant barrier set up against Spain's Catholic Florida.

† Detroit was permanently settled by De la Motte Cadillac, with one hundred Frenchmen, in June, 1701. It is the oldest permanent settlement in Michigan. Michigan, therefore, has a history back of Georgia, and is the oldest of the Western States with, perhaps, the exception of Illinois. We say *perhaps*, because the claim is made that Kaskaskia (Ill.) was the oldest permanent European settlement in the valley of the Mississippi. It was founded by Father Gravier, as a Jesuit Mission,

Joseph, and over at Kankakee. While Hennepin took in the upper Mississippi, perhaps to its source, La Salle studied the valleys of the Ohio, Illinois and Tennessee, and in 1682 descended the Mississippi to its mouth, realizing Marquette's dream of planting the arms of France on the Gulf. It was named Louisiana, in honor of Louis XIV., and "the terrestrial paradise of America," "the delight of the New World." By 1685 a colony came for Louisiana, but striking Matagorda Bay, it stopped there, and made Texas a part of the French Empire in America. By no treaty or document did France ever relinquish her hold on Texas except by the general cessions of Louisiana.

For years France clung tenaciously to her magnificent American possessions, the richest, best watered, most boundless, owned by any foreign nation. Though an active and indefatigable colonist, her institutions were too far behind the age, too much infused with Romanism, too feudal in character, to find high or permanent development in the new soil. By 1706 her title to the New France of the South, between Virginia (really the Carolinas) and Florida, had been wholly merged in that of England. In 1713, Acadia (Nova Scotia and part of Maine) was ceded to the English. It "was the most important part" of the New France of the North. There was a general withdrawal of all French claims to the line of Lake Champlain, and to the settlements in New York. But by 1721 they were back at Niagara, and stout claimants for, as well as actual occupants of, their St. Lawrence possessions.

Their Louisiana, which had not been affected by the peace of Utrecht (1713), was a wonderful country. Blending with New France on the line of the lakes, and cut off nowhere in the north except by the possessions of the Hudson Bay Company in the extreme northwest, it ran to the gulf at Mobile, swept the gulf line to the mouth of the Rio Grande, then up to the Red River ridges, then west to the Gulf of California. These were ideal

but the date is not known exactly. He was in Illinois in 1693, and probably his mission was then founded. The fact that Kaskaskia got to be an important missionary centre may have helped to give it rank as the oldest permanent settlement of the West.

bounds, but such as France was willing to maintain against both England and Spain. Not a fountain flowed west of the sources of the Allegheny, Monongahela, Kanawha or Tennessee which did not rise in French soil. What a menace to the British colonies! What a barrier to westward advancement! Such could not long be. By the tripartite treaty of February 16, 1763, between England, France and Spain, France ceded to England all Canada and all of her Louisiana east of the Mississippi and as far south as the Iberville River, thence eastward to the sea. This left her only a small strip along the gulf, east of the Mississippi, and her immense domains west of that river. But only for a moment. On the same day all that was left of Louisiana on the continent was ceded to Spain. France was virtually out of the country. It had been a war (the Seven Years' War) for new territorial adjustment, both in Europe and America, and even in view of the results on this continent alone, well may George III. have said: "England never signed such a peace before, nor, I believe, any other power in Europe."

RESULTS OF FRENCH LOSS.—Moreover, it had been a war largely fought on American soil. Never before had the forests of the New World reverberated the steady tramp of so many armed and disciplined men. At Lake George alone there assembled an army of 15,000 from New York, New Jersey and New England for the grand assault on Canada. To the south the forces of Virginia, Maryland and Pennsylvania fell into line to move on Fort Duquesne, and embalm the name of Pitt in the border town (Pittsburg), which was to stand as the gateway of the west so long as the Allegheny and Monongahela shall flow to form the Ohio, or the English tongue shall continue to be the language of freedom in the boundless areas traversed by their waters. And still farther to the south arose the clangor of camp and din of war. France would strike the rear of Virginia and the Carolinas by means of the Indians in the fastnesses of Tennessee, fed and spurred on by food and counsel from the line of the Mississippi. The rangers of the Carolinas did their best to puncture the eastward moving centre of the mighty Cherokees. If they failed, failure was not disastrous, for peace covered dis-

confiture with the bloom of new auspices, and a knowledge of the Tennessee and Cumberland valleys had been gained which would soon be turned to good account.

THE AMERICAN OUTLOOK.—If the English king and Protestant Europe could justly fall into raptures over the immense results of the war in America alone, much more could the colonies pride themselves on such results. They had opened an empire for themselves beyond the Alleghenies, across the prairies, even to the father of waters. The acquisition represented their money, valor and blood. Even the plan of striking France through her New France and Louisiana was American, and due to the sagacity of our own Franklin. Then its result here was not a mere riddance of a powerful neighbor, not a mere acquisition of limitless, fertile acres. It was proof that the colonies could stand together in the face of a common danger, evidence that thus compacted they had all the elements of a nation, and especially that of strength to defend themselves against old world aggression, however skilfully armed and boldly pushed. With confidence, therefore, they peered from the peaks of the Alleghenies into their western valleys, and with a fervor, too, equal to that of Marquette, who, seventy years before, standing on the margin of the lakes, cast his prophetic eye to the gulf and saw the French lily bloom perennially amid the wild flowers of the prairies. Thus contemplating a political mastery which ranged from the gulf to the poles, whose forms of institution, law and literature were to spread the English tongue more widely than any that had ever given expression to human thought, the gazers from their mountain tops might well have chanted in chorus Bancroft's sublime apostrophe :

“Go forth, then, language of Milton and Hampden, language of my country, take possession of the North American continent! Gladden the waste places with every tone that has been rightly struck on the English lyre, with every English word that has been spoken well for liberty and for man! Give an echo to the now silent and solitary mountains; gush out with the fountains that as yet sing their anthems all day long without response; fill the valleys with the voices of love in its purity, the pledges

of friendship in its faithfulness, and as the morning sun drinks the dewdrop from the flowers all the way from the dreary Atlantic to the Peaceful ocean, meet him with the joyous hum of the early industry of freemen! Utter boldly and spread widely through the world the thoughts of the coming apostles of the people's liberty, till the sound that cheers the desert shall thrill through the heart of humanity, and the lips of the messenger of the people's power, as he stands in beauty upon the mountains, shall proclaim the renovating tidings of equal freedom for the race!"

DRIFT TOWARD INDEPENDENCE.—The plans of kings, as well as those of ordinary mortals, go oft awry. The wisdom of statesmen however shrewd may become a torment to nations. When England drove out the Stuarts, and enthroned Protestantism in the person of William III. and Mary, she unwittingly strengthened the hands of aristocracy, and organized a parliament which in support of its own claims to authority could never consistently surrender its control of the American colonies. Here was the beginning of independence and revolution. Now, by the Treaty of Paris (1763), and the cession of her American possessions to England and Spain, France had very deftly shifted the whole colonial policy of Europe. Her statesmen saw that for France to attempt to maintain colonies in New France and Louisiana, was to incur constant wars and expenditures, if not to attempt impossibilities. They saw that her monarchical forms simply shut off from her American colonies even her own philosophy, economy, industrial genius, legal skill, and ideas of Protestant freedom, and that without these, or even better than these, no American colony could be made to live permanently and prosper vigorously. They saw that the exhausted polity of the middle ages, the castes of feudal Europe, the despotism of infallible churchism, the titles of nobility, the leases of land to vassals, and vassalage itself, could not be perpetuated, where men who held the plough were the bone and sinew of the land, and the only hope of colonial success.

And seeing these things—the power of England and Spain

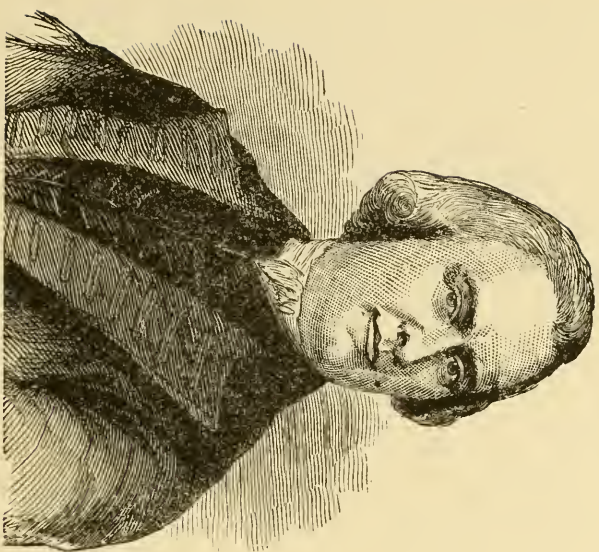
had opened their eyes to them—they were not afraid to make confession of them by that surrender which left France without a patch of American ground.

And they saw other things too. They saw that as England held the Atlantic front, her future colonial policy would be largely commercial. If France should add to this front a domain extending to the Mississippi, to the gulf, and to the pole, it would make England's policy both political and commercial. It would sharpen the desire of her parliament to rule it from home, and would make anxious and determined that authority, which nothing but revolution could shake. In a word, it would fully commit England to a dominion in America, in accordance with her own forms of law. And thus committed, France saw that the British situation would be full of dangers. Far advanced as England was, it would still be like an attempt to fit a dead carcass to a living soul, for English-America had English liberties in greater purity, and with far more of the power of the people than in England. The colonial inhabitants were self-organized bodies of freeholders, natural forest-levelers, industrious soil-winners, bold pioneers, pushing their way farther and farther each year, and scorning to take any step backward. They had schools, printing presses, books, newspapers, lawyers, doctors, ministers of their own choosing. They were self-helpful in private affairs, and confident of their ability to care for themselves politically through their local legislatures and municipal corporations. They were proud of their dwelling-place, and had unbounded faith in its future, under their own management. They were strong numerically and physically, and had just showed that they were capable of union both for defending the flag of England, and driving off the French foe that hovered all along their northern and western border. That menace removed, the need of reliance on England for protection against France no longer felt, left alone to confront only the attempt of England to fasten on them her obnoxious laws, what wouldn't they do? France saw what they would do, and knew what they were capable of doing. Her surrender of Canada and Louisiana was therefore a blow at England. She would turn the force to which

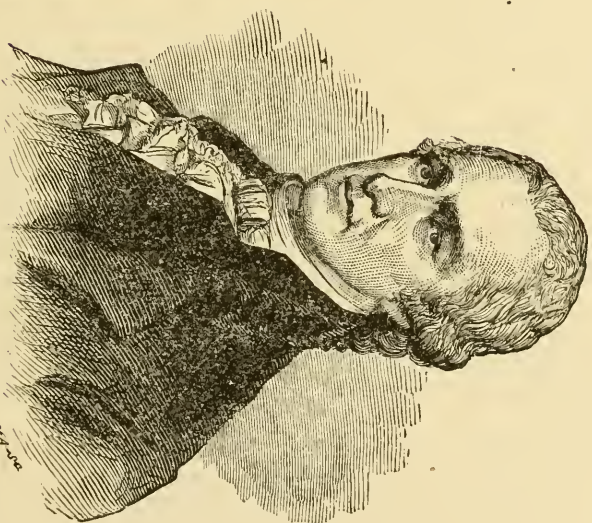
she had to succumb into a weapon with which England might cut her own colonial throat.*

BAD FIX OF ENGLAND.—The Treaty of Paris (1763) left England with a debt of \$700,000,000, half of which was due to The Seven Years' War. She got nothing in Europe to compensate her. But she got, in America, Canada and the Ohio Valley. With her rule of the former we have nothing to do. The latter came directly to her Atlantic colonies. As they profited, therefore should England profit. Here began that scheme of parliamentary control which was designed to make the colonies pay as much of the English war debt as possible, which took exclusive jurisdiction of their commerce, which imposed burdensome taxes, which denied representation in the British parliament, and which culminated in the claim of a right to exclusive legislative jurisdiction. The colonial charters should all fall and one uniform system of government be substituted in their stead. To make sure of order and strict enforcement of law, a part of the standing army was to find quarters in the colonies and be supported at their expense. The father of the

*This policy of France, even if a compulsory one, was far-sighted and clung to with the greatest tenacity. She had studied it long and well, and its merits were recognized by shrewd observers, long before the game was exposed by the surrender of her American territory. As early as 1748 it was reasoned in New York that the conquest of Canada by relieving the northern colonies from danger would hasten their emancipation. A Swedish traveller, in that year, published the same in Europe as his impression. It was an early dream of John Adams that the "removal of the turbulent Gallics," would be a prelude to the approaching greatness of the country. The French minister of foreign affairs warned the English envoy that the cession of Canada would lead to the independence of North America. When New France surrendered, Choiseul, a Frenchman, exclaimed, "We have caught them (the English) at last." Vergennes said, "England will ere long repent of having removed the only check that could keep her colonies in awe. She will call on them to contribute toward supporting the burdens they helped to bring on her, and they will answer by striking off all dependence." Lord Mansfield declared, "Ever since the Treaty of Paris I always thought the Northern Colonies were meditating a state of independency on Great Britain. France backed the policy thus begun by aiding the colonies when they did strike for independence. And so Napoleon, to further aid the commercial supremacy of the United States and cripple that of England, got possession of Spanish Louisiana, only to turn it over to this country."



SAMUEL ADAMS.



ALEXANDER HAMILTON.

scheme was the celebrated Charles Townsend, English First Lord of Trade, with the administration of the colonies, who was supposed to know more about American affairs than any other man. It struck parliament March 9, 1763, in the shape of an American tax-bill, and almost immediately the colonies, especially those of the north, began to thunder back their resentment. The horns of parliament and the colonies were locked in that dread encounter which in thirteen years would result in independence.

FIRST COLONIAL CONGRESS.—Townsend's Tax scheme was known to be the forerunner of the Stamp Act, Sugar Act, and Tea Act, which, when they came, would crown the power of parliament to get into the homes and pockets of the American colonists. The sentiment of protest therefore became as lively as if these acts were already a fact. The stream of resistance ran rapidly and angrily, and bore along inevitably toward the final plunge into revolution. The eloquent voices of Samuel Adams and James Otis were heard in Massachusetts, and a Boston town-meeting, protesting loyalty to the crown, pleaded for the rights of "the free-born subjects of Great Britain in America."*

A response was heard from the Rhode Island assembly, where Stephen Hopkins was governor (1764). New York, which had moved in 1759, now seconded her first motion. North Carolina expressed her concurrence with the views of Massachusetts in the same year. And soon Connecticut, Pennsylvania, South Carolina, and Virginia joined their voices of remonstrance to the chorus, which was now heard high above the din of waves.

* Otis argued that the original possessors of power were the whole people; that the colonies enjoyed the right of governing and taxing themselves through their local legislatures; that there was no proscription old enough to supersede the law of nature and the grant of God Almighty, who had given all men a right to be free; that nothing but life and liberty were hereditary; that in solving the grand political problem the first principle must be the equality and power of the whole. And these became the prevailing Whig (anti-Tory) views of the day and the colonial cause. The party names were Whigs, Patriots, Sons of Liberty, these for the colonists opposed to taxation; and Loyalists, Tories and Friends of Government, these for the parliament and crown.



PATRICK HENRY.



GENERAL ANTHONY WAYNE.

on the whole Atlantic front. Plea followed plea, for justice; petition after petition was sent over for parliament to stay its hard, heavy hand. Argument after argument was advanced in favor of free colonial existence, subject always to that dependence which had existed from the start. Parliament persisted. Townsend closed his mightiest effort in favor of the Stamp Act (1765) with "These children of our planting (the colonists), nourished by our indulgence until they are grown to a good degree of strength and opulence, and protected by our arms, will they grudge to contribute their mite to relieve us from the heavy load of national expense which we lie under?"

To which Colonel Barre, with eye darting fire and voice full of emotion, replied: "Children planted by your care? No! your oppression planted them in America. They fled from your tyranny into a then uninhabited land where they were exposed to almost all the hardships to which human nature is liable, and among others to the savage cruelty of the enemy of the country—a people the most subtle and terrible of any that ever inhabited any part of God's earth; yet, actuated by principles of true English liberty, they met these hardships with pleasure, compared with those they suffered in their own country from the hands of those that should have been their friends.

"They nourished by your indulgence? They grew by your neglect of them. As soon as you began to care for them, that care was exercised in sending persons to rule over them in one department and another, who were perhaps the deputies of some deputy of members of this house, sent to spy out their liberty, to misrepresent their actions, and to prey upon them—men whose behavior on many occasions has caused the blood of those Sons of Liberty to recoil within them—men promoted to the highest seats of justice; some, to my knowledge, were glad by going to foreign countries to escape being brought to a bar of justice in their own.

"They protected by your arms? They have nobly taken up arms in your defence, have exerted their valor amidst their constant and laborious industry for the defence of a country whose frontiers, while drenched in blood, its interior parts have yielded

all its little savings to your enlargement; and believe me—*remember I this day told you so*—that the same spirit which actuated that people at first will continue with them still. But prudence forbids me to explain myself further. God knows I do not at this time speak from motives of party heat. What I deliver are the genuine sentiments of my heart; however superior to me in general knowledge and experience the respectable body of this House (of Commons) may be, yet I claim to know more of America than most of you, having seen and been conversant in that country. The people there are as truly loyal, I believe, as any subjects the king has; but a people jealous of their liberties, and who will vindicate them, if they should be violated. But the subject is too delicate. I will say no more."

Imagine the effect upon the colonists of a speech like this fired right into the midst of a Tory parliament! Otis suggested to the Massachusetts assembly a meeting of committees from all the assemblies of the colonies and a circular was sent out to such assemblies, to secure joint action in opposing the English policy. Now, England trusted her entire policy of taxation to the assumed fact that union among the colonies was impossible. As the response to the Massachusetts circular was slow, it began to seem as if the English idea were, for the time being, correct, but Virginia sprang into the front, and her Patrick Henry, against the opposition of such as Bland, Pendleton, Randolph, and Wythe, startled her House of Burgesses with his warning flash of history: "Tarquin and Cæsar had each a Brutus; Charles the First his Cromwell; and George the Third [cries of treason! treason!] may profit by their example!" The result (1765) was a series of resolutions whose gist was no obedience to a law imposing a tax not sanctioned by the general assembly. Rhode Island agreed to act in concert with Massachusetts. South Carolina, through the influence of Gadsden, selected commissioners. Pennsylvania and Connecticut acted similarly. All the thirteen colonies either expressed sympathy or chose delegates. "Join or die" became a favorite motto. The "Sons of Liberty" were organized, who meant opposition of the most determined character. "Liberty, property, and no

stamps" was the greeting prepared for the English stamp distributors.*

The congress met in the City Hall, New York, Oct. 7, 1765. It consisted of twenty-eight delegates from nine colonies, four, though sympathizing with the movement, not choosing representatives. For the first time the patriots of America were together on the question of entire colonial union. It published a declaration of rights and grievances, expressing loyalty to the king, respect for parliament where it had a right to legislate, claiming the rights of English-born subjects, affirming the injustice of taxation without representation, setting forth the adequacy of their own local legislatures to attend to all their local concerns.† An address to the king was prepared in the same spirit. The congress adjourned on the 25th of October.

There was something now to give coherency to debate and resolution in the respective colonies. The Whig and Tory parties in each could talk to a point, and they did with a directness and vehemence which made the forest assemblies ring.

* The Stamp Act passed the House of Commons Feb. 27, 1765, and the House of Lords March 8, 1765. It introduced direct taxation into the English policy. But for the fact that it was carrying that policy to the uttermost, it should not have been as objectionable as the previous navigation acts which virtually limited American trade to England alone. Americans could get no commodity of use to them, from any nation, other than England, without collecting a heavy duty on it for England's benefit. And now, under the Stamp Act, stamps were to be paid for and affixed to all legal and commercial transactions of moment.

† The colonies represented were:

Massachusetts, by James Otis, Oliver Partridge, Timothy Ruggles.

South Carolina, by Thomas Lynch, Christopher Gadsden, John Rutledge.

Pennsylvania, by John Dickinson, John Morton, George Bryan.

Rhode Island, by Metcalf Bowler, Henry Ward.

Connecticut, by Eliphalet Dyer, David Rowland, William S. Johnson.

Delaware, by Thomas McKean, Caesar Rodney.

Maryland, by William Murdock, Edward Tilghman, Thomas Ringgold.

New Jersey, by Robert Ogden, Hendrick Fisher, Joseph Bordon.

New York, by Robert Livingston, John Cruger, Philip Livingstone, William Bayard, Leonard Lespinward.

Virginia, New Hampshire, Georgia and North Carolina did not send delegates.

Delegates present from only six of the colonies signed the proceedings of the congress; New York, Connecticut and South Carolina delegates not being authorized to sign.

The turmoil grew thicker and louder, and the voice of remonstrance turned to angry, desperate threat of everlasting resistance, when the odious Grenville ministry fell and the Rockingham Cabinet took its place. It had an ear for colonial plaint, and Franklin* was there to fill it with his wisely weighed

* *Grenville*. "Do you think it right that America should be protected by this country and pay no part of the expense?"

Franklin. "That is not the case: the colonies raised, clothed and paid during the last war (with France for Canada and Louisiana) 25,000 men and spent many millions of pounds."

Grenville. "Were you not reimbursed by parliament?"

Franklin. "Only what, in your opinion, we had advanced beyond our proportion, and it was a very small part of what we spent. Pennsylvania spent £500,000 and got back £60,000."

Grenville. "Do you think the people of America would submit to pay a stamp duty, if it were moderated?"

Franklin. "No; never. They will never submit to it."

Grenville. "May not a military force carry the Stamp Act into execution?"

Franklin. "Suppose one were sent to America; they will find nobody in arms, what can they do? They cannot force a man to take stamps who chooses to do without them. They will not find rebellion; they may, indeed, make one."

Grenville. "How would the Americans receive a future tax, imposed on the same principle with that of the Stamp Act?"

Franklin. "Just as they do this; they will not pay it."

Grenville. "What will be the opinion of the Americans on the resolution of parliament asserting the right to tax them?"

Franklin. "They will think it unconstitutional and unjust."

Grenville. "How would they receive an internal regulation connected with the tax?"

Franklin. "It would be objected to. When aids to the crown are wanted they are, according to the old established usage, to be asked of the assemblies, who will, as they always have done, grant them freely. They think it extremely hard that a body in which they have no representation should make a merit of giving what is not its own, but theirs."

Townsend. "Is not the post-office which they have long received a tax as well as regulation?"

Franklin. "No; the money paid for postage of letters is a remuneration for service done."

Townsend. "If a small tax were levied, would they submit?"

Franklin. "They will oppose it to the last. The people will pay no internal tax imposed by parliament."

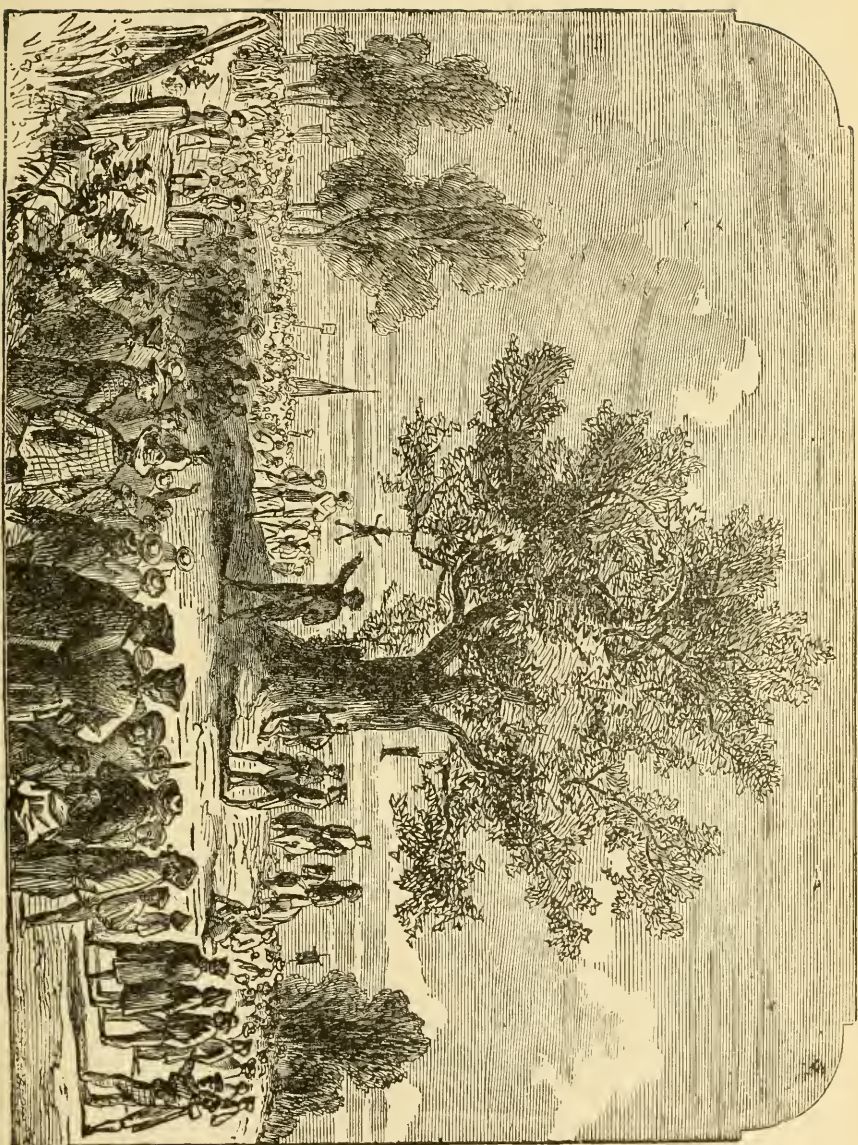
Grenville. "But suppose the internal tax to be laid on the necessities of life?"

Franklin. "I do not know a single article imported into the northern colonies but what they can do without or make themselves. The people will work and spin for themselves in their own houses. In three years there may be wool and manufactures enough."—*Condensed from Bancroft*, vol. v., 430-433.

words of remonstrance and counsel. The Stamp Act was repealed March 18, 1766, and a thrill of joy was felt throughout colonial America. Liberty Tree in Boston was lighted with lanterns: South Carolina voted Pitt, the Whig leader in the House of Commons, a statue; Virginia an obelisk to the king. The resolutions and address of the first American Congress, which had called a halt in parliament, were thus being revered through the colonies.

AN AMERICAN PARTY.—But joy was soon turned to sorrow. Pitt left the Commons and went into the House of Lords, as Earl of Chatham. This brought the odious Charles Townsend to the front again in the Commons, and he was at his old scheme of American taxation, this time in a form even more objectionable than the Stamp Act. An export tax was to be collected on all goods sent to America. Any American assembly which dared to discuss the measure or appoint delegates to a convention or congress whose object was to remonstrate against it or to take further steps toward colonial union, was to be regarded as seditious, and if need be dispersed. Again the colonies were in a ferment. This time the sentiment of union and independence was deeper and bolder. Every colony agreed to resist to the uttermost the claim of the parliament. The result was a partial repeal of the obnoxious act, but the danger was not wholly removed. What had been all along a patriotic public opinion was now becoming an anti-English or American party. The demand became specific for a Union and a Congress, and it was urged that such a union, firm and perpetual, would be a sure foundation for freedom and the great basis of every public blessing. All the colonies were enjoined to prepare to act as joint members of the Grand American Commonwealth.

TEA ACT AND A CONGRESS.—The Tea Act of 1773 was an effort to tax the colonists for the benefit of a mere trading company. The mighty surge of passion now plainly meant resistance. The demand was for a "Congress of American States to frame a bill of rights or form an Independent State, an American Commonwealth." Thus thundered the Press



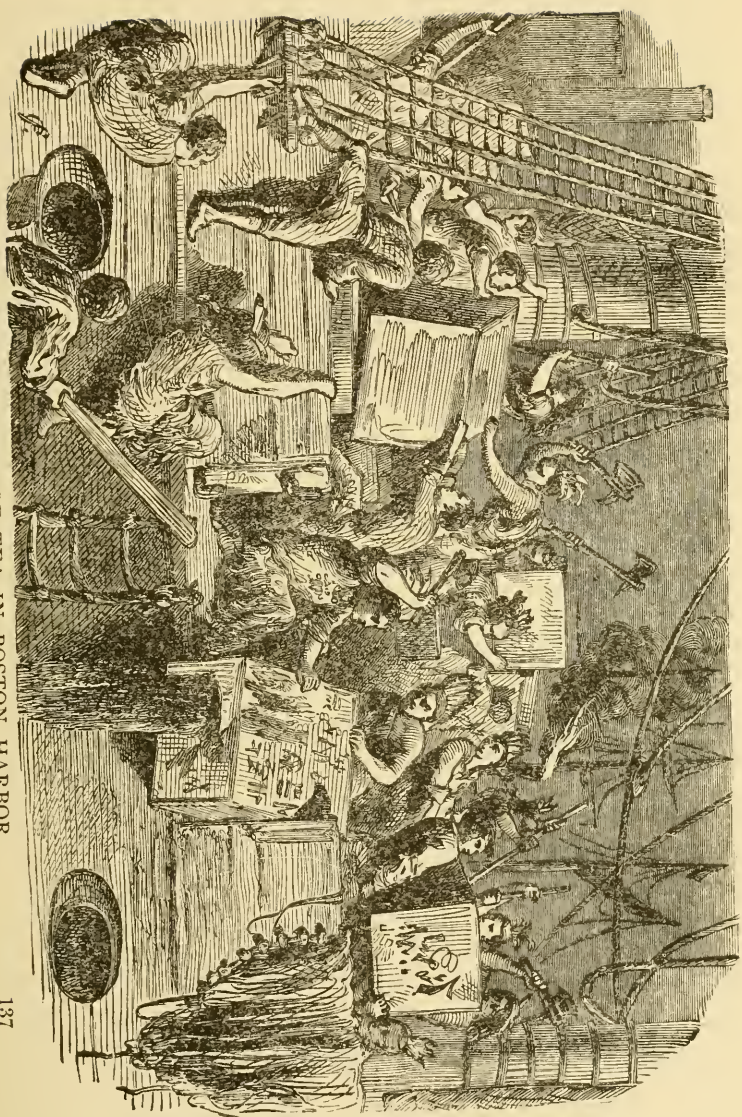
COLONISTS MEETING UNDER THE LIBERTY TREE.

throughout the colonies. "Union, Union, was the first, the last hope for America." The contents of the Boston tea-ships were emptied in the harbor. Those for Philadelphia put back without unloading. Those for Charleston landed their contents to have them perish in the cellars. The ministry had chosen the least effective way of governing, and the most effective way of uniting the colonies. Louder than ever cried the Press; "No time is to be lost; a Congress or meeting of the American States is indispensable, and what the people wills shall be effected" (1773). The predicament of parliament was getting more desperate every day. It must recede, or coerce the defiant colonists. The Boston Port Act (1774) was coercive. Now, said Samuel Adams, "Not only common danger, bondage and disgrace, but national truth and honor, conspire to make the colonists resolve to stand or fall together." On the flag floating over the popular assemblies which gathered everywhere was the legend "Union and Liberty." Wrote Ezra Stiles, "If oppression proceeds despotism may force an annual congress; and a public spirit of enterprise may originate an American Magna Charta and a Bill of Rights, supported by such intrepid and persevering importunity as even sovereignty may hereafter judge it not wise to withstand. There will be a Runnymede in America."* A population of two and a half million colonists were in action, moving steadily forward, marching together toward an end which Providence had marked out for them.

Plans for a Congress were well under way. Delegates were being selected and instructed, and the talk of Independence, Union and force was universal. The calm Washington said in the Virginia Convention, "I will raise one thousand men, subsist them and equip them at my own expense, and march myself at their head for the relief of Boston."† At ten o'clock, Sept. 5, 1774, delegates from twelve colonies (Georgia did not elect) met at Carpenters' Hall, Philadelphia, and began the Sessions of

* *Holme's Life of Stiles*. The time of the writing was July 1, 1774.

† August, 1774, *Works John Adams*, ii., 360. Lynch of South Carolina said to John Adams this was the most eloquent speech that ever was made.



DESTRUCTION OF TEA IN BOSTON HARBOR.

the First Continental Congress.* They came well instructed and full of the work in hand, literally forced together by a common grievance. The spectacle was one calculated to impress any beholder. Differing in religion, commercial interests, in everything dependent on climate and labor, in usages and manners, and swayed by prejudices, even quarreling about boundaries, the colonies found themselves in one representative body, and the exponent of a power that was to be felt throughout the civilized world.†

CONGRESS AND UNION.—"To petition for redress, to restore harmony between Great Britain and America." On this basis the Congress started, with Peyton Randolph as president. "Each colony should have one vote;" this after animated debate. The Congress sat with closed doors. Word came that Gage was firing on Boston. This nerved the members. Galloway's Tory plan for governing the colonies as dependencies of Great Britain was rejected, and the vote showed that the Whigs had control of the Congress. A resolution of sympathy with, and approval of, the conduct of the Massachusetts people was

* The colonial Congress of 1765 at New York was properly speaking a convention. So of that at Albany in 1754.

† The delegates were, in the order of their choosing by the colonies:

Rhode Island, Stephen Hopkins, Samuel Ward.

Massachusetts, Thomas Cushing, Samuel Adams, John Adams, Robert Treat Paine.

Maryland, Matthew Tilghman, Thomas Johnson, Robert Goldsborough, William Paca, Samuel Chase.

Connecticut, Eliphalet Dyer, Roger Sherman, Silas Deane.

New Hampshire, John Sullivan, Nathaniel Folsom.

Pennsylvania, Joseph Galloway, Samuel Rhoades, Thomas Mifflin, Charles Humphries, John Morton, George Ross, Edward Riddle.

New Jersey, James Kinsey, William Livingstone, John Dehart, Stephen Crane, Richard Smith.

Delaware, Caesar Rodney, Thomas McKean, George Reed.

South Carolina, Henry Middleton, John Rutledge, Thomas Lynch, Christopher Gadsden, Edward Rutledge.

Virginia, Peyton Randolph, Richard Henry Lee, George Washington, Patrick Henry, Richard Bland, Benjamin Harrison, Edmund Pendleton.

North Carolina, William Hooper, Joseph Hewes, Richard Caswell.

New York, James Duane, John Jay, Philip Livingston, Isaac Low, William Floyd, Henry Wisner, John Alsop, John Herring, Simon Boerum.

passed and ordered to be sent to Gage. On October 14, 1774, the celebrated Bill of Rights was agreed upon. With the exception of two articles it was adopted unanimously. It was passed with the hope that it would lead to a permanent colonial union, self-supporting, self-governing, yet a union unbroken in its connection with England. The next step was coercive. The Congress agreed to a great American association (October 20) to regulate commercial intercourse with Great Britain. It consisted of fourteen articles, and the covenant was in these words: "We do for ourselves and the inhabitants of the several colonies, whom we represent, firmly agree and associate under the sacred ties of virtue, honor and love of country." It looked to non-importation, non-exportation and non-consumption of English merchandise as a means of compelling the restoration of American rights. It struck directly at the slave trade. It agreed on non-intercourse with any colony that violated the articles of the association, holding it as "unworthy the rights of freemen and as inimical to the liberties of their country." This compact for the preservation of American rights, this "league of the continent which first expressed the sovereign will of a free nation in America," may be justly regarded as the commencement of the American Union.* Its members had no hope that their actions would prove acceptable to England. They therefore adjourned, privately advising one another to prepare for the worst and to be looking after sinews of war and methods of defence. Fixing the 10th of May, 1775, as the time for a second Congress, it dissolved on October 26, 1774. Its work was ratified in the entire twelve colonies with a heartiness and unanimity which showed

* "The signature of the association by the members of the Congress may be considered as the commencement of the American Union."—*Hildreth*, iii., p. 46.

"Among all the original associates in the memorable league of the continent in 1774, which first expressed the sovereign will of a free nation in America, he (Washington) was the only one remaining in the general government."—*President John Adams*, December 22, 1799.

"It was an embodiment of the sentiment of Union and of the will of the people on the subject of their commercial relations—the first enactment, substantially, of a general law for America. For nearly two years the instrument was termed "The Association of the United Colonies."—*Frothingham's Rise of the Republic*, p. 374.

how deeply the sentiment of union was laid and how all-pervading it was. The States of Greece, after centuries of existence, never reached the dignity thus attained by the American colonies, to wit, that of a federal council habitually directing and to be habitually obeyed. The Whigs saw in the union a sentiment crystallized into law and power. The Tories saw in it only an ebullition, a rope of sand. It was at least such a thing, said Richard Stockton, "as would repel force by force if the British government should attempt to execute its acts by force." The doings of the Congress were rejected by the king and parliament, and force was agreed upon.

SECOND CONGRESS.—Nearly the same members as composed the first Congress assembled in Independence Hall, May 10, 1775. All its acts looked to a closer colonial union. But up came the question of sovereignty. What is its source, what its limit? Whence does it come, where does it stop? The answer would involve the real principle of government. The provincial assembly had been a great training school. It was, tacitly at least, agreed that the people were the source of sovereignty, that it was theirs to command, to institute organic law, to establish public authority, to compel obedience. On this foundation rose the American superstructure of permanent, federal government. It was not a shock to the architects, but in fitting the principle to practical union much difficulty would be experienced, many surrenders would have to be made, for, be it known, the colonies had as yet few elements of union in themselves. The impelling thing was a common danger. The vigor, power, beauty, advantage, pride of union were things to be unknown to them, or only guessed at, till the panoply of union had been over them for a little time.

The second great question was defence. Boston was besieged. Washington was made commander-in-chief of all armies raised or to be raised for the defence of America by unanimous ballot on June 15, 1775. Thus began an American army. Franklin submitted a plan of confederation and perpetual union under the name of "United Colonies of North America."* Lord North

* This plan was submitted July 21, 1775. It was not acted on at this session, but was largely incorporated in the Articles of Confederation.

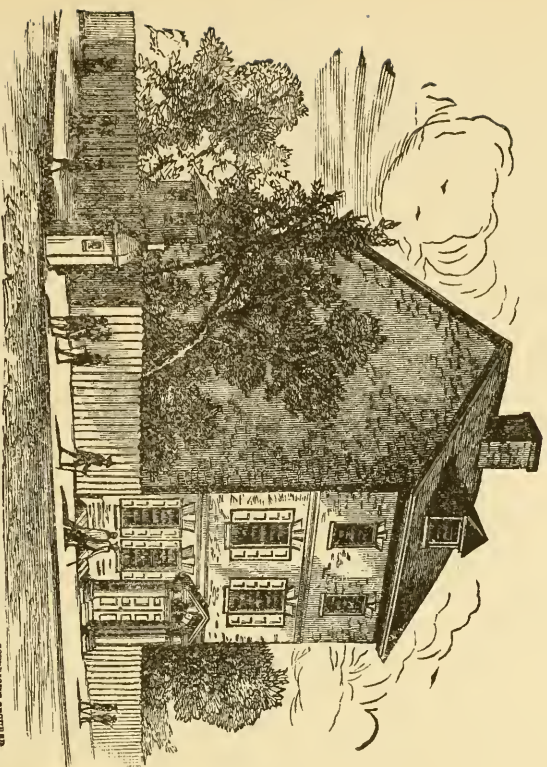


GEORGE WASHINGTON.



BENJAMIN FRANKLIN.

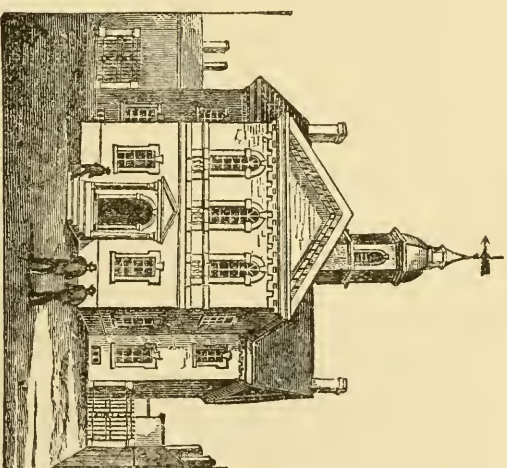
had weakened a little and submitted a plan by which he thought peace might be brought about. It was submitted to Franklin, Jefferson, John Adams and Richard Henry Lee. Their report, repudiating it, was adopted by the Congress July 31. The colonies deliberately chose the hazards of war rather than surrender their ancient right of self-government. North hoped to deal with them as separate units. They resolved to be dealt with only as a bundle of units—a nation. Postal communication was established from New Hampshire to Georgia; two persons were appointed to act as joint treasurers of the colonies; other defensive measures followed. Then Congress adjourned (August 1) till September 5. The nearer war came, the more they shrank from it, at least the more cautious they became. Tory sentiment was active. Every step taken must be a sure one. The adjournment would give time to hear from the colonists, and especially to hear from the last memorial to the king. By the 13th of September the Congress was in full session again, with Georgia represented. From this time on the union was called "The Thirteen United Colonies." The king's reply to the memorial came back in the shape of a proclamation for suppressing rebellion and sedition, for, said he, "It would be better to totally abandon the colonies than to admit a single shadow of their doctrines." The wheels of Providence were now in swiftest motion. Lexington and Concord had been fought in April, Ticonderoga in May, Bunker Hill in June. South Carolina had been warned to resist all attempts to occupy Charleston, and Virginia encouraged to defy Lord Dunmore to the uttermost. A naval code was created (November 17). Every measure was now for offensive war, not defensive. The press took up the idea of independence. The thought of union, as a dependency of Britain, was gone. "A Grand Republic of the American United Colonies, which will, by the blessing of heaven, soon work out our salvation and perpetuate the liberties, increase the wealth, the power and the glory of this western world;" this was the popular thought. Ten years had worked the idea of union into an actual "Continental Association." Would it take the idea of independence as long to work into actual independ-



62723 3200, 1790, 1791, 1792.

HOUSE IN WHICH THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE
WAS WRITTEN, AT PHILADELPHIA.

CONTINENTAL CONGRESS



CARPENTER'S HALL, PHILADELPHIA,
WHERE CONTINENTAL CONGRESS
MET.

ence? The Tories were numerous in the local assemblies, and active. They could retard action, if not prevent it.

DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE.—The Congress was proceeding in matters of peace and war as though "The United Colonies" were one political power. To the encouragement of powerful sentiment had been added the confidence of victory in armed conflict. New Hampshire, South Carolina and Virginia were recommended by Congress to form local governments. This was a step which looked directly to independence. On New Year Day, 1776, Washington unfurled the "Flag of Thirteen Stripes," as the flag of the United Colonies, and arrayed it as the symbol of national power against the far-famed banner of St. George. From this time till June the Congress was busy with questions of war and finance. Its acts were those of a determined and active revolutionary government. But it was all the while being petitioned to cut the chain which bound the colonies to England, and which was hampering their individual and concerted action. It therefore recommended to all the colonies to form local governments, independent of charters, royal governors, and every English restriction. On June 7, 1776, Richard Henry Lee moved for Independence, a Foreign Alliance, and a Confederation. John Adams seconded the motion. A committee was formed on Independence, composed of Thomas Jefferson, John Adams, Benjamin Franklin, Roger Sherman, and Robert R. Livingston, and they were given till July to report. A committee of one from each colony was also formed on Articles of Confederation. By the last of June it could be said that opposition to Independence, in every colony except New York, had ceased; at least twelve colonies had instructed their delegates in Congress to vote for a declaration. And these delegates were present in the Congress on July 1, when it took up the resolution on Independence, or rather the report of the Committee on Independence. Four days of debate and amendment brought forth the Declaration of Independence as agreed upon by the delegates from twelve States (July 4, 1776)—New York delegates not voting under her instructions. It was ordered to be authenticated by the signatures of John Hancock, President, and Charles

Thomson, Secretary, sent out to the State assemblies, and read at the head of the army. On July 9, the convention of New York resolved to support it. By August 2, it was engrossed and ready for the signatures of the members.* The high honor of having been its author is due to Jefferson, for the changes made in his draft, though numerous, did not alter its tone nor general character. The equally high honor of having been its strongest champion in the Congress belongs to John Adams. Said Jefferson to Daniel Webster, "John Adams was our Colossus on the floor. He was not graceful, nor elegant, nor remarkably fluent, but he came out occasionally with a power of thought and expression that moved us from our seats."† And now that "the greatest question has been decided which ever was debated in America, and a greater perhaps never was or will be decided among men," The United Colonies were decreed a political unit of the United States of America. The Declaration was proclaimed everywhere among the people as the inestimable title-deed of their liberties, and they received it with speech, salute, bon-fire and general rejoicing. It seemed as if a decree promulgated from heaven. *See Declaration, page 151.*

WHAT IT DID.—Before the Declaration was submitted to a vote, a test resolution was laid before the Congress (July 2, 1776) as follows: "That these United Colonies are and of right ought to be free and independent States; that they are absolved from all allegiance to the British Crown, and that all political connection between them and the State of Great Britain is and ought to be totally dissolved." Twelve colonies united in adopting it. This assured the passage of the Declaration. It was its preamble, as it were. Observe that in it the word "Colonies" is dropped,

* There is much uncertainty about the signing of the Declaration. The engrossed copy, signed on August 2, still exists in the office of the Secretary of State. Jefferson has given the impression that it was generally signed on July 4, but this copy of it is not known to exist. John Adams wrote on the 9th of July, "As soon as an American seal is prepared I conjecture the Declaration will be superscribed by all the members." Now, a committee composed of Franklin, John Adams and Jefferson, was appointed by Congress to prepare a device for the Seal of "The United States of America," after the Declaration had passed, probably on the 5th of July.

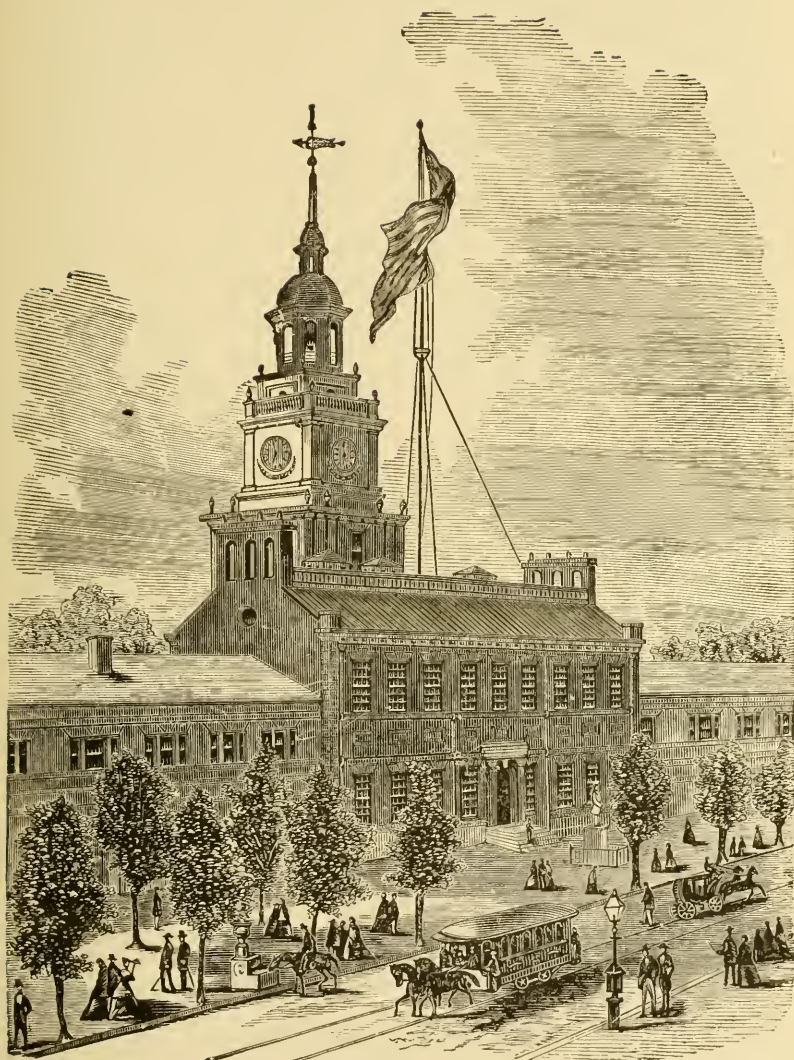
† *Curtis' Life of Webster*, vol. i., 589.

never to be taken up again, and the word "States" * substituted. So the Declaration was "The Declaration by the Representatives of the United States of America in Congress Assembled," and the conclusion is: "Therefore we the Representatives of the United States of America in Congress Assembled," etc. The steps toward national birth were the ripening of public sentiment into a conviction that a common country was necessary, a delegation of power by the colonies for that purpose, a preliminary resolution declaring the colonies independent States, a declaration to that effect, a ratification of that declaration by the States. Thus the United Colonies by their joint act passed into "The United States." The Declaration has been called the fundamental act of Union.† It was the embodiment of the public will as a source of authority, when it was the will of the people composing one nation.‡ It established Union as a fundamental law. The old law was the law of diversity. It transformed the sentiment of nationality into a fact—the new birth was that of a nation, a country. As colonies, each had a State of its own, and could have had, in one way or another. But only by creating a law high over all, only by ordaining and establishing something out of that supremacy which resided in all the people, could a union, a nation, a country, come. The Declaration announced to all nations that a new political sovereignty had arisen, whose workings internally were all right, whose external workings sought recognition. The colonist was true to his colony, yet he never hesitated in his allegiance to the king. He ever claimed and was ever proud of the rights of a British subject. Now he was equally true to his Colony (the State), but the

* The title of "The United States of America" was formally assumed in the Articles of the Confederation, when they came to be adopted. But it was in use without formal enactment from the date and adoption of the Declaration of Independence. On the 9th of September, 1776, it was ordered that all continental commissions and all other instruments, where the words "United Colonies" had been used, the style should be altered to the "United States."—*Journals*, ii., 349.

† *Writings of Madison*, iii., 482.

‡ "In our complex system of polity the public will, as a source of authority, may be the will of the people as composing one nation."—*Madison's Writings*, iii., 479.



INDEPENDENCE HALL.

allegiance which was to the king or to Great Britain was transferred to the new political unit, the United States. For hundreds of years the contention had been for the doctrine of the equality of the human race. The Declaration clothed this abstract truth with vitalizing power. "We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness; that to secure these rights governments are instituted among men deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; that whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends it is the right of the people to alter or abolish it and institute new government, laying its foundation on such principles and organizing its powers in such form as shall to them seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness." This is the American theory expressed as Buckle says: "In words the memory of which can never die." To maintain it the battles of the revolution were fought, and to build on it a worthy superstructure of government and law was the work of the fathers of the constitution.

NATURE OF THE CONGRESS.—The Continental Congress, for by this name it got to be known, continued to be the National Government in fact, and conducted National affairs till the adoption of the Articles of Confederation, March, 1781, near the close of the Revolutionary war. There was no change in its construction, except that the delegates to it were appointed by the State legislatures, as soon as the States had organized State governments, which they made haste to do, under the recommendations of the Congress of 1776.* The powers of the Con-

* New Jersey adopted a State Constitution July 2, 1776, which went into full operation, and the government thus formed lasted for sixty-eight years.

Delaware adopted a Constitution and form of government (Sept. 20, 1776) which lasted for sixteen years.

Maryland agreed on a Declaration of Rights, Nov. 3, 1776, and on the 8th, upon a Constitution, which was not changed for seventy-five years.

Pennsylvania framed a Constitution Sept. 28, 1776, which terminated its charter. But it was not generally received. Owing to division, the State officers were supported in their authority by a Committee of Congress, till the amended Constitution of 1790.

tinental Congress were nowhere defined or limited. They included power to declare war and make peace, to raise armies and equip navies, to form treaties and alliances with foreign nations, to contract debts, and do all other acts of a sovereign government which were essential to the safety of the United States. No Colony, or State, disputed the powers thus assumed and exercised. They originated from necessity and were only limited by events. Revolutionary though they were, the Congress in their exercise was supported by the people, and there was no other authority to question its acts. It was evident that when the dangers of war had passed, when the public liberties and independence of all the States had been assured, and when peace had dawned, these extraordinary powers of the Congress would have to give way to something more certain and better understood. And right here arose a momentous question. In relaxing the control of Congress, there was danger that the Union which existed by reason of the Congress would be dissolved, and that the States would drift back into independent communities, without a central head, with no common system, with discordant local interests, with rivalries and jealousies as to boundaries, commerce, manufactures, and institutions. Hard as had been the trial of the Revolution, here was something calculated to stir deeper apprehension, and tax more severely the genius of statesmen.

ARTICLES OF CONFEDERATION.—As these Articles, finally adopted by all the States, March, 1781, were the beginning of a government more specific than that of the Congress which had carried on the Revolution thus far, yet not so specific as that formed by the Constitution of 1787, they can be best explained in connection with the latter. As the Congress led to

North Carolina adopted a Constitution, Oct. 18, 1776, which lasted for sixty-nine years.

Georgia adopted a Constitution Feb. 5, 1777, lasting eight years.

New York adopted a Constitution, April 20, 1777.

Of the six States which adopted constitutions and forms of government before the Declaration of Independence, South Carolina amended hers in 1778, Virginia in 1829, Rhode Island and Connecticut did not displace their charters for many years, New Hampshire in 1784, Massachusetts in 1780 and 1821.

the Articles of Confederation, so the Articles of Confederation led to the Constitution. "States" got to be a definitive, well-understood term under the Articles. They were "Articles of Confederation and Perpetual Union between the States" (mentioning them all). "The style of this Confederacy shall be The United States of America," Art. 1. For this reason, also, we prefer to treat of the Articles in our next chapter, which concerns the finer pieces of our fabric—the States. But as the war came to an end under the government of the Articles of Confederation, it must be understood that "The United States of America," which solemnized the peace of 1783, and accepted of the cessions of British territory, was the only power then existing which could do these National acts, and bind all the States by its authority.

EVENTS OF THE REVOLUTION.—The first overt attempt of England to assert her right to tax her American colonies was met in the courts of Boston, in February, 1761, by James Otis, who appeared as Advocate-General for the Colonies. Notwithstanding this resistance, Parliament passed the odious Stamp Act of 1765, which drew resolutions of censure from most of the colonies. Sentiment against it took the bold form expressed in the speeches of Otis and Patrick Henry, which meant war. New York sent forth her "Declaration of Rights," October 7, 1765. On November 1, 1765, the date the Stamp Act was to go into operation, English-America went into mourning. Business was suspended; bells were tolled; flags were hung at half-mast. The protest was sullen and awful. The universal resolve went forth to import no more English goods. This brought about a repeal of the Stamp Act, under the eloquence of Pitt and Burke. But they could not succeed in their effort at repeal except by coupling with it the equally odious "Declaratory Act," which asserted England's right to bind her colonies as she pleased. The doors were therefore still open for oppression and intimidation. In June, 1766, English troops were landed in the colonies, and the colonists were required to feed and shelter them under the penalties of the "Mutiny Act." In June, 1767, a tax was levied on imports to the colonies, commissioners of customs

were appointed to act independently of them, and the decrees of their legislatures were annulled, where they refused to sustain the troops quartered in their midst. Before the close of the year 1768 every colonial assembly had resolved that the Imperial Parliament had no right to legislate for the colonies, and that the action of Massachusetts, which had taken the lead in opposition, must be upheld.

TROOPS IN BOSTON.—In May, 1768, the British Commissioners of Customs seized a sloop belonging to John Hancock, because of her refusal to pay the tax imposed on her cargo. Instantly the commissioners were set upon by a mob and driven into Castle William. At the call of the Royal Governor, General Gage entered Boston with 700 British troops. The insurrectionary leaders were ordered to be arrested and sent to England for trial. The citizens and troops soon came into collision, for the indignation of the colonists was fast breaking all bounds. Violent riots ensued, in which fell many of America's first martyrs. The insurrectionary spirit took the form of a mob in Rhode Island, which burned a British vessel; of the organized band known as "Regulators" in North Carolina. The arrival of several cargoes of tea in Boston, in December, 1773, led to the celebrated Faneuil Hall protest, and to the dumping of the cargoes in the harbor by angry colonists, disguised as Indians. This led to the closing of Boston Harbor by the Port Bill, to the subversion of the Massachusetts charter, and to other intimidating and destructive measures. General Gage became Governor, and attempted to enforce the obnoxious measures with his army.

CARPENTER'S HALL.—In their strife to unite, a Congress of Colonies met in Carpenter's Hall, Philadelphia, September 5, 1774, agreed upon a "Declaration of Rights," and recommended non-intercourse with England. "Minute Men" were organized in New England, and made ready for armed resistance. General Gage began to fortify strategic positions about Boston. The colony of Massachusetts called a Provincial Congress, under the lead of John Hancock, and enacted measures looking to the raising of an army.

LEXINGTON AND CONCORD.—By April, 1775, England had 3000 troops in Boston. On April 18, 800 of these were sent out to Concord, thirteen miles from Boston, to destroy the ammunition collected there by the colonists. The vigilance of Dr. Joseph Warren and the celebrated ride of Paul Revere prevented the surprise of the colonists, eighty of whom marched forward six miles to Lexington to meet the British. A collision took place, and the "Minute Men" were dispersed, with eight killed and many wounded. This was the first battle and first blood of the Revolutionary War. The British army pursued the "Minute Men" to Concord, where another collision took place, in which several more of their number were killed. After destroying the ammunition at Concord, the King's troops beat a retreat to Boston, enfiladed on every side by indignant colonists, who picked them off from behind trees and fences. On their arrival at Boston it was found they had lost 273 men, while the colonists had lost 103. Lexington and Concord set Colonial America aflame. By the close of April a patriot army of 20,000 men surrounded Gage in Boston, and before the summer of 1775 closed, the power of every royal governor, from Massachusetts to Georgia, was at an end.

BUNKER'S HILL.—Hostilities were now on in earnest. In May, Col. Ethan Allen's New Hampshire Militia captured Fort Ticonderoga; and in the same month Col. Benedict Arnold's Connecticut Militia captured Crown Point. These captures gave the Americans forty pieces of artillery, secured control of Lake Champlain, and opened the way to Canada. In June, 1775, General Ward ordered Bunker's Hill to be fortified. By mistake Breed's Hill was fortified and held by 1500 Americans. Generals Howe and Pigot attacked them (June 17) with 3000 British troops. After suffering two disastrous repulses, they at length captured the Hill, driving the Americans to Prospect Hill. The British burned Charlestown and fortified Bunker's Hill. The Americans lost 450 killed and wounded, and the British 1054.

THE SECOND CONGRESS.—Virginia forced Governor Dunmore from her soil. North Carolina passed the famous Mecklenburg declaration of independence. A Second Colonial



ISRAEL PUTNAM.



GENERAL FRANCIS MARION.

Congress met in Philadelphia, May 10, 1775, voted to raise an army of 20,000 men, and elected George Washington, of Virginia, Commander-in-chief. He took command of an army of 14,000 men on July 3, 1775, and besieged Boston, then occupied by the British forces under General Howe.

INVASION OF CANADA.—Canada was invaded by a small American army, led by General Montgomery, and St. Johns was captured, November 3, 1775. Col. Ethan Allen attacked Montreal, but was captured and sent to England. Montgomery followed up, and captured Montreal, November 13. He was joined by 750 Americans under Benedict Arnold, and the combined forces laid siege to Quebec. On December 31, 1775, they attempted an assault, but were repulsed with great loss, Montgomery being killed and Arnold wounded. By June of the following year the Americans were driven entirely out of Canada.

Meanwhile, Governor Dunmore struck a blow at Hampton, Va., but was defeated by the Virginia militia. In revenge he burned Norfolk. He was finally driven away, and went to England.

EVENTS OF 1776.—Washington forced the siege of Boston, and compelled Howe to evacuate the city, on March 17, 1776. He sailed to Nova Scotia with his army, and some 1500 Tory families. Part of Howe's fleet, under Sir Henry Clinton, threatened New York. Washington set General Charles Lee to defend the city, while he fortified the line of the Hudson river. Clinton did not attack New York, but sailed to capture Charleston, S. C. Lee was sent to defend it. He centred his troops at Fort Moultrie, which was attacked by land and water on June 28. The British were repulsed, and Clinton sailed away to join his forces with those of Howe, who, meanwhile, had now come to New York, and was threatening the city. On July 4 the Declaration of Independence was adopted by the Continental Congress, in session at Philadelphia. The British army had been augmented by 17,000 hired Hessian soldiers, and on Aug. 27th the bloody battle of Long Island was fought, the British being commanded by Generals Grant, Cornwallis, Clinton and De Hies-



WASHINGTON CROSSING THE DELAWARE. (From the Painting by Leutze.)

ter, and the Americans by General Putnam. The Americans were defeated, and forced to retreat to New York city; New York could not be held against the British fleet and army combined, and Washington gave it up, retreating to the line of the Hudson, Sept. 15. The British pursued and forced an engagement at Harlem Plains, where the Americans gained a costly victory, and continued their retreat. Howe pursued, and on October 28 the battle of White Plains was fought. It proved disastrous to the Americans, and Washington was forced farther northward. Seeing that the British would now march to Philadelphia, where the Continental Congress was in session, Washington determined to protect it. He crossed his army over the Hudson into New Jersey, having lost Fort Washington, Nov. 16, and began the famous retreat across New Jersey. His army had been shattered to pieces, and numbered scarcely 3000 men. He was closely pursued by the British, under Cornwallis, but on Dec. 8th succeeded in reaching and crossing the ice-swollen Delaware into Pennsylvania. He was reinforced, secretly recrossed the Delaware on Christmas night, fought the battle of Trenton, and captured 1000 Hessians.

EVENTS OF 1777.—Success at Trenton inspired the American army. Cornwallis was reinforced and surrounded Washington, who escaped to Princeton, where he defeated the British advance, Jan. 3, 1777. Washington then withdrew to a winter camp at Morristown, whence, by a system of guerrilla attacks, he drove the British out of New Jersey.

In April, 1777, 2000 British, under Gov. Tryon, invaded and devastated Connecticut. They were met at Ridgefield, April 27, and defeated, by an American army led by Generals Wooster, Silliman and Arnold. Wooster was killed.

During the year the two Frenchmen, Marquis de Lafayette and the Baron de Kalb, also the two Poles, Count Pulaski and Thaddeus Kosciuszko, arrived in America to join their fortunes with the struggling Americans. The skilful drill officer and Prussian, Baron de Steuben, arrived the next year.

In June, Howe conveyed his fleet and army to the mouth of the Chesapeake Bay, and sailed to its head, where he disem-

barked, intending to move eastward on Philadelphia. Washington crossed into Pennsylvania, and met Howe at the Brandywine, Sept. 11, where a bloody battle was fought, in which the Americans were defeated with a loss of 1200 men, the British loss being 800.

Washington fell back toward Philadelphia. On Sept. 20 his right wing, composed of 1500 men, under General Wayne, was attacked at Paoli, and beaten. This was the "Massacre of Paoli." Seeing that it was useless to further defend Philadelphia, Washington swung to northwest in the direction of Valley Forge. The Congress moved to Lancaster and then to York. Howe took possession of Philadelphia, Sept. 25. Washington aimed a blow at him, on October 4, when was fought the battle of Germantown, in which the Americans were defeated with a loss of 1200 men. This ended the campaign for the year. Howe remained in Philadelphia with his army, while Washington went into winter quarters, first at Whitemarsh, and afterwards at Valley Forge. Howe was soon reinforced by his fleet, which sailed up the Delaware, and, though worsted at Forts Mifflin and Mercer, succeeded in rendering them untenable.

While the Americans were meeting these disasters in Pennsylvania, Burgoyne, with 10,000 British soldiers, invaded New York from Canada, captured Ticonderoga, and drove the American army, under General Schuyler, back to the Mohawk river. The brilliant victories of the "Green Mountain Boys" under Stark, at Bennington, Aug. 16, and under Seth Warner, did not compensate for the larger misfortunes of the main army. The Mohawk Valley was invaded by Canadians, Tories and Indians, and Fort Schuyler was threatened. The battle of Oriskany was lost to the Americans, when General Arnold came upon the scene with a relief party, and dispersed the besiegers of the fort.

General Gates succeeded Schuyler, received large reinforcements, and confronted Burgoyne's army at Saratoga, where an indecisive battle was fought, Sept. 19, followed by another, far more sanguinary and decisive, on Oct. 7. This forced the surrender of Burgoyne and his entire army of 6000 men, on Oct. 17. This victory filled the American heart with joy, and fell

like a bombshell on England. Clinton was marching up the Hudson with a strong force to co-operate with Burgoyne, but when he heard of his surrender he beat a hasty retreat to New York.

In November the American Congress passed the "Articles of Confederation," which remained the Colonial bond of union till superseded by the present Constitution in 1789.

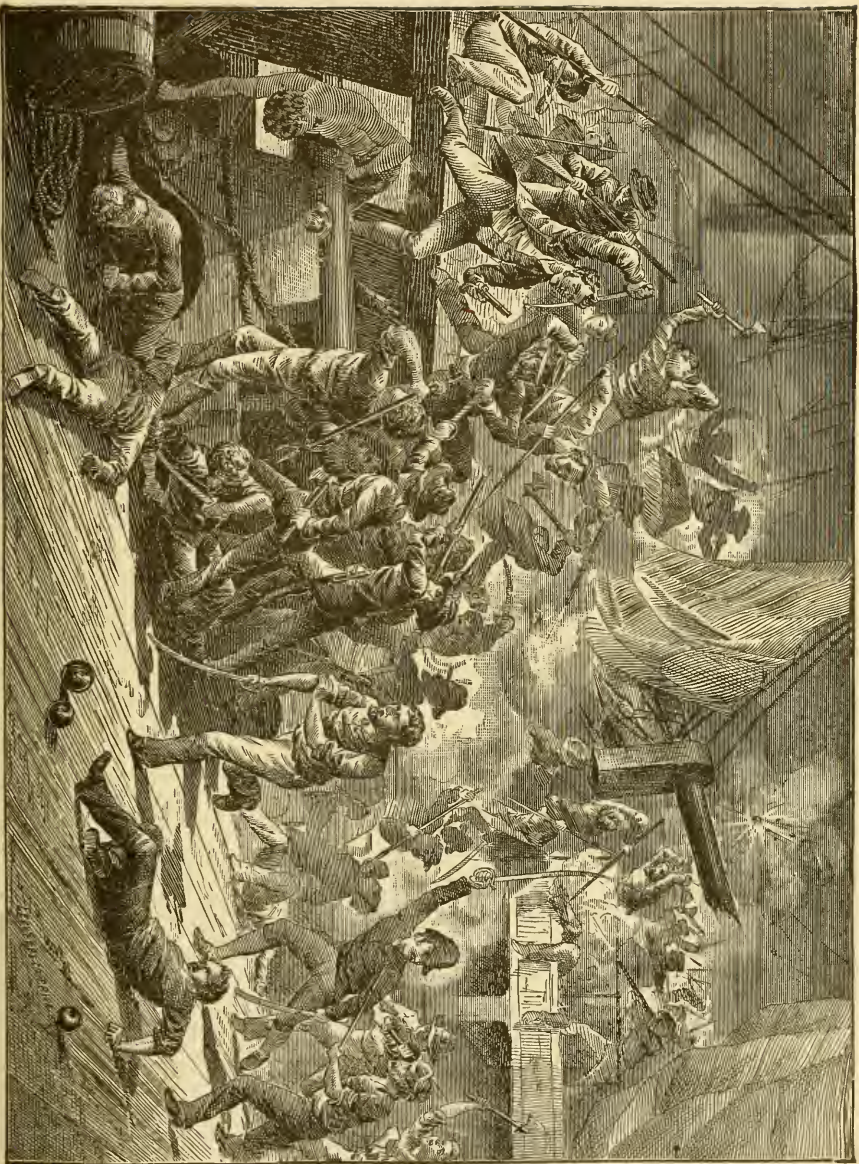
EVENTS OF 1788.—At this point the Americans formed an alliance with France, and the British asked for reconciliation with their rebellious colonies. The latter was refused except upon terms of absolute independence. Clinton succeeded Howe, as General of the British forces. A French fleet under Count D'Estaing was approaching the Delaware. Clinton evacuated Philadelphia, June 18, and fled across New Jersey toward New York. Washington pursued, with 12,000 men, and forced the indecisive battle of Monmouth, June 28. Clinton managed to reach New York, and Washington crossed the Hudson above the city and encamped at White Plains. As winter approached he recrossed and went into quarters at Middlebrook, on the Raritan.

The French fleet, not now needed in the Delaware, sailed for Rhode Island to co-operate with the forces of General Sullivan. But it failed to furnish effectual assistance. During this year the Schoharie, Mohawk, and Cherry Valleys, in New York, and the Wyoming Valley, in Pennsylvania, became the scene of terrible massacres by combined forces of Canadians, Tories and Indians.

In November Clinton sent 2000 troops under Campbell to invade Georgia. They entered Savannah, which they held till near the close of the war.

EVENTS OF 1789.—The British forces were successful in several minor battles with the Georgia militia, notably that of Brier Creek, and they invaded South Carolina, under General Prevost, intending to capture Charleston. But they were forced to beat a retreat by the militia under Lincoln, and the severe but indecisive battle of Stono Ferry was fought.

In April Governor Tryon made a destructive raid into Connecticut with 1500 Hessians, and defeated the Americans under



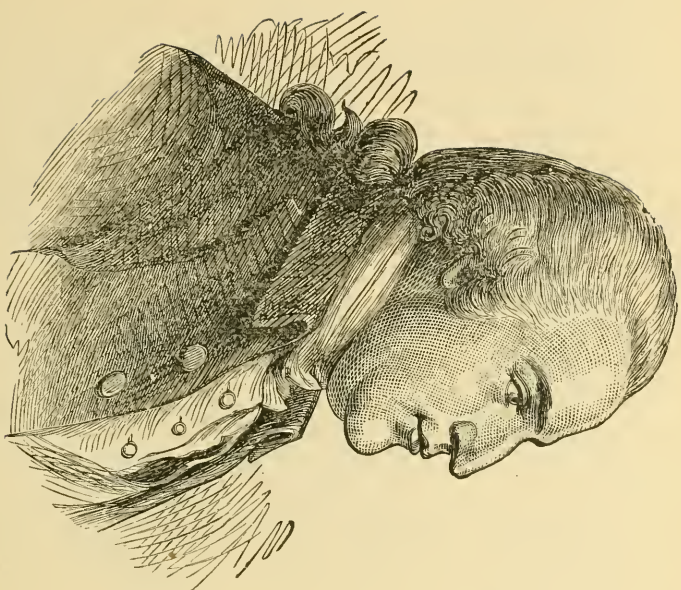
Putnam, at Greenwich. But Putnam succeeded in forcing them to retreat, with the loss of most of their booty. In May a British squadron and land force ravaged the country around Norfolk, Va. On May 31 the battle of Stony Point, on the Hudson, was fought, and the place was captured by the British. In July Governor Tryon repeated his raid into Connecticut, burning East Haven, Fairfield and Norwalk.

On July 16 General Wayne recaptured Stony Point with its garrison, and soon after General Lee captured Paulus Hook, now Jersey City, thus hemming the British in New York on the East and North.

Meanwhile, the British army, composed of Indians, was meeting with reverses in the West, and had been forced out of Kaskaskia and Vincennes. The Indians of New York were severely punished by an army under Sullivan for their massacres in the valleys of the Mohawk and the Wyoming.

The French fleet went to Georgia to co-operate with the Americans under Lincoln. Savannah was besieged by sea and land, but the combined forces were repulsed September 23. Lincoln retreated toward Charleston, and Count D'Estaing sailed for the West Indies. On the same date the American Commodore, John Paul Jones, in the *Bonhomme Richard*, gained his celebrated naval victory off the coast of England by capturing the British man-of-war *Serapis*.

EVENTS OF 1790.—On April 9 Clinton, with his army and fleet, laid siege to Charleston, held by the American forces under Lincoln. After a month of bombardment and manœuvring Lincoln surrendered the city with his army of 6000 men and a great number of cannon. Leaving Cornwallis to hold the city, Clinton sailed back to New York. Cornwallis invaded South Carolina, but met with stout resistance at the hands of such leaders as Sumter, Marion, Pickens and Clarke. In August the American army under Gates entered South Carolina from the North. He fought the bloody battle of Sander's Creek with Cornwallis and Rawdon, August 16, and was badly beaten, losing 1000 men, among whom was the brave DeKalb. Two days afterwards Sumter's forces were defeated and broken up by



Bened. Arnold



Andre!

Tarleton's British cavalry at Fishing Creek. Thus South Carolina passed virtually into the hands of the enemy, as Georgia had done. But as Cornwallis pushed northward to invade North Carolina the patriot spirit revived in South Carolina. The British were beaten with great loss at King's Mountain. Sumter, Marion, Clarke and Pickens, and others, were carrying on such activities as to alarm Cornwallis and cause him to return to South Carolina.

In June the British army and fleet invaded New Jersey, but the landing force was defeated at Springfield by General Greene, and forced to withdraw. Near the close of the year a French fleet under Admiral de Ternay, bearing an army of 6000 men under Count de Rochambeau, landed at Newport, R. I. In September General Benedict Arnold, in command at West Point, agreed to surrender that strong place to the British for \$50,000 and a commission in their army. Major Andre, who negotiated the treason, was caught and hanged, and Arnold escaped to the British lines.

EVENTS OF 1781.—On January 1, 1781, Pennsylvania and New Jersey troops mutinied at Morristown, and marched toward Philadelphia to compel the Congress to vote them their pay. The Congress met them at Princeton, and having given them promises of favorable action, the mutineers returned to the ranks.

In January, Arnold, the traitor, invaded Virginia with 1500 British and Tories, and ascended the James river. He was opposed by Lafayette with 1200 Americans, but being reinforced by 2000 men he continued his marauding expedition, doing much damage at Richmond and throughout his course.

The successes of the British in the South turned the tide of war there in 1781. General Greene was given command of the American forces. Part of his army, under Morgan, defeated Tarleton in the celebrated battle of the Cowpens, January 17. Morgan retreated toward Virginia with 500 prisoners, pursued by Cornwallis. Morgan was reinforced by Greene, and together they safely crossed the Dan into Virginia. The baffled Cornwallis posted himself at Hillsborough, N. C. Greene returned to North Carolina and fought the bloody battle of Guilford



MARQUIS DE LAFAYETTE.



NATHANIEL GREENE.

Court House, in which he was worsted, but so crippled Cornwallis that he retired to Wilmington. Greene advanced to Hobkirk Hill, S. C., where he fought a winning battle with Rawdon's forces. Thus four important posts in South Carolina fell into the hands of the Americans. Greene now laid ineffectual siege to Fort Ninety-Six in Georgia, but the militia of the State under Marion, Pickens and others forced the surrender of Augusta. On September 8 Greene fought the disastrous battle of Eutaw Springs, but the British army retreated, and before the end of the year it only held Charleston and Savannah south of New York.

On April 25 Cornwallis left Wilmington and invaded Virginia. His raid was disastrous far beyond Richmond, and till he met the Americans in full force, under Wayne, Lafayette and Steuben. He then retreated to Yorktown, which he fortified.

In July, Washington, reinforced by Rochambeau's French forces, tried to drive the British out of New York, but failing in this, and seeing that Virginia was to be the final battle ground, he started thither with his main army. His departure was followed by a raid led by Benedict Arnold, into Connecticut, which was characterized by massacres and the burning of New London. Washington did not turn back, but appeared before Yorktown, September 28, with the combined American and French armies. Simultaneously, the Count de Grasse arrived from the West Indies with a powerful French fleet, and blockaded the York river. Washington laid siege to Yorktown, and pushed it so vigorously, that Cornwallis was forced to surrender the place and his entire force of 7000 men on October 19, 1781. His shipping was surrendered to Count de Grasse. Three days afterwards Sir Henry Clinton appeared with a fleet and 7000 British troops in the Chesapeake to assist Cornwallis, but when he heard of his surrender he put back to New York. The French troops remained during the winter in Virginia, but Washington marched back to the Hudson.

The English Parliament was amazed at these defeats. Lord North and his cabinet were compelled to resign. The impossibility of conquering the American Colonies was manifest. A

new ministry in favor of peace came into power. Hostilities were ordered off. A Commission was created to treat with the Colonies. It met an American Commission in Paris, and agreed on a preliminary treaty, November 30, 1782. A definitive treaty was concluded September 3, 1783, and the two countries were at peace, with American Independence an established fact.

On the same date, Sept. 3, 1783, treaties of peace were signed between England, France, Spain and Holland, in all of which the United States was acknowledged as a power among the nations of earth. The British evacuated Savannah, July 11, 1782, Charleston, Dec. 14, and New York, Nov. 25, 1783. On Nov. 3, 1783, the American army was disbanded. Washington resigned his commission Dec. 23, 1783, and retired to Mount Vernon.

FURTHER BUILDING.—The war of the American Revolution resulted in the treaty of Sept. 3, 1783, signed at Paris. By it Great Britain relinquished all her "claims to the government, proprietary and territorial rights" of the United States (naming the thirteen), and acknowledged them "to be free, sovereign and independent States." It further ceded all the territory south of the Great Lake line, northward (in general) of 31° N. lat., and westward to the Mississippi, to the United States. Those pretentious charters and grants from the Crown, which ran through from the Atlantic to the Pacific, had now for their western limit the "Father of Waters." The territory of the United States lay between the Atlantic and Mississippi. The right of Spain (formerly France) to all beyond, was recognized.

STATE OWNERSHIP.—But through this territory, before it was ceded, ran the titles of the Colonies or States. Their claims became a source of trouble long before the date of the treaty. Thus Connecticut, whose charter possessions extended indefinitely to the west, had colonized in the Wyoming Valley, Pa., and was exercising a disputed jurisdiction as early as 1769; so also in the Northwest, in what became the "Western Reserve of Connecticut." Virginia and New York had clashed, for a similar reason, both their boundaries being limitless to the west. So New York and Massachusetts had had trouble, and several

other States. This whole matter of State ownership and jurisdiction westward came up in a conspicuous and dangerous form when the Articles of Confederation were before the States for ratification. Some of the States refused to ratify till the question of western lands was disposed of. Lord North made much of this delay, and pretended to see in this land subject a perpetual source of disagreement and a final refusal to establish a Union under the Articles. It was not a new subject, for the conservative Dickinson, of Pennsylvania, had introduced it into the Congress and insisted upon its being settled satisfactorily before that body passed the Declaration of Independence. As to their own boundaries, there was no controversy with Pennsylvania, Delaware, New Jersey, Maryland, New Hampshire, and Rhode Island, but the remaining seven States were deeply concerned, for theirs were the charters running to the Mississippi or the Pacific. The former States took the ground that any unoccupied, undefined territory wrested from a common enemy by the blood and treasure of the thirteen United Colonies, ought to be considered as common property, subject to be parcelled out by Congress into free, convenient, and independent governments. On these grounds Maryland refused to ratify the Articles of Confederation until an Article was added, securing the Western domain for the common benefit. Virginia entered into furious defence of her magnificent territory, embracing Kentucky and parts of Ohio, Indiana and Illinois. There must be concession somewhere or no Articles of Confederation. The question must be put out of the way before a closer Union could be assured. To be sure, the land was not yet conquered from Great Britain, but should it be, it were well to have the matter settled. New York was the first to move. By resolution of Feb. 19, 1780, she agreed to relinquish her right to unoccupied territory for the common benefit. Congress, mindful of the importance of Union, and "to their very existence as a free, sovereign, and independent people," advised (Sept. 6, 1780) similar surrenders by the other States, and on Oct. 10 resolved that out of the lands thus ceded should be formed States with the same rights of sovereignty, freedom, and independence as those possessed by the original States.

Through the influence of Madison, Virginia agreed to surrender her western domain, and so of the others. Thus the leading obstacle to the ratification of the Articles of Confederation was removed. When the land became theirs by the terms of the treaty of 1783, would these States keep their pledges?

ADJUSTMENT.—New York was prompt to keep hers. Choosing the meridian of $79^{\circ} 55'$ as the limit of westward occupancy, she formally ceded all her domain west of that to the United States for the common benefit, on March 1, 1784. This was but a small patch of 316 square miles which afterwards went to Pennsylvania. Her cession was worthless without the consent of Massachusetts, who claimed clear through. (See Massachusetts, below.) But New York still disputed with New Hampshire the prize of the territory which afterwards became Vermont. This prize, after much contention, and some bloodshed, she relinquished in 1790, and took her present limits and titles.

Virginia followed New York March 1, 1784. Her cession was of that part of the great Territory, afterwards known as the "Territory of the Northwest," * lying between 41° north latitude and the southern border of Kentucky. That part of her cession north of the Ohio, according to its terms, entered into and formed a part of the States of Ohio, Indiana and Illinois. The part south of the Ohio afterwards became Kentucky.

Massachusetts curtailed her indefinite claims April 19, 1785, by relinquishing her right to the small bit of ground just west of the New York boundary, which was then, Jan. 3, 1792, given to Pennsylvania. She held her Maine possessions till 1820,

* The "Territory of the Northwest" was organized under the ordinance of Continental Congress of July 13, 1787, which ordinance is regarded as a model, both as to its text and display of the principles of civil, religious and political liberty. It is popularly ascribed to Jefferson, but was written by Nathan Dane, of Beverly, Mass. Article VI. of this ordinance reads: "There shall be neither slavery nor involuntary servitude in said Territory otherwise than in punishment of crimes whereof the party shall have been duly convicted." This clause afterwards became noteworthy as showing wherein the Congress of the Confederation had exercised the right to exclude slavery from the Territories. Its language was copied in the Missouri Compromise affair, 1819-20; in the Wilmot Proviso, 1846, and in the XIII. amendment to the constitution, 1865.

when they were surrendered in order that Maine might become a State in the Union. In 1855 the district known as the "Boston Corner" was ceded to New York, and in 1861, by exchanges with Rhode Island, both these States got their present limits.

Connecticut under her ostentatious claims to western domains had sent out strong colonies into Pennsylvania and the northwest. Her claim to Pennsylvania soil was a matter for judicial determination. In order to quiet titles in the northwest, she, Sept. 14, 1786, relinquished her claim to everything west of a line drawn due north and south, 120 miles west of the Pennsylvania line. This left her a "reserve" 120 miles wide. On May 30, 1800, she yielded all territory and jurisdiction west of her present limits, reserving whatever right of soil she may have had as a protection to those who held title from her.

South Carolina ceded her claim to a strip of territory only twelve miles wide, lying south of 35° north latitude, and extending along the southern borders of North Carolina and Tennessee, to the Mississippi, on Aug. 9, 1787.

North Carolina adjusted her western border, Feb. 25, 1790, by ceding the territory which afterwards became Tennessee.

Georgia made a most important cession of the territory west of her present western boundary, June 16, 1802.

These cessions of their lands, and surrenders of their claims to lands, by the original States, fulfilled their pledges to thus dispose of them for the common benefit, made before the Articles of Confederation were adopted, and in order that they might be adopted. They quieted the title of the United States to all the territory, outside of the limits of the States, ceded by Great Britain in 1783. They put this part of the fruits of the war at the disposal of all the people. The United States could now begin to enjoy the full fruitions of that treaty. The States would cease their clamors and jealousies about old charter boundaries, and the general government could go on with its great work of State building and the acquisition of new territory. The old States had done nobly in making these surrenders. They proved by them the depth of their interest in the new experiment of

self-constituted federal government, and the extent of their desire not to let selfish love of acres and limitless boundaries stand in the way of permanent national union, peace and progress. As States they could not contribute further to the geographic framework of the nation, nor to matters of title. The government as a whole must now buy or conquer its own rough stones and timbers.

THE LOUISIANA PURCHASE.—And it went about the work right speedily. The English cession of 1783 left intact the Spanish claim to Florida and Louisiana, east of the Mississippi, and beyond that river the United States owned nothing, the boundary being the middle of the stream. We have seen how France ceded her Louisiana to Spain in 1763, and what it meant. Foreign possession of the mouth of the Mississippi was not tolerable. Nor was similar possession of its western shores, and to its middle, any more tolerable. Both were an annoyance and a menace, as had been abundantly proved time and again, and as would continue to be proved, if not removed. In 1795 a treaty had been made with Spain which gave the United States commercial rights at New Orleans. In 1802 Spain gave notice that these rights had ceased. Alarm spread all along the line of the river. It was looked upon as a Spanish trick, instigated by France. But what was the consternation when it was discovered that two years before Spain had parted with Louisiana to France, though the distinctive act of cession had not yet taken place. The treaty of cession had been a secret one, carried out in the interest of Napoleon. Though we doubt not it was a shrewd move on the part of France to further cripple England by first getting back possession of this immense domain and then turning an honest penny by selling to the United States, thus helping the creation of a great commercial rival to England on this continent, in accordance with the French theory of 1763, yet Jefferson, then President, chose to look upon it as an attempt of France to rival England directly. He therefore sent Monroe to the aid of Livingston, minister to France, first to protest that if France took possession the United States would be forced into an alliance with England against her, and, second, to sound

France as to the probability of a purchase. Probably the latter was what France wanted. She was needy, was about to war with England, and was in no position to be hampered with such a possession. Driving the best bargain she could, going up in her price from \$13,000,000 to \$15,000,000, a sale was consummated by treaty of April 30, 1803, ratified by the Senate Oct. 20, 1803, and by a resolution of the House to carry it into effect.*

Of the \$15,000,000, to be paid, \$3,750,000 were withheld to be disbursed, under the French Spoliation bill, to pay the losses Americans had suffered in their commerce at the hands of the French. By this magnificent purchase the United States got a gulf frontage east of the Mississippi extending from that river to Florida, though all this Spain disputed. Leaping the Mississippi the country shot clear to the Pacific, for the ceded territory embraced Louisiana, Arkansas, Missouri, Iowa, Nebraska, Oregon, Minnesota west of the Mississippi, part of Kansas, the Territories of Dakota, Montana, Idaho, Washington, the Indian country, and portions of Colorado and Wyoming,† an added empire of 900,000‡ square miles, or one larger than the entire area of the country before.

SPAIN CEDES FLORIDA.—The next cession of foreign soil was by Spain, Feb. 22, 1819. This was a transaction almost wholly in the interest of Spain, judged by the extent of territory which passed. She claimed that her Florida ran to the Mississippi, also that she had never recognized France's claim to that part of Louisiana west of the Sabine River (Texas). The United

* Owing to the opposition of the Federalists to this purchase, which they regarded unwarranted by the constitution and as tending to increase the preponderance of the South in national legislation, Jefferson called the Eighth Congress together earlier than usual for the express purpose of having it ratify the treaty of purchase and vindicate his procedure. He admitted that the constitution gave no power to purchase foreign territory and make it a part of the Union, but claimed that when once the deed was done, it could be validated by the nation's ratification.

† For the French boundaries of their Louisiana, much wider than those here enumerated, see page 66. And this is important, for Texas was clearly in the Louisiana of France, as the United States acknowledged when Spain came to cede Florida.

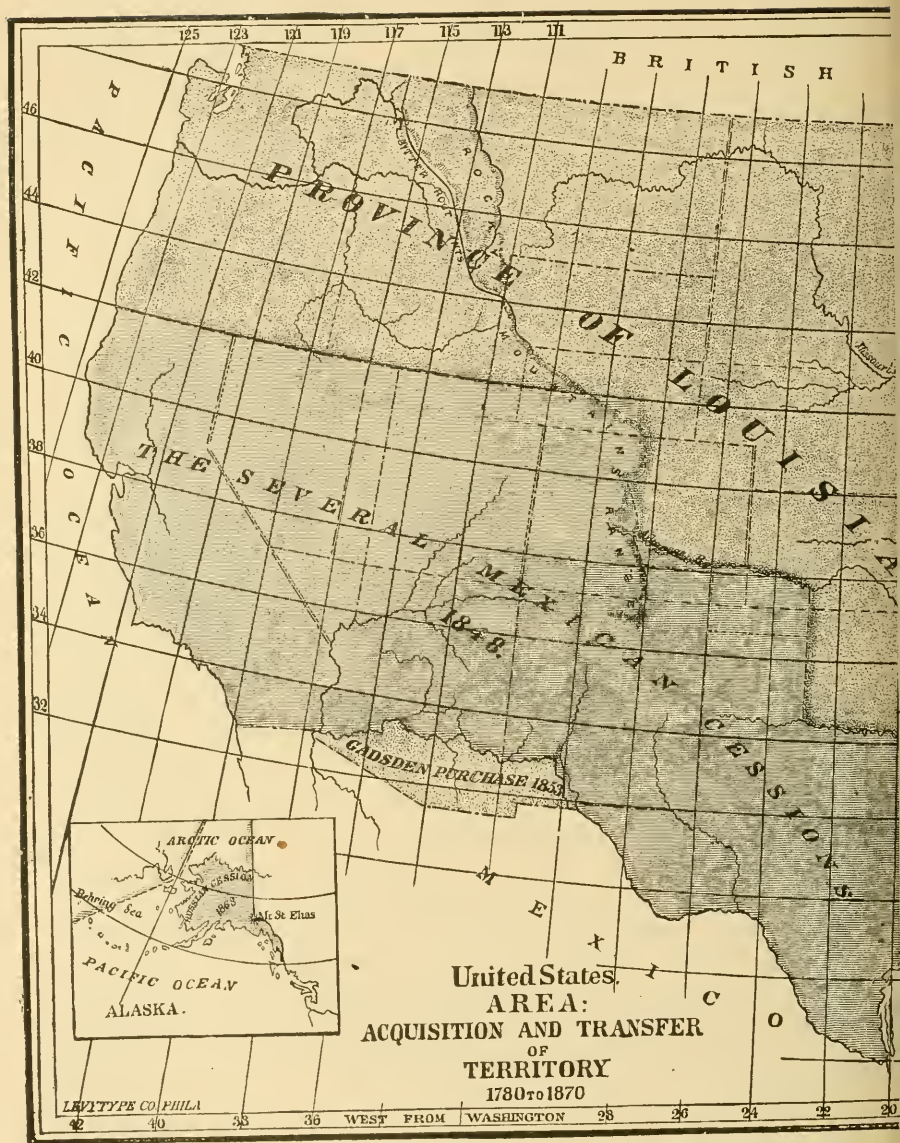
‡ Not counting what was afterwards confirmed by the Oregon treaty of 1846, amounting to 300,000 square miles.

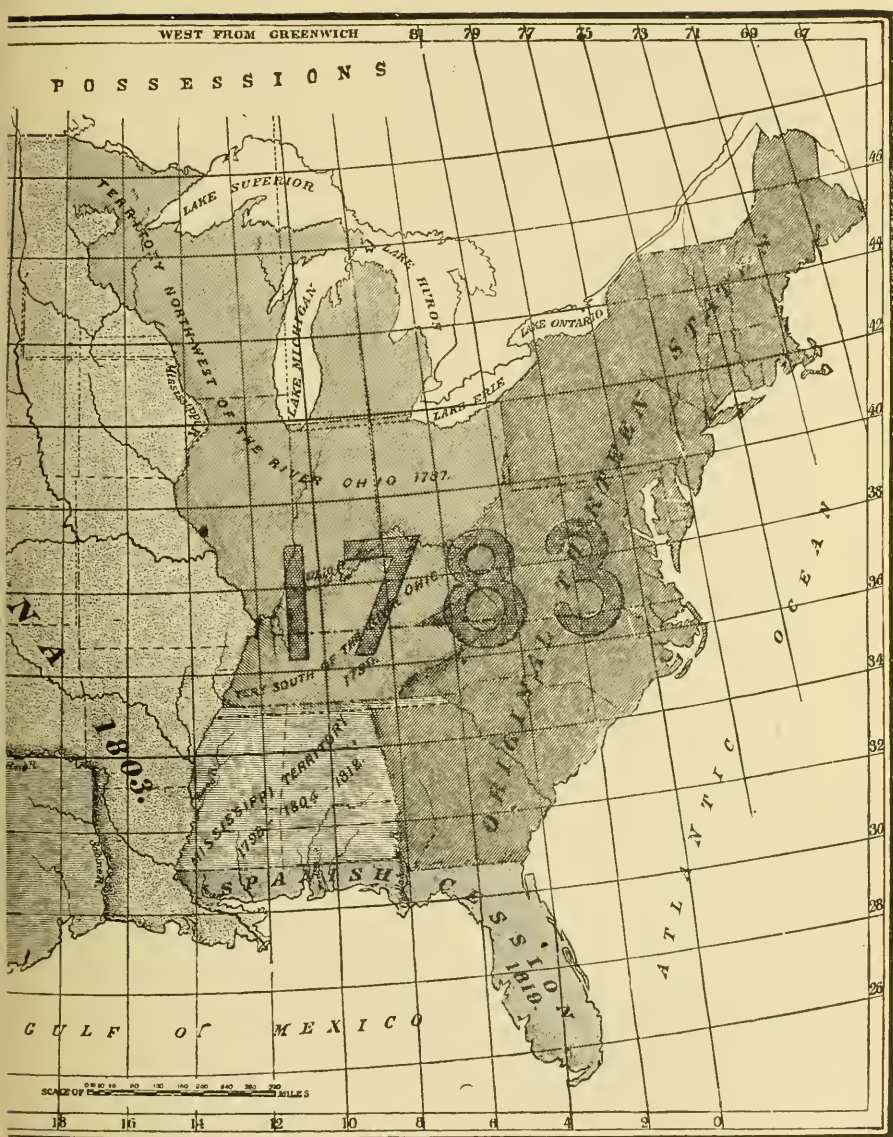
States claimed that Louisiana ran eastward to the present boundary of Florida. To quiet everything, Spain ceded her Florida clear to the Mississippi, for the sum of \$5,000,000, and the additional consideration that the United States should abandon all claim to that part of French Louisiana which lay west of the Sabine. Thus a territory equal to six Floridas, which had already been bought and paid for by the United States, was surrendered to Spain, and was soon to become a part of the Republic of Mexico. In twenty-six (1845) years it drifted back to the United States again, as we shall see when the cession of Texas is reached.

THE OREGON TREATY.—Away up in the Northwest the boundary of Louisiana could not be made to fit to that claimed by Great Britain for her possessions. The United States claimed $54^{\circ} 40'$ N. lat. as the boundary. England claimed that it was the Columbia River. From 1827, the disputed territory had been held by both claimants. The Democratic party made it an issue in their platform of 1844 to claim to $54^{\circ} 40'$, with or without war with England. The watchword all along the line was " $54^{\circ} 40'$ or fight." In the Congress of 1845-46, Calhoun, to the great embarrassment of President Polk and the Democratic party, proposed 49° as a compromise line. After much party backing and filling, and long negotiation, a treaty was agreed upon, June 15, 1846, which was ratified by the Senate, the Whigs coming to the rescue of the President, saving him from his party friends and the country from war. The treaty fixed 49° N. lat. as the boundary, as originally proposed by Calhoun. This necessitated an immense cession of land—all between the southern limit claimed by Great Britain and the 49° —to the United States. It amounted to 308,052 square miles, and the cession was called "The Cession by the Oregon Treaty of 1846." Thus were cured the defects of the treaty of purchase of 1803, with France, and the Ashburton treaty of 1842, with Great Britain.

*ANNEXATION OF TEXAS.**—Texas had been a State of

* As Texas came directly into the Union as a State, see further about her history in connection with the *State of Texas*, next article.





the Republic of Mexico, but had seceded, had set up for herself an independent republic, and was, in 1845, at war with Mexico, though an armistice was then pending, with a view to peace. It was deemed an opportune moment to secure her vast domain for the United States. Under the lead of Calhoun, a treaty of annexation, pure and simple, was proposed, but rejected. This was followed by another proposing her admission into the Union, which was coupled with one for negotiation and treaty. In this shape it passed, and Texas was admitted as a State Dec. 29, 1845. Her debt, amounting to \$7,500,000, was assumed by the United States. Besides incorporating her wonderful territory of 318,000 square miles, with our own, she relinquished all her claims, by virtue of her having been a member of the Mexican Republic, to the lands west of the 27th meridian, and now in the territory embraced by Colorado and New Mexico. Her status being that of war with Mexico, it was assumed by the United States. Thus the country was plunged into the Mexican war, which made the Texas experiment a very costly one in the end. By that war, however, other vast and valuable areas were acquired.

MEXICAN CESSION.—The Mexican war (1846–48) which had been going on for two years was brought to a close by the treaty of Feb. 2, 1848. By its terms Mexico ceded all the territory now covered by the States of California and Nevada, also her claims to Texas, Utah, Arizona and New Mexico, and parts of Wyoming, Colorado and the Indian country, holding, however, to a part of New Mexico and Arizona south of the Gila River. The lower Rio Grande from its mouth to El Paso was taken for the boundary of Texas. The United States paid Mexico, for this land, \$15,000,000, in five annual instalments, and in addition assumed the claims of American citizens against Mexico, to an amount not exceeding \$3,250,000.

GADSDEN PURCHASE.—The lands, above mentioned, as reserved by Mexico south of the Gila river, were purchased by the United States, Dec. 30, 1853, for \$10,000,000. The transaction became known as the "Gadsden Purchase." This purchase gave the United States a better southern boundary, and compact

areas between the two oceans. "Westward the course of empire" had taken its way, and the Pacific front took a range of 1,343 miles, as against the Atlantic's 2,163 miles.

ALASKA CESSION.—The last accession of national territory was May 28, 1867, when Russia ceded all her territory in North America to the United States for the sum of \$7,200,000. This gave us Alaska, which is not coterminous territory, being cut off by intervening British possessions. The policy of this purchase was, at first, regarded as unwise. But time has changed sentiment respecting it. If the question were up as to the propriety of its sale at the price paid for it there would be a negative response. It is, to say the least, a good pivotal and strategic point, barren as it may be of other importance.

TERRITORIAL SUMMARY.—How look our national areas when thrown into figures? Using estimates and round numbers the showing is as follows:

	Sq. miles.		Sq. miles.
Estimated Area.....	1783	Gadsden Purchase....	1853
Louisiana Purchase....	1803	Alaska Purchase....	1867
Florida Purchase.....	1819		
Oregon Treaty Lands..	1846	Grand Total	3,466,166
Texas Annexation.....	1846	Est'd Lake & Water Surface	396,116
Mexican Cession... ..	1848		
		Sq. miles	3,862,282
		Acres	2,471,860,480

To all these acres the United States has undisputed title. They are the acquisition of one hundred years of national sovereignty, and are exceeded by the figures of only three other empires in the world—Great Britain with all her detached dependencies, the Chinese Empire and Russian Empire. And now, having seen whence our national titles sprang, having built our country territorially, and having studied the beginnings of our institutions amid colonial life, let us turn to that part of the fabric in which States comprise the artistic subdivisions and comprise the sublime whole.

NOTE.—Roman Empire, in time of Augustus, estimated by Gibbon at 1,600,000 square miles.



WASHINGTON'S RECEPTION AT TRENTON.

DAWN OF THE STATES.
THE CONFEDERATION AND ITS DEFECTS.
GOVERNMENT UNDER THE CONSTITUTION.
ADMITTING THE STATES.

FROM COLONY TO STATE.—Having taken a view of the country in the rough, seen its titles and beginnings as they arose like dry land out of a multitude of waters, caught something of that free, republican spirit which ripened in the colonies and urged perpetually toward independence and union, and witnessed our majestic territorial strides from Atlantic to Pacific, buying where the market was open, conquering where it was closed, let us turn to finer parts of the national fabric.

The resolution of the Continental Congress, passed May 10, 1776, suppressing royal authority in the colonies, made necessary the formation of local governments, capable of answering the ends of political society and of continuing without interruption the protection of law over property, life and public order. These newly formed local governments, or these reformed colonial governments, for fortunately the political situation in many of the colonies required but little departure from their previous local institutions, were the true beginnings of the States. They were spoken of as "States" in the Declaration of Independence, and they made a near approach to States as they now are, under the Articles of Confederation. But, though States of a Union, they were not our States of the Union. How were they transformed?

THE FIRST STEP.—As has been seen, the Continental Congress was the only government during the Revolution and up until the adoption of the Articles of Confederation in 1781. It was simply a revolutionary government, with power for any-

thing or nothing, just as its acts were sanctioned or condemned by the popular voice. It was the result of a Union on account of public danger and not of a Union as the result of a charter or constitution. When the danger had passed, the function of the Congress would cease, and the Union would melt into its original components. There was more danger in this than in the presence of an armed foe. Statesmen were busy at work to prevent such a catastrophe. Before the Declaration Franklin had proposed a scheme of Confederation. The Continental Congress of 1775 (the Congress of the Declaration as it was called) had raised a committee in whose hands measures for a more permanent Union were placed. The newspapers teemed with plans for a permanent republican government. On the 12th of July, 1776, the committee of Congress reported Articles, drawn by John Dickinson, of Pennsylvania. They did not meet the approval of the Congress, but rather plunged it into debate over questions of commerce, public lands, taxation, and the relative positions of the larger and smaller States. For sixteen months the Articles were delayed. At last, November 15, 1777, an agreement was had, and a draft of Articles, as agreed upon by the Congress, was sent out to the States for ratification, together with a letter commending them as a plan "for securing the freedom, sovereignty and independence of the United States," as the best that could be adapted to the circumstances of all, as "essential to their very existence as a free people," and without which they might "soon be constrained to bid adieu to independence, liberty and safety."

Nine of the States promptly ordered their delegates in Congress to ratify the Articles, which was done July, 1778. But they were not to be binding unless ratified by all the States. Political languor seemed to have taken the place of that blaze of freedom which had hitherto burned so brightly in the inchoate States. The burdens of war pressed heavily. Congress issued an appeal to the remaining States "to conclude the glorious compact." Henry Laurens, the President of Congress, wrote despairingly to Washington: "Where is virtue, where is patriotism now, when almost every man has turned his attention to

gain and pleasure, practising every artifice of Change-alley or Jonathan's?" *

The capture of Burgoyne, October 16, 1777, and word of a French alliance, February 6, 1778, served to stir enthusiasm again and revive the hope of Union under fully ratified Articles. A few other States gave their assent, but Maryland held out. She would not consent till the great question of public domain was disposed of, nor did she consent till the States to whom the valley of the Mississippi would have fallen by virtue of their charter limits patriotically agreed to surrender all lands which England might cede by any treaty of peace to the United States. All conquered, or to be conquered, lands thus made common property, Maryland ratified February 2, 1781, and signed March 1, 1781. The revolutionary government by a Congress was at an end. The step taken made union firmer under the forms of the first American constitution. *See* Articles of Confederation, p. 155.

WHAT THE ARTICLES DID.†—They renewed the

* Jonathan's was a London coffee-house, the resort of speculators. Precisely why the English applied the term to Americans is not clear. But, as thus applied, it appears in a printed ballad on the expedition to Rhode Island, 1778, "Jonathan felt bold, sir." The British account of the burning of Fairfield, 1779, uses the word thus: "The troops faced about and drove Jonathan." In the form of "Brother Jonathan," the term hardly appeared till after peace had softened the asperities of war.

† The great seal of the American Union was adopted June 20, 1782. It was the American Eagle, holding in his right talon an olive branch, in his left a bundle of thirteen arrows, in his beak a scroll inscribed with "*E Pluribus Unum*" (one composed of many), and over his head an azure field with thirteen stars. On the reverse was an unfinished pyramid with an eye, having over it "*Annuït Coeptis*" (a beginning permitted, or approved), at the base MDCCLXXVI., and underneath "*Novus Ordo Seclorum*" (a new order of ages).

Previously, June 14, 1777, Congress voted "That the flag of the United States be thirteen stripes, alternately red and white; that the Union be thirteen stars, white, in a blue field, representing a new constellation. This flag continued till Vermont (1791) and Kentucky (1792) were admitted, when it was changed (Act of January 13, 1794) to fifteen stripes and fifteen stars. It became apparent that the increase of stripes, as new States were admitted, would throw the flag out of proportion. Therefore the following was passed, April 4, 1818: "That from and after the 4th of July next the flag of the United States be thirteen horizontal stripes, alternate red and white; that the Union be twenty stars (the then number of States), white, in a blue field; that, on the admission of every new State, one star be added to the union of the flag, such addition to be made on the 4th of July next succeeding such admission."

pledge of the States to Union, or rather made public and official record of such pledge. They made inter-state citizenship free. They created a Congress and defined its powers, but endowed it with no executive function. They gave the States something to conform to. They created a tribunal to settle disputes between the States. But the best thing they did was to confer a great educational service through their weaknesses and defects.

WHAT THEY DID NOT DO.—In saying that the Articles soon proved themselves full of glaring defects, it must not be forgotten that the States, while colonies, had been subject to a foreign rule whose restrictions had been severely felt and whose assumptions had been a source of constant jealousy and alarm. They had, naturally, nourished a spirit of resistance to all authority outside of themselves, and, having no experience of the convenience or necessity of a general government to care for their common interests, they deemed the least possible delegation of their power quite sufficient for national purposes. Therefore the Articles created a confederation which had few powers for peace. It could make treaties, but could not execute them; appoint ambassadors, but not pay their expenses; borrow money, but not pay a dollar; make coin, but not import an ounce of bullion; declare war and order the number of troops, but not raise a single soldier; in short, declare anything and do nothing. It was truly a feeble thread on which to string thirteen States and hold them in bonds of union. Its unfitness as a frame of government for a free, enterprising and industrious people, so manifest at the start, grew more and more so, till it finally lost all vigor and respect and tottered to its fall. Should it be left to silent dissolution, or should an attempt be made to form something more commanding and vigorous before the great interests of the Union were crushed and buried beneath its ruins?

DAWN OF A CONSTITUTION.—Hamilton saw the defects of the Articles of Confederation and (1780) proposed a convention to reform them even before they were ratified by the States. Similar propositions were made by Pelatiah Webster in 1781, the New York Legislature in 1782, Hamilton in Congress 1783, Richard Henry Lee in 1784, Governor Bowdoin in

1785. But it required more than cold propositions and dignified discussion to overcome the indifference of the States. It required the flat refusal of New Jersey to comply with an act of Congress. It required the open offense of Massachusetts in raising troops to crush Shay's rebellion. It required the quarrel between Virginia and Maryland as to the right to navigate the waters of the Chesapeake and Potomac. This last brought a convention to Annapolis, September 11, 1786. Only five States were represented. They did nothing respecting the point in dispute; they could do nothing. But Hamilton was there, and Madison, and Dickinson, and they saw but one way out of such difficulties—that was by creating a stronger central government and endowing it with ample powers on all such delicate subjects. Their report suggested a call of delegates from all the States to meet in Philadelphia, May (second Monday), 1787.

A CONSTITUTION.—Congress adopted this report, February 21, 1787, and ordered a Convention. All the States sent delegates except Rhode Island. On May 14, they met in Independence Hall, but a majority of the States not being represented they adjourned from day to day till the 25th. Then organizing by the election of George Washington as President, they proceeded to business. It was a memorable body. The veterans of the revolution were there, and the wise statesmen of the times which gave birth to the Bill of Rights, the Declaration of Independence, and the Articles of the Confederation. They were there to remedy the defects of the past and propose a new departure for the future. Franklin was there, at eighty-one. Johnson of Connecticut, Rutledge of South Carolina, and Dickinson, had been members of the Stamp Act Congress. Seven of them had been in the Congress of 1774. Eight of them had signed the Declaration of Independence. Their deliberations ran through four months, and they were carried on amid great diversity of opinion.* The antagonisms of American society, errors of

* The sessions were held with closed doors, and the utmost secrecy was enjoined, no member being even allowed to copy from the Convention's Journal, which was entrusted to Washington, and by him deposited in the State Department. It was printed by direction of Congress in 1818.

opinion and deep-rooted prejudices, local interests, State jealousies and ambitions, and especially the matter of slavery, these all trooped into the convention to make it a scene of furious storms, and to threaten its disruption time and again. Even the calm and hopeful Washington said he almost despaired of seeing a favorable issue to the proceedings, and more than once repented of having had any agency in the business. But an era of compromise was reached, and the work was completed on September 17, 1787. All the members present signed The Constitution of the United States of America, except Edmund Randolph and George Mason of Virginia, and Elbridge Gerry of Massachusetts. It was then sent to the States to be ratified by Conventions, specially called for the purpose, and was to become operative when so ratified by nine of the States. All the States called Conventions and ratified, except Rhode Island and North Carolina.* See Constitution, page 161.

NEW GOVERNMENT.—On July 2, 1788, the President of Congress laid before that body the ratification of the requisite nine States. By September 13, "a plan for putting the Constitution in operation" was completed. The first Wednesday in January was fixed for the appointment of electors; the first Wednesday in February for their meeting to vote for a President; and the first Wednesday in March as the time, and New York as the place, for commencing proceedings under the new Constitution. The necessary elections of Senators and Representatives having been held, the first Congress assembled at New York, Wednesday, March 4, 1789, to adjourn for want of a quorum till April 6, when the votes of the electors being counted it was found that George Washington had been unanimously elected President and John Adams Vice-President. On April

* North Carolina afterwards in a new convention held November, 1789, adopted the Constitution, and Rhode Island by a convention held May, 1790. The debates in the respective State Conventions over the question of ratifying took the widest range and showed great diversity of sentiment. In only three States was the Constitution adopted unanimously, New Jersey, Delaware and Georgia. In Connecticut, Pennsylvania, Maryland and South Carolina it had large majorities. In Massachusetts, New York and Virginia it had a bare majority, and in the remaining States a small majority.

30, Washington was sworn into office, and our present form of government was a fact.*

SENTIMENT.—In his inaugural Washington said, “In the important revolution just accomplished in the system of their united government, the tranquil deliberations and voluntary consent of so many distinct communities, from which the event has resulted, cannot be compared with the means by which most governments have been established, without some return of pious gratitude, along with an humble anticipation of the future blessings which the past seems to presage.”

“The strongest government on earth” and “the only one where every man, at the call of the law, would fly to the standard of the law, and would meet invasions of the public order as his own personal concern.”—*Jefferson's Inaugural*.

“America has emerged from her struggle into tranquillity and freedom, into affluence and credit; and the authors of her Constitution have constructed a great permanent experimental answer to the sophisms and declarations of the detractors of liberty.”—*Sir James Mackintosh*.

“To those great men who framed the Constitution and secured the adoption of it, we owe a debt of gratitude which can scarcely be repaid. It was not then, as it is now, looked upon, from the blessings which, under the guidance of Divine Providence, it has bestowed, with general favor and affection. On the contrary, many of those pure and disinterested patriots, who stood forth the firm advocates of its principles, did so at the expense of existing popularity. They felt that they had a higher duty to perform than to flatter the prejudices of the people, or subserve selfish, sectional or local interests. Many of them went to their graves without the soothing consolation that their services and sacrifices were appreciated. Scorning every attempt to rise to power and influence by the common arts of the demagogue, they were content to trust their characters and conduct to the deliberate judgment of posterity.”—*Story on the Constitution*.

* Chancellor Livingston administered the oath of office. The President delivered his inaugural address in the presence of both Houses of Congress, a custom which was adhered to till Jefferson changed it.

"It animated freemen all over the world to resist oppression. It gave an example of a great people not only emancipating themselves, but governing themselves without even a monarch to control or an aristocracy to restrain them ; and it demonstrated for the first time in the history of the world, contrary to all the predictions of statesmen and the theories of speculative inquirers, that a great nation, when duly prepared for the task, is capable of self-government ; or in other words, that a purely republican form of government can be formed and maintained in a country of vast extent, peopled by millions of inhabitants."—*Brougham's Political Philosophy*.

"The republican government was a success because in its operation it met the needs of the two fundamental conditions of American political life, diversity and union, as correlative forces—on the one hand, the development of the Commonwealth or State ; on the other, of the union or nation."—*Frothingham's Rise of the Republic*.

"It actually secured, for what is really a long period of time, a greater amount of combined peace and freedom than was ever before enjoyed by so large a portion of the earth's surface. There have been, and still are, vaster despotic empires ; but never before has so large an inhabited territory remained for more than seventy years in the enjoyment of internal freedom and of exemption from the scourge of internal war."—*Freeman's Hist. of Federal Gov.*

Even as Freeman wrote (1861), the Republic was passing through its severest ordeal—that of civil war ; and the verdict rendered in this supreme court of armed force was in favor of the Constitution. All the above are wonderfully pleasing and inspiring pictures of potency and adaptation, yet they were not undreamt of among the early patriot seers.

"The celestial light of the gospel was directed here by the finger of God ; it will doubtless finally drive the long, long night of heathenish darkness from America. So arts and sciences will change the face of nature in their tour from hence over the Appalachian chain to the Western ocean ; and as they march through the vast desert, the residence of wild beasts will be broken up

and their obscure howl cease forever. Instead of which, the stones and trees will dance together at the music of Orpheus, the rocks will disclose their hidden gems, and the inestimable treasures of gold and silver be broken up. Huge mountains of iron-ore are already discovered, and vast stores are reserved for future generations. This metal, more useful than gold and silver, will employ millions of hands, not only to form the martial sword and peaceful share, alternately, but an infinity of utensils improved in the exercise of art and handicraft amongst men. Nature through all her works has stamped authority on this law, namely, that all fit matter shall be improved to its best purposes. Shall not, then, those vast quarries that teem with mechanic stone, those for structure be piled into great cities, and those for sculpture to perpetuate the honor of renowned heroes, even those who shall now save their country? O ye unborn inhabitants of America! should this page escape the destined conflagration at the year's end, and these alphabetical letters remain legible, when your eyes behold the sun after he has rolled the season round for two or three centuries more, you will know that in Anno Domini 1758, we dreamed of your times." *

THE OLD THIRTEEN STATES.—These States had first colonial existence, then independent revolutionary existence under the Congress, then united existence under the pledge of the Confederation, and now they come to have cemented existence under the Constitution and constitutional form of government. Their membership in the Republic dates from their ratification of the Constitution by conventions chosen for the purpose. These dates are: Delaware, Dec. 7, 1787; Pennsylvania, Dec. 12, 1787; New Jersey, Dec. 18, 1787; Georgia, Jan. 2, 1788; Connecticut, Jan. 9, 1788; Massachusetts, Feb. 6, 1788; Maryland, April 28, 1788; South Carolina, May 23, 1788; New Hampshire, June 21, 1788; Virginia, June 25, 1788; New York, July 26, 1788; North Carolina, Nov. 21, 1789; Rhode Island, May 29, 1790.

* Written by Nathaniel Ames, father of Fisher Ames, in Ames' Almanac for 1758, and one of the most remarkable prophecies relating to America.

THE EARLIEST TERRITORIES.—While yet the country was limping along under the Confederation, it entered upon the work of disposing of its lands acquired by the treaty of 1783. Its first action was by the celebrated ordinance of July 13, 1787, already alluded to, which created "The Territory Northwest of the Ohio river" out of the Virginia cession up to 41°, and out of all north of that parallel, ceded by Great Britain. Out of this territory, according to the provisions of the ordinance, not less than three States were to be formed fronting on the Ohio river. Out of all that was left, lying north of an east and west line drawn through the southern extremity of Lake Michigan, one or two other States were to be formed. The provisions of this ordinance were afterwards carried out in the formation of Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois, and so, of the remaining portion of the territory, were formed Michigan, Wisconsin, and that part of Minnesota east of the Mississippi.

The next disposition of public domain was made by the present government on May 26, 1790. It then erected the "Territory south of the Ohio river," out of cessions by Virginia and North Carolina, and gave it a government similar to that ordained for the Territory northwest of the Ohio. Out of this Territory, in due time, sprang the States of Kentucky and Tennessee, though to the latter was added the strip of twelve miles wide, ceded by South Carolina.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.—All this was simply pushing the jurisdiction of the government in a Territorial way. The real work of State carving and building, outside of original limits, was, however, soon to begin in earnest. But we must first notice that important grant which had the effect of fixing the location of the National Capital. Article 1, Sec. 8, of the Constitution empowered Congress "to exercise exclusive legislation, in all cases whatsoever, over such district (not exceeding ten miles square) as may by cession of particular States, and the acceptance of Congress, become the seat of government of the United States." By act of her legislature, Dec. 23, 1788, Maryland made a cession of territory ten miles square for the above purpose. Nearly a year afterwards, Dec. 3, 1789, Vir-

ginia ceded a like, or less, quantity of land for a similar purpose. Thus the government was in possession of more than it needed for a capital. However, it accepted both grants, July 16, 1790, and ordained that the same should become the permanent seat of government of the United States. In the same act the President was authorized to fix the boundaries of the cessions so as to bring their limits within the constitutional provision of ten miles square. This he did by proclamation, March 30, 1791. The territory retained embraced sixty-four square miles of that part ceded by Maryland and thirty-six of that ceded by Virginia. Over this the government assumed control by Act of Feb. 27, 1801. But it was cut in twain by the Potomac. Therefore, by act of July 9, 1846, the Virginia portion was retroceded to that State, leaving the District of Columbia and the permanent seat of government to occupy only the Maryland cession of about sixty-four square miles.

VERMONT FIRST.—The introduction of new States makes a curious and instructive history. Some ripened as Territories and drifted naturally into their places as States of the Union. Others were forced into position ere they were ready, in obedience to a balancing principle which, at an early day, was resorted to for the gratification of sectional feelings and interests. Still others were admitted for protective border or commercial reasons. But, let it be hoped, that all were admitted for their own advantage and that of the national government, and that now no one would wish to lose its place in the federal arch.

The first to link her fortunes with the "old thirteen" was Vermont. She, above all others, had had an unfortunate territorial existence, and her admission was a happy escape from troubles which otherwise seemed unending. Claimed by Massachusetts under the wonderful Plymouth charter, by New Hampshire whose western limit was practically unascertained, by New York because "the New Netherlands," afterwards the possession of the Duke of York, ran indefinitely northeastward, and by France because it lay along a water way into the St. Lawrence, and peopled more or less by all these claimants, New Hampshire had been from the earliest times a common raiding-ground

and seat of contention. The fight between New York and New Hampshire waxed so bitter that a decision was invoked from the crown. New York won, and her line was adjudged to extend to the Connecticut river. The folly of New York in deciding the New Hampshire grants of lands in Vermont illegal stirred up the landholders to armed resistance. There is no telling how far the war would have been carried, for the Vermonters were very determined, had not the revolution turned attention in another direction. Even during the war with Great Britain the Vermonters, January, 1777, established for their territory an independent jurisdiction under the name of "New Connecticut or Vermont." Thus equipped they petitioned the Continental Congress for admission into the Union, a request which was entitled to respect, for Vermont was playing a brave and important role, and was really as much of an independent colony as any other. But she was headed off by New York and New Hampshire, neither of whom were yet ready to relinquish their hold upon her. To make matters worse Massachusetts revived her sleeping claim to the soil. The plight was pitiable. No redress was to be had of the indecisive government of the Confederation, for it was really no government at all. The farmers again flew to arms under the lead of the intrepid Ethan Allen, and were now more than ever determined to resist the attempt of New York to push her authority into their midst. The British, knowing the tardiness and negligence of the Congress of the Confederation, and hoping that the Vermonters would soon be driven to seek the protection of a stronger government, actually opened negotiations to have them cast their lot in with theirs. But these spirited Green Mountain men were not disloyal enough for that. They clung closely together, kept up a government of their own, fought bravely through the war of the revolution, and at the peace of 1783 constituted a State, so far as machinery went, as perfect as any of the original thirteen.

After the adoption of the constitution of 1787, and the formation of the new government under it, she again petitioned for admission. New York opposed her as before. But this time the power of the central government was stronger. It could hear

and decide, and was willing to do so. A commission was created to investigate and decide the conflict. New York was paid \$30,000 with which to quiet the titles of her citizens holding lands in Vermont. Thereupon she withdrew all claims to jurisdiction, and by act of Feb. 18, 1791, to take effect March 4, 1791, Vermont was admitted into the Union, with all the rights and privileges of a State. As intimated her independent State existence became necessary as a cure for the evils which had come upon her through conflicting claims of ownership and their foolish assertion, and not for any very pressing geographic or commercial reason. The United States now embraced fourteen States.

KENTUCKY'S ADMISSION.—Kentucky very properly came into the Union at an early date. She had been a dissatisfied and dangerous territory for a long time. Her region had been a hunting-ground and battle-field remote from her mother Virginia, whose protection was quite too feeble to be of any account. The wild, brave spirits who had found a home in the midst of "the dark and bloody grounds" had more than once declared that inasmuch as Virginia could give them no protection, they ought to set up a government of their own. But they never completely severed their relations with the mother colony or State, for the reason that they regarded the government of the Confederation as of no more consequence to them, in the matter of protection, than Virginia. So they drifted amid years and years of conventions, debates and resolutions, on the propriety of doing something toward protective organization. At one time it looked as if the entire territory might be lost to the Union, and a war to recover it be the consequence. Spain, understanding the situation, secretly proposed rare commercial favors if the territory would declare independence and start out on a career of its own. Knowledge of this proposition stirred public sentiment to the very bottom. Two conventions* were held in quick succession, at Danville, looking toward a territorial government, and as a greater measure of safety toward admission into the Union. In these the debates ran high, and disputes were often

* They were the sixth and seventh which had been held.

long and angry. At length out of the turmoil came a proposition to recommend separate territorial existence. Congress acted promptly and erected "The Territory South of the Ohio River," including Kentucky and Tennessee, May 26, 1790. This action was followed Feb. 4, 1791, to take effect June 1, 1792, by another act admitting Kentucky into the Union as a State. Thus was used the old territory of Virginia south of the Ohio.

TENNESSEE ADMITTED.—Tennessee was that part of the national domain ceded by North Carolina, to which was added, on the south, the strip of twelve miles wide ceded by South Carolina. It was also all that was left of "the Territory South of the Ohio," after Kentucky was admitted. It too was a dangerous Territory, bordering as it did on partly foreign waters (the Mississippi), and subject to the same inducements to drift away from the Atlantic influence, as was Kentucky. Like Kentucky, also, the Tennessee region had early become the scene of white settlement and bloody Indian encounter. It too was "a dark and bloody ground" for many years, extending from, say 1754 to the close of the American revolution. Indeed, during the revolution Great Britain attempted to work in the rear of the American situation by arming the Cherokees and pushing them through the settlements of the Cumberland and on to the colonists of Virginia and the Carolinas. Only by the most heroic efforts of the Carolina and Virginia militia was the territory held against Indian foe and English promise to the inhabitants of special favors if they too would take up arms against the Atlantic colonists.

As long as the territory belonged to North Carolina it was known as the "District of Washington." After the peace of 1783, and the founding of Nashville, the people felt that the Mother Colony was no longer protective, yet like those of Kentucky, they had no faith in the government of the Confederation, and deemed it a feeble power to tie to. They were, therefore, at sea as to a proper allegiance, till after the adoption of the Constitution of 1787. Then, with a stronger central government in view, one which could afford the much needed protection, and which was worthy of confidence and support, their political

future became plain. North Carolina relinquished all control in 1790, and in the same year Tennessee became a part of "The Territory South of the Ohio." Two years after the admission of Kentucky, the people formed a State Constitution and presented it to Congress. It was approved June 1, 1796, and Tennessee became a State of the American Union, her territory having been that of North Carolina and part of South Carolina. The admission of Kentucky and Tennessee was a commercial necessity. They gave to the Union a Mississippi frontage, headed off further Spanish scheming in the upper valley, and presented the hand of our dynasty in such a way as to be taken hold of in friendly commercial clasp across the "Father of Waters," or with iron grip for supremacy from Lake Itaska to the Delta. The stars on the American flag numbered sixteen.

OHIO GETS READY.—Turning the century the government was busy with its "Territory Northwest of the Ohio." By act of May 7, 1800, to take effect July 1, 1800, it was divided into two parts. This was getting ready for the State of Ohio, for one part was very like the present Ohio. The other part was incorporated into the "Territory of Indiana." And a word about this "Territory of Indiana." It of course comprised all that was left of "The Territory Northwest of the Ohio," after Ohio was taken away. But it had a greater fame before it. After France made her cession of Louisiana it was, by act of October 1, 1804, erected into "The District of Louisiana," and placed under the jurisdiction of the officers appointed to govern the Territory of Indiana. Thus, for purposes of government, the Territory of Indiana was a vast empire, the largest by far ever organized by the government within its territory. Territorial Indiana reached to the Pacific and the gulf.

The part cut off, and which was to become Ohio, embraced all of present Ohio up to a line drawn east and west through the southern point of Lake Michigan, and this was Ohio as admitted into the Union by act of April 30, 1802, to take effect November 29, 1802. But the Ohio of to-day contains some 600 square miles more territory. Her northern boundary was adjusted by act of June 15, 1836, called the "Enabling act for the State of Michigan," and by act of June 23, 1836.

France and England, both original claimants of Ohio, began to clash about, and on, the soil as early as 1750. It had been a stamping ground for French traders long before this. At that time Virginians and Englishmen, having obtained a grant of 600,000 acres, came as settlers and traders. Frequent collisions with the French ended in war. To drive out the French was the object of Braddock's disastrous march on Fort Du Quesne. Not until the loss of Canada and the Mississippi valley by France in 1763, did Ohio become undisputed English soil. On account of these rival claims and bloody disputes, permanent settlement was tardy in a land so inviting and so contiguous to the old States. Even after the organization of "The Territory of the Northwest," Ohio was by no means a pleasant place to go to, for the Indians were very tenacious of their titles to the land, and were kept in a state of ferment and opposition by the British on the north. The entire region was in a state of war from 1790 to 1794, when the Miamies were humiliated by General Wayne. After this migration and settlement were phenomenally rapid.

LOUISIANA COMES.—The mention of Louisiana introduces us to a strange people. The Latin race was in the ascendant there and not the Saxon. It was the key to the mouth of the Mississippi, and was desirable to any nation with commercial ambitions. When Spain held it she was very jealous of it, and her ownership was a bar to free commerce through either gulf or Mississippi channels. She saw that her occupancy was a standing threat on the United States, and that the commercial drift of all the country east of the river, whose drainage was into it, must be toward her. Hence, her schemes of an empire which should embrace both sides of the river. Hence, also, those other schemes, of which Aaron Burr's was one, for a great southwestern country whose strong point should be control of the "Father of Waters"—at this date let it be charitably supposed, in favor of the United States.

After the purchase of Louisiana from France in 1803, no time was lost in getting it under control. That part of the immense territory now in the State of Louisiana (nearly all) was erected

into the "Territory of Orleans," by act of March 26, 1804. Claiborne, who was sent as governor, found our form of government unsuitable for a people who spoke little English and whose institutions rested on laws and customs foreign to our own. So by act of Congress (1805) they were given a government similar to that established for the Territory of Mississippi, which also contained a mixed Spanish and French population. Out of this act sprang a system of local laws, embracing many features of the Code Napoleon, to which the people were reconciled. All the rest of the Louisiana purchase went into the District of Louisiana, which, as we have seen, became a part of the Territory of Indiana.

Spain would not relinquish her right to the territory of Louisiana lying east of the Mississippi, claiming that her cession to France did not cover it, and that she still owned it as a part of her Florida. Therefore, in 1810, the United States seized the port of Baton Rouge, and adjudged the Spanish territory to be a part of Louisiana. An act of Congress passed Feb. 20, 1811, enabled the Territory of Orleans to become a State. By act of April 8, 1812, to take effect April 30, the same was admitted as a State, under the name of Louisiana. Thus finally ended what had for a long time been a quiet struggle between Spain and the United States for permanent sovereignty of a section which, had the result been otherwise, must have for a long time retarded our western growth. The admission was a matter of clear and decisive policy, in a commercial sense, however much it may have been objected to by certain parties at the time. It created a sovereign State right where the greatest inducement existed to protect it, and right where one of firm attachment to the Union was most needed. It projected the national authority to the gulf lines and set up an everlasting barrier to interference with internal commerce along ten thousand miles of water way.

INDIANA ADMITTED.—The vast Territory of Indiana, created in 1800 out of that northwest of the Ohio and extended indefinitely by adding, in 1804, the District of Louisiana, now gave a State to the Union and its name to that State. It was

carved out of the southeastern part of that Territory by the enabling act of April 19, 1816, and the resolution approving of its constitution and admitting it into the Union, as the State of Indiana, was passed Dec. 11, 1816. The State was not without a remote territorial history. France had dotted it with trading and missionary posts, some of which, as Vincennes, became permanent settlements. After the loss of the French territory, in 1763, to England, Indiana, like Ohio, was not an inviting field for settlement. The Indians were tenacious of their lands. Their liking for the old French influence, and the ease with which the British stirred them up to resent pioneering, kept back our civilization. After the treaty of 1783, when the whole territory passed from Great Britain to the United States of the Confederation, the Indians became bitterly hostile. In 1788, one year after the framing of the constitution, an Indian war broke out, which involved the whole Northwest. It only ceased when their powerful and dangerous confederacy was broken by the victories of General Wayne. Even then the brave Shawnee leader Tecumseh would not submit but held on, a source of terror to every infant settlement, till his defeat by General Harrison in the celebrated battle of Tippecanoe, Nov. 11, 1811.

MISSISSIPPI ADMITTED.—The twentieth State to enter the Union was Mississippi. It was carved out of the Territory of Mississippi, by act of March 1, 1817, which was also the date of the enabling act. Her constitution and form of government having been submitted to Congress and approved, she was admitted into the Union by joint resolution of Dec. 10, 1817. Out of the balance of Mississippi Territory, the State of Alabama was created.

ILLINOIS A STATE.—We must turn to the north for the next State of the Union. Not less than three States were to be formed out of the territory northwest of the Ohio. Two have appeared, Ohio and Indiana. The third takes shape as Illinois. It became the Territory of Illinois by act of March 1, 1809, though it extended clear to the British possessions. By the enabling act of April 18, 1818, the present limits of the State were fixed, and by joint resolution of Dec. 3, 1818, the State was

admitted into the Union. Though the twenty-first State, Illinois had a history extending back into the seventeenth century. Her towns of Kaskaskia, Cahokia and others were French settlements and distributing centres as early as 1673. But the French occupancy was a lonely one, and Illinois presents the historic spectacle of a Christian civilization gradually falling back and merging with that of its Indian surroundings. Like Ohio and Indiana, Illinois became deeply involved in the French and English wars for the possession of the Northwest, and like them it passed into British hands by the treaty of 1763, and into the possession of the United States by the treaty of 1783.

ALABAMA ENTERS.—Now that we have had a Northern State there must be a Southern one. By this time it was regarded as the proper thing to create alternate free and slave States. Indeed, few States had hitherto been admitted without discussion of the question of slavery, and few were to be admitted without similar discussion. The matter had been somewhat bitterly mooted when the question of the Louisiana purchase was up, and likewise when Kentucky was a candidate for admission. Well, the new State was to be Alabama, the remnant of Mississippi Territory. Two days after the State of Mississippi was cut out of this Territory, the Territory of Alabama was formed, March 3, 1817. Two years afterwards an act enabling Alabama to become a State was passed, March 2, 1819. By joint resolution of Dec. 14, 1819, she was admitted as a State in the Union, the twenty-second on the list.

MAINE APPEARS.—There was a race between the North and South for the next State, the twenty-third. Maine and Missouri were the competitors, with Maine in the lead. Lapse of time had fixed the claim of Massachusetts to the soil of Maine, and to the right to govern her. There were many of her people, however, who never acknowledged this claim, and various attempts were made, notably in 1785 and 1802, to effect a separation. At length, in 1819, the Territorial legislature* ordered an election of delegates "to express the true will of the people." The convention thus created, operating with the con-

* Not a Territory of the United States, but a Territory of Massachusetts.

sent of the Legislature of Massachusetts, adopted a constitution and separate form of government, which received the approbation of the people. Massachusetts made formal cession of all her claims to the Territory. By act of Congress, March 3, 1820, to take effect March 15, 1820, Maine was admitted into the Union as a State.

MISSOURI ENTERS AMID STORM.—At least a year before Maine was admitted, a bill to enable the Territory of Missouri (a part of the Louisiana purchase) to become a State was introduced in Congress. In the House an amendment was offered, in the words of the ordinance (1787) for the government of the Territory Northwest of the Ohio, "prohibiting slavery or involuntary servitude in Missouri, except as a punishment for crime." Though the Republicans (Democrats) were in an overwhelming majority in both branches, party lines were dropped in the House, and the amendment was carried, but was rejected in the Senate.*

This brought the slavery question into a shape it had never assumed before. It came suddenly. Ex-President Jefferson said, "it startled him like a fire-bell in the night." It came, as a question, from the house of its supposed friends. Before this the Ohio River had been a convenient line upon which to determine these questions of slave and free State admissions. But there was no Ohio beyond the Mississippi. Hence a new line became necessary, or rather no line, for the best anti-slavery minds contended that slavery in the Territories was a question absolutely within the purview of Congress. It was not a question of parties. The Federal party was practically dead, and the Republican (Democratic) party held the entire political line north and south. It therefore became a question of sections, and bitterly the battle was fought over Missouri. The next year (1820) the defeated Missouri bill came up again in the House, as did

* This astounding measure and vote in the House, together with the popularity of Clay's plans for American Protection and Internal Improvement, showed that there was then the nucleus of a new party within the Republican ranks, which was soon (1825) to assume shape as the National Republican, afterwards the Whig party.

the bill to admit Maine. Both passed, and both prohibited slavery. The Senate passed the Maine bill, and united it with a bill for Missouri, permitting slavery.* This was done to throw the responsibility of rejection on the House, a responsibility which the House did not hesitate to assume, for it speedily defeated the Senate bill. Henry Clay then came forward with the celebrated compromise measure, known as "The Missouri Compromise of 1820," by which both sections agreed to pass the respective bills, one admitting Maine as a free State, the other admitting Missouri as a slave State, and forever prohibiting slavery in all territory north of the line of $36^{\circ} 30'$.

This memorable controversy ended, the Missouri enabling act was passed March 6, 1820. By joint resolution of March 2, 1821, the admission of the State was further provided for, and by proclamation of August 10, the State was declared to be a member of the Union. It had a population in excess of the 60,000 then required to enable a Territory to become a State, and its chief town, St. Louis, with a population of 5,000, was the commercial emporium of the upper Mississippi. Missouri was the first State formed wholly out of the territory west of the Mississippi. Though but a small part of that land of Louisiana which stretched away to the Pacific and up to the British line, it was felt that whatever policy, as to slavery, prevailed in her admission would be likely to prevail in all the States carved out of the same lands. This was why the fight over her admission was so bitter, and why it was deemed proper, then and there, to fix the policy which should control the admission of future trans-Mississippi States, by the compromise line of $36^{\circ} 30'$. By act of June 7, 1836, the northwest boundary of the State was extended to the Missouri River, the triangular piece thus added containing about 3,168 square miles.

ARKANSAS ADMITTED.—There was a period of rest from the work of State building, which lasted for sixteen years, during which time the outlying territories were ripening. The

* The Senate only partially divided into sections. Enough Northern Senators voted with those from the South, to defeat the action of the House.

"Territory of Arkansaw" * had been carved out of the Territory of Missouri, by act of March 19, 1819. It had limits coincident with those of the present State. By act of June 15, 1836, the same was admitted as the State of Arkansas. It had not a full quota of inhabitants when admitted, and but little previous history except what belonged to the period of French and Spanish occupancy. The French claimed Arkansas Post as among the oldest settlements of the country.

MICHIGAN A CANDIDATE.—An important State was now ready in the Northwest. The Territory of Michigan had been formed as early as June 30, 1805, from the Territory of Indiana. It then included but little more than the Michigan peninsula, between Lakes Huron and Erie and Lake Michigan. On June 28, 1834, the Territory of Michigan was made to extend to the Missouri and White Earth Rivers. Out of this large area was carved the present State of Michigan, by the enabling act of June 15, 1836. Her constitution and form of government having met with the approval of Congress, she was admitted as a State by act of Jan. 26, 1837. The trail of the French trader and missionary is plainer in Michigan than in any other State of the Northwest. Detroit was a French town as early as 1701. River, lake, bay, and town bear frequent witness to the French occupancy. It cannot be said that the American influence was felt in Michigan before 1796. During the war of 1812, Detroit was held by the British, and became the starting-point of those Anglo-Indian campaigns which wrapped the Northwest in gloom and drenched it with blood. At the time of her admission, Michigan had far more than her quota of population, and nearly four times as many as Arkansas, admitted the year before.

FLORIDA A MEMBER.—It was now the turn of the "Flowery realm." Though thinly populated, and with but little more than half a quota, it was deemed politic to make Florida the twenty-seventh State. The "East Florida," which Spain ceded Feb. 22, 1819, was erected into the Territory of Florida March 30, 1822. By act of March 3, 1845, it was admitted as a

* The Territory was that of *Arkansaw*, which spelling has recently been decided by the State authorities to control the pronunciation of *Arkansas*.

State. It had had a long and eventful history both as a Spanish and English possession. From its climate, situation, and promises, it was always a coveted country, yet ever an expensive one to take and hold.

IOWA ADMITTED.—The day that gave birth to Florida saw also a new State in the Northwest. Iowa Territory had been cut out of Wisconsin Territory, June 12, 1838. This Territory was not identical with the present State of Iowa, but embraced all north of Missouri and between the Missouri and Mississippi Rivers. Out of this was carved a State of Iowa, which was admitted into the Union March 3, 1845. But the boundaries were not satisfactory. By act of Aug. 4, 1846, the northern boundary was lowered from the parallel running through the mouth of the Mankato or Blue Earth River to where it now is, and the western boundary was pushed from meridian of $17^{\circ} 30'$ to where it now is. After this adjustment of boundaries the State was readmitted Dec. 28, 1846. As part of the French domain, Iowa had a history as early as 1686, when Dubuque was a fort and trading-post.

TEXAS ANNEXATION.—The twenty-ninth State, Texas, was the most imposing piece of territory that had, as yet, applied for admission into the Union. It was not carved out of our own territory as other States had been, nor was it prepared for membership by any process of ripening under a Territorial government. A member of the Mexican Republic, it had seceded and set up for itself. Its admission into the American Union would be a surrender of its independence to again try the experiment of membership in a Republic to which it had all along been foreign.* Discussion of the question of Texas Annexation occupied most of the time of the second session of the Thirty-eighth Congress, 1844-45. A proposition to prohibit slavery within its borders was voted down.† With full knowledge of the fact that

* Quite a number of Saxon settlers had drifted into Texas who had done much to foster the spirit of annexation.

† Mexico had abolished slavery twenty years before, and therefore by the law of the Mexican Republic Texas was free territory. But Texas, when independent had re-established slavery.

its status was one of war with Mexico, and that annexation would be an assumption of that status, the Congress voted for it. The joint resolution of annexation prohibited slavery in any State formed of Texas territory north of $36^{\circ} 30'$, but left the question to the people of the States to be formed of said territory south of that line. We have already seen the steps by which her territory passed to the United States and the consequences.* The date of her admission was Dec. 29, 1845.

WISCONSIN ADMITTED.—The thirtieth State was Wisconsin. The Territory of Wisconsin was erected by act of April 20, 1836. It was cut out of the Territory of Michigan, and that part east of the Mississippi had previously been in the Territories of Illinois, Indiana and the northwest of the Ohio. The Territory of Wisconsin embraced the States of Wisconsin, Iowa and part of Minnesota. The Territory of Iowa was severed by act of June 12, 1838. By the enabling act of August 6, 1846, Wisconsin took its present shape, and by act of May 29, 1848, was admitted as a State. Like the rest of the northwest territory Wisconsin shows in its names of places the trail of its early French occupants and owners.

CALIFORNIA COMES.—The Mexican war ended by the peace of February 2, 1848, called the treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo. This brought that immense cession of territory mentioned on page 110, and out of which the Territory of California was organized. This cession threw the country into another ferment over the slavery question. By the laws of Mexico all this territory was free. But the proslavery wing of the Democratic party joined issue with the friends of the Wilmot Proviso and forced another compromise (that of 1850), which, so far as California was concerned, had the effect of making her a free State.† She applied for admission Feb. 13, 1850, and was admitted Sept. 9, 1850. The discovery of gold in her soil, the rapid population of the State by the adventurous and not too peaceful "forty-niners," and various apparent commercial reasons, not to say a pardonable national pride, made a State on

* See *ante*, p. 107 and page 388, *post*.

† For fuller details of this compromise see page 401.

the Pacific coast most desirable. The arch of the Union now spanned the continent. From 1787 to 1850 had been just sixty-three years.

MINNESOTA ADMITTED.—Minnesota Territory had been formed March 3, 1849, out of the parts of Territories of Iowa and Wisconsin not included in those two States. Out of this Territory was carved the present State of Minnesota by the enabling act of Feb. 26, 1857. On May 11, 1858, the State of Minnesota was admitted into the Union. The balance of Minnesota Territory went to Territory of Dakota.

OREGON HEARD FROM.—The Pacific Coast presents another candidate. The immense Territory of Oregon was created out of all the northwestern portion of the Louisiana purchase, on Aug. 14, 1848. It extended from the fortieth parallel to the British possessions, and from the Pacific to the Rocky Mountains, with an area of nearly 300,000 square miles. Out of this domain was carved the State of Oregon, which by act of Feb. 14, 1859, was admitted into the Union. The rest of her Territory became the Territory of Washington.

KANSAS, AND TROUBLE.—The thirty-fourth State, Kansas, had a stormy birth. The throes she engendered shook the Union to its very centre. The celebrated Kansas-Nebraska bill was introduced into the House Jan. 23, 1854. It was designed to establish the fact that the compromise of 1820 had been repealed by that of 1850, and further to establish the principle that slavery, north or south of $36^{\circ} 30'$, was a matter for the people of each Territory to decide for themselves. The bill passed in March, 1854, and both North and South encouraged colonization within the limits of Kansas, which the bill created into a Territory immediately west of Missouri and between 37° and 40° , as well as Nebraska, lying north of Kansas and between 40° and 43° . Under the circumstances the condition of Kansas was that of constant petty war. It became a "bleeding Kansas" indeed, and as to bloodless party passion the rest of the country was no better off.* For seven years this warfare went on, and only ended

* For fuller details of Kansas-Nebraska question see Administrations and Congresses, pages 413 and 429.

after the work of seceding from the Union began. Then the government which had been set up under the Leecompton constitution was repudiated, and that formed under the Wyandot Free State Constitution was adopted by a Republican Congress Jan. 29, 1861, and Kansas became a State in the Union. The Territory of Kansas formed under the bill of Jan. 23, 1854, adopted May 30, 1854, had for its western boundary the Rocky Mountains, which were the eastern boundary of Utah. The act which admitted her as a State fixed the 25th meridian as her western boundary. All the rest of the Territory of Kansas went to the Territory of Colorado.

WEST VIRGINIA CREATED.—The destructive work of secession introduced a new feature in State building. Virginia seceded from the Union and cast her lot with the Southern Confederacy, April 17, 1861. Some thirty-nine of the western counties refused to be bound by her action. Representatives from these met at Wheeling to protest against secession. A second convention met in August which framed a separate State constitution and form of government. This was submitted to the people in May, 1862, and ratified. It was then submitted to Congress, and after some slight amendments was accepted. The President was authorized to proclaim that it should take effect June 19, 1863, on which date West Virginia became a State in the Union. In 1872 the counties of Jefferson and Berkley, parts of Old Virginia, were added to West Virginia, the thirty-fifth State.

NEVADA ADMITTED.—Nevada Territory was erected March 2, 1861, out of a strip from California, and that part of Utah Territory lying west of 38th meridian, though California has not yet made formal cession of the portion taken from her. The enabling act for the Territory was passed March 21, 1864, and on October 31, 1864, Nevada was admitted as a State. Her boundaries were much enlarged by act of May 5, 1866, which added some 18,326 square miles from Utah, and 12,225 square miles from Arizona, Territories.

NEBRASKA ACCEPTED.—The original Territory of Nebraska was erected May 30, 1854, out of that part of the public

domain lying between Minnesota and the Rocky Mountains and between 40° N. lat., and the British possessions. But as part of this Territory shared with Kansas the vicissitudes of the slavery excitement, the paring process, which ran through half a dozen acts of Congress, did not end till April 19, 1864, when an enabling act was passed for the present limits of Nebraska. On February 9, 1867, she was admitted as a State, the act to take effect March 1, 1867.

THE CENTENNIAL STATE.—The Territory of Colorado was created by act of February 28, 1861. It was one of a set then erected,* about which no mention of slavery was made in obedience to the terms of the Dred Scott decision. But there was then no need of such mention, for the South had given up its efforts to populate the debatable Territories and vote therein for slavery, and had entered upon secession as a remedy for evils it deemed otherwise incurable. Owing to mining, Colorado had a fluctuating population for many years. A State Constitution was framed in convention 1875-76, and accepted by the people July 1, 1876. The date of final admission was August 1, 1876.

TEARING DOWN.—The sentiment of the country respecting slavery had grown more divergent ever since the adoption of the Constitution. It was not at first sectional, but as time passed it took that shape. Then it got to be political as well. The Kansas affair (see Kansas), the division of the Democratic party in its convention of 1860, the evidence of a solidified and overwhelming anti-slavery sentiment supplied by the election of Mr. Lincoln, determined the slave States to no longer fight a losing battle for the maintenance and spread of their institution in the Union, but to secede and set up a central government of their own. Not doubting the wisdom of the step nor their ability to maintain it against the armed remonstrance they knew it was sure to provoke, they began the work of dismemberment in 1860. The war which followed, and its results, must be the historic test of both the wisdom and strength of their undertaking, as well as of the ability of the Union to maintain itself against this kind

* Including Nevada and Dakota.

of attack, and to adapt itself to the prevalent vital thought of each succeeding age.

The first open and direct step of dismemberment was taken by South Carolina in a convention called for the purpose. It was an ordinance of secession entitled "An Ordinance to dissolve the Union between the State of South Carolina and other States united with her in the compact entitled the Constitution of the United States of America," and was to take effect Dec. 20, 1860. Before the end of January, 1861, similar ordinances had been passed by Georgia, Alabama, Florida, Mississippi, Louisiana and Texas. Delegates from these States met at Montgomery, Alabama, in February, 1861, and formed a government called the "Confederate States of America," whose constitution closely resembled that which they had repudiated, save that it recognized slavery and prohibited protective tariffs. This Confederacy attracted other slave-holding States to it, to wit, Virginia, Tennessee, Arkansas and North Carolina. Thus eleven States were lost to the American Union and were in open war with it. It was the hardest and most direct blow ever administered to the Republic, because it came not from strangers but friends, not from without but within. The shock was fearful. For four years the grand monument of the fathers trembled to its base. For four years Republican institutions existed amid cloud and darkness, doubtful of clearing sky or auspicious sunrise. Those years ended, the result was failure of the Confederacy to maintain itself, the loss of slavery to its States, surrender of the attempt to wrench by force what reason could not win.

REBUILDING.—This was a delicate and somewhat tedious task. There was no standard by which to determine the relation of these seceded States to the National Union, now that they had failed to validate by force their ordinances of separation. But the Supreme Court furnished one in 1869, in the case of *Texas vs. White*. It was held that "the ordinances of secession were absolutely null," that the seceding States had no right to secede, had never been out of the Union, could not get out except through successful rebellion. That the utmost they had done was to put off their old State governments, and take on

others which fitted them for membership in their Confederacy, but unfitted them for the place a State must hold in the Union, under the amended Constitution. That, therefore, the Congress had the right to re-establish the relation of these seceded States to the Union. The terms fixed were the establishment of State Constitutions and forms of government in accord with the amended National Constitution, and full ratification of its provisions. Waiving the above questions, Tennessee had sought and secured readmission, July 24, 1866; Arkansas, June 22, 1868; North Carolina, South Carolina, Louisiana, Georgia and Florida under act of June 25, 1868, but with the proviso that they must further subscribe to the act of 1867 regarding free citizenship. All did this promptly except Georgia. Virginia was readmitted Jan. 25, 1870; Mississippi, Feb. 23, 1870; Texas, March 30, 1870. Georgia held out for the right to exclude negroes from office, but finally opened her offices to all citizens, and was readmitted July 15, 1870. The Union was restored to its full strength and majesty—let it be said to a fuller strength and majesty than before.

NORTH DAKOTA.—Dakota was erected into a Territory out of the Territory of Nebraska by Act of March 2, 1861. It contained 310,867 sq. miles, but by losing Idaho, by Act of July 25, 1868, its area was reduced to 147,700 sq. miles. This splendid territory became ripe for statehood by 1880, but every attempt to admit it was met by partisan opposition, till the second session of the 50th Congress (Feb. 22, 1889), when a bill became a law admitting North and South Dakota, Montana and Washington as States. The official date of the admission of North Dakota was Nov. 2, 1889, the date of the President's proclamation. The area of the State is 71,190 sq. miles, and the population in 1890 was 182,719.

SOUTH DAKOTA.—South Dakota was, by Act of Feb. 22, 1889, declared entitled to admission into the Union as a State, and was admitted Nov. 2, 1889, with an area of 79,742 sq. miles, being the balance of the Territory of Dakota, and a population in 1890 of 328,808.

MONTANA.—Montana was erected into a Territory from

Northern Idaho, by Act of May 26, 1864. Her entire area, then 145,310 sq. miles, was part of the Louisiana Purchase. She was declared entitled to admission as a State by Act of Congress, Feb. 22, 1889, and was admitted Nov. 8, 1889, with an area of 143,776 sq. miles, and a population in 1890 of 132,159.

WASHINGTON.—Six years before Oregon was admitted as a State her immense territory was severed by Act of March 2, 1853, and the northern portion was erected into Washington Territory. By afterwards losing the Territory of Idaho and part of Nebraska it was reduced to the dimensions it afterwards assumed as a State. Washington was declared entitled to admission as a State by Act of Congress, Feb. 22, 1889, and was admitted by President's proclamation, Nov. 11, 1889, with an area of 69,994 sq. miles, and a population in 1890 of 349,390.

IDAHO.—The Territory of Idaho was formed from that of Washington by Act of March 3, 1863. Her area was then 118,439 square miles, which was afterwards increased by various acquisitions to 326,373 square miles, and then reduced by losses to Montana, Dakota and Wyoming, to 84,290 square miles. The Act of Congress entitling her to admission as a State was passed July 3, 1890, and she was admitted as a State on July 3, 1890, with an area of 86,294 square miles, and a population, in 1890, of 84,385.

WYOMING.—Wyoming was formed into a Territory, by Act of July 25, 1868, with an area of 97,575 square miles. It embraced the remnants of several other Territories, being parts of the French and Mexican cessions, and of Oregon, Nebraska, Idaho, Dakota, Washington and Utah. It was declared entitled to admission as a State by Act of Congress, July 10, 1890, and was admitted July 10, 1890, with an area of 97,883 square miles, and a population in 1890 of 60,705.

TERRITORY OF UTAH.—Of the vast outlying areas not yet admitted to Statehood, that part embraced by Utah Territory was given organization and government by Act of Sept. 9, 1850, with an area of 220,000 square miles, which was afterwards reduced by losses to Colorado, Nebraska, Nevada and Wyoming to 84,476 square miles. The Territory has been a persistent applicant for

admission as a State, and her population in 1890, of 207,905, would warrant it, but being the seat of Mormonism her applications have never been free from moral and religious complications.

NEW MEXICO.—New Mexico was erected into a Territory by Act of Sept. 9, 1850, out of lands ceded by Mexico and part of those embraced in the Gadsden purchase. By losing part of her territory to Colorado and Arizona, she got her present area of 121,201 square miles. She had a population in 1890 of 153,593, and is an applicant for Statehood.

THE INDIAN COUNTRY.—The idea of setting apart a portion of our domain for the exclusive use of Indians was not more humanitarian than the result of a need for protection. Remains of brave tribes, many of them despairing, most of them at enmity with the whites, were scattered about in the States and Territories. To get rid of them by putting them on soil they could call their own, where they would not be in the white man's way and where they might, perchance, lift themselves a little toward the civilization which had surrounded them and driven them thither, was the object of an Indian Country. It was laid off geographically, but was not organized as a Territory, June 30, 1834. It was to embrace "all that part of the United States west of the Mississippi, and not within the States of Missouri, Louisiana and the Territory of Arkansas." The extent of this country and the fact that no organization was provided for showed that the legislation which set it apart was not serious. Almost immediately the land began to be needed for other purposes, and there was nothing in the act setting it apart for Indian uses to raise even so much as a question about the impropriety or wrongfulness of dividing it up and appropriating it to other uses. So by various Acts of Congress this "Indian Country" was pared down to its present size and shape. The last act, that of May 30, 1854, organizing the Territory of Kansas, limited it to 63,253 square miles, with Missouri and Arkansas on its east, Kansas on its north, the Red River on its south and the 100th meridian on its west.

The "Indian Country" is a monument of national honor and

disgrace; honor, because it is the first distinct recognition, on the part of our government, of a policy that savored of humanity; disgrace, because, until lately, it was the only formal announcement of such a policy, and because through lack of candor, through bad management, through failure to engraft on it any working system, it has never produced a satisfactory fruitage. It seems amazing that the Saxon, even when highly civilized and in the enjoyment of strong, reducing and redeeming institutions, should always have regarded the Indian problem as a difficult one. It never was difficult. The French missionary and trader did not find it so. But then he chose to regard the Indian as a man, as endowed with feeling akin to his own, as owner of the soil, as susceptible to civilizing influences. Failure to so regard him is the secret of our neglect of the Indian, or rather of our ungenerous treatment of him. The idea of his extermination got an early hold on the colonist, and we seem never to have been able to outgrow this primitive and absurd notion. Modern humanitarians are more awake to the thought of making the Indian a part of our people. They feel the disgrace the nation has brought on itself, and the age, by its unwillingness or inability to devise a plan by which the Indian can be turned from his ways and made a factor in industry, art, science, government and morals. With a plan of government which will secure him schools, right to own separate farms, ownership of the proceeds thereof, immunity from disturbance by whites when he appears to be in the way, the franchise, privileges of citizenship, there is no doubt of his future peacefulness and usefulness.

ARIZONA.—Arizona was made a Territory by Act of Feb. 24, 1863, out of lands ceded by Mexico, and taken from Territory of New Mexico. By Act of May 5, 1866, she lost part of her area to Nevada. Present area 113,916 square miles, and population 59,620.

ALASKA ACQUISITION.—This immense territory, embracing 577,390 square miles, was acquired from Russia by purchase, May 28, 1867, and organized as a Territory of the United States, July 27, 1868.

OKLAHOMA.—Oklahoma was created a Territory by Act

of Congress, May 2, 1890. The lands were those which had reverted to the Government by cession of or purchase from the Indians, or which could be no longer reserved for their purposes. As soon as these lands were thrown open to the public, they were taken up very rapidly, and within a year the population rose to over 60,000.

ALL HARMONIOUS.—This brings all the territory of the United States into definite sub-divisions and gives to each a form of government in harmony with the government of the whole. The States have constitutions, codes and forms of government enacted by their people and in accord with the federal constitution. The Territories have only statutory existence and definite metes and bounds. Their governments do not exist so much by voice of their people as by Act of Congress, and they, therefore, are provisional and temporary, lasting till the people are sufficiently numerous and unanimous to form acceptable State governments.

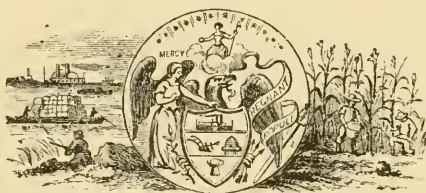
COAT OF ARMS

OF

EACH STATE IN THE AMERICAN UNION.



ALABAMA.



ARKANSAS.



CALIFORNIA.



COLORADO.

COATS OF ARMS.



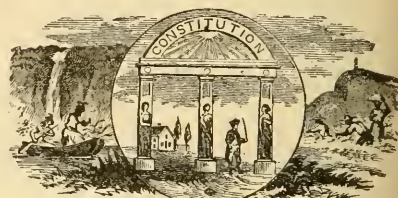
CONNECTICUT.



DELAWARE.



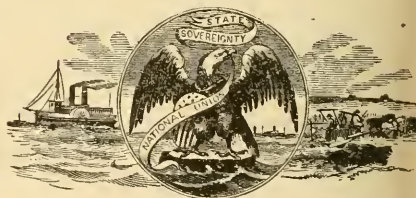
FLORIDA.



GEORGIA.



IDAHO.



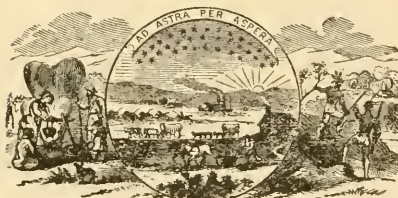
ILLINOIS.



INDIANA.



IOWA.

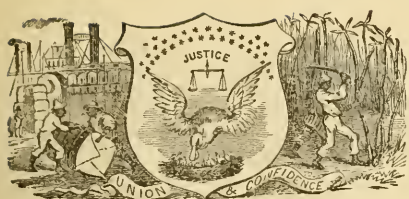


KANSAS.



KENTUCKY.

COATS OF ARMS.



LOUISIANA.



MAINE.



MARYLAND.



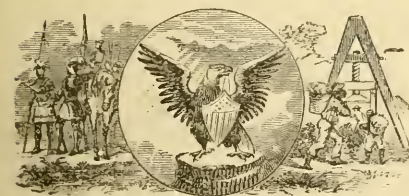
MASSACHUSETTS.



MICHIGAN.



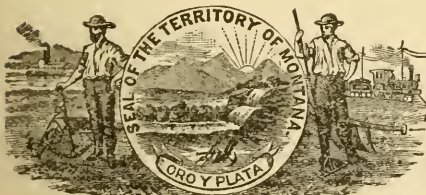
MINNESOTA.



MISSISSIPPI.



MISSOURI.



MONTANA.



NEBRASKA.

COATS OF ARMS.



NEVADA.



NEW HAMPSHIRE.



NEW JERSEY.



NEW YORK.



NORTH CAROLINA.



NORTH DAKOTA.



OHIO.



OREGON.



PENNSYLVANIA.



RHODE ISLAND.

COATS OF ARMS.



SOUTH CAROLINA.



SOUTH DAKOTA.



TENNESSEE.



TEXAS.



VERMONT.



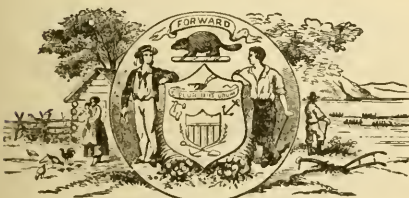
VIRGINIA.



WASHINGTON.



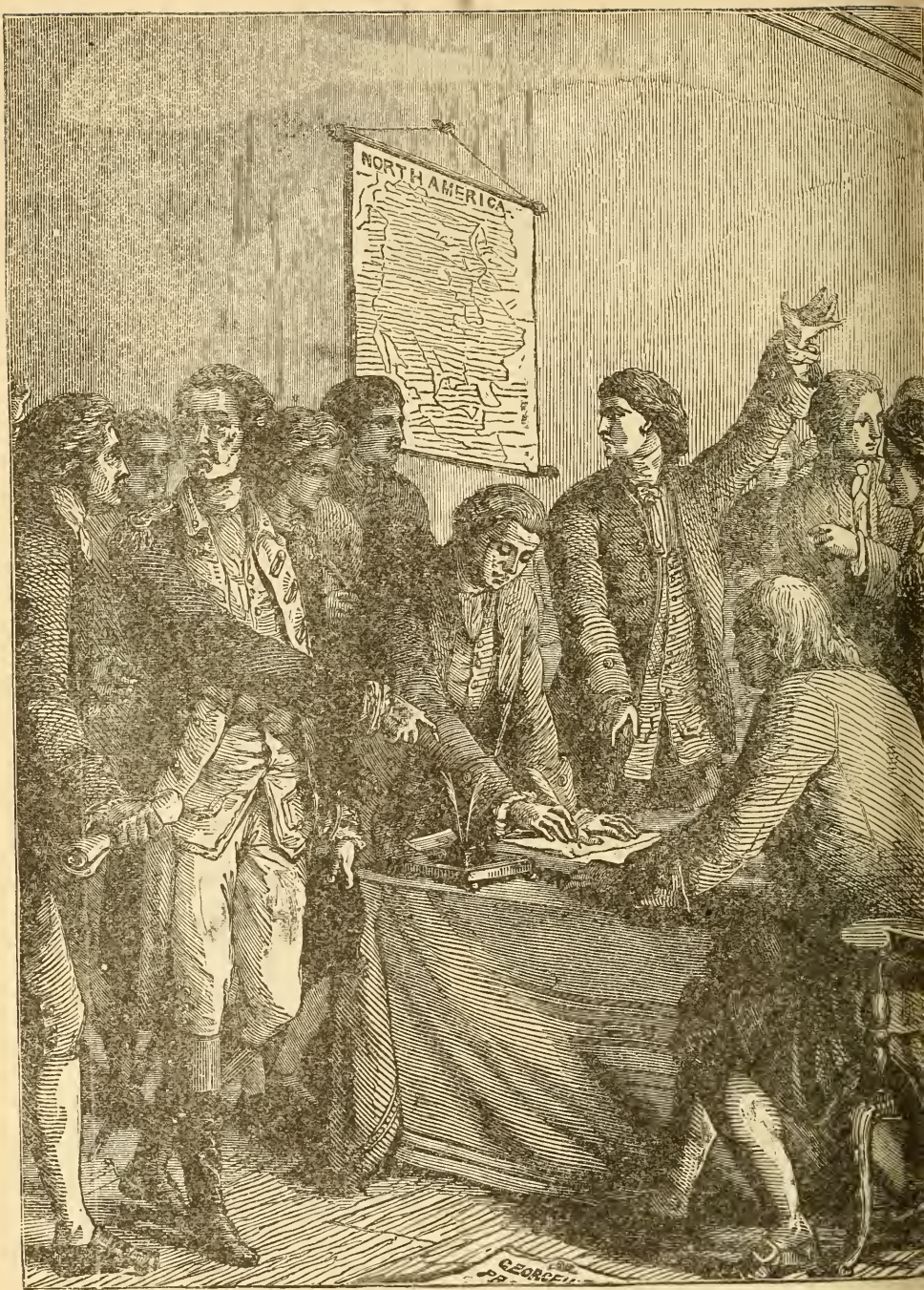
WEST VIRGINIA.



WISCONSIN.



WYOMING.





THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE.

A DECLARATION BY THE REPRESENTATIVES OF THE UNITED
STATES OF AMERICA, IN CONGRESS ASSEMBLED

WHEN, in the course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to assume, among the powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the laws of nature and of nature's God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation.

We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. That, to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; that, whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it, and to institute a new government, laying its foundation on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate that governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes; and, accordingly, all experience hath shown, that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But, when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same object, evinces a design to reduce them under absolute despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such government, and to provide new guards for their future security. Such has

been the patient sufferance of these colonies, and such is now the necessity which constrains them to alter their former systems of government. The history of the present king of Great Britain is a history of repeated injuries and usurpations, all having in direct object the establishment of an absolute tyranny over these States. To prove this, let facts be submitted to a candid world :

He has refused his assent to laws the most wholesome and necessary for the public good.

He has forbidden his governors to pass laws of immediate and pressing importance, unless suspended in their operation till his assent should be obtained ; and, when so suspended, he has utterly neglected to attend to them.

He has refused to pass other laws for the accommodation of large districts of people, unless those people would relinquish the right of representation in the legislature ; a right inestimable to them and formidable to tyrants only.

He has called together legislative bodies at places unusual, uncomfortable, and distant from the depository of their public records, for the sole purpose of fatiguing them into compliance with his measures.

He has dissolved representative houses repeatedly, for opposing with manly firmness his invasions on the rights of the people.

He has refused, for a long time after such dissolutions, to cause others to be elected ; whereby the legislative powers, incapable of annihilation, have returned to the people at large for their exercise ; the State remaining, in the meantime, exposed to all the danger of invasion from without and convulsions within.

He has endeavored to prevent the population of these States ; for that purpose, obstructing the laws for naturalization of foreigners ; refusing to pass others to encourage their migration hither, and raising the conditions of new appropriations of lands.

He has obstructed the administration of justice, by refusing his assent to laws for establishing judiciary powers.

He has made judges dependent on his will alone for the tenure of their offices and the amount and payment of their salaries.

He has erected a multitude of new offices, and sent hither swarms of officers to harass our people and eat out their substance.

He has kept among us, in times of peace, standing armies, without the consent of our legislature.

He has affected to render the military independent of, and superior to, the civil power.

He has combined with others to subject us to a jurisdiction foreign to our constitution, and unacknowledged by our laws ; giving his assent to their acts of pretended legislation :

For quartering large bodies of armed troops among us ;

For protecting them, by a mock trial, from punishment for any murders which they should commit on the inhabitants of these States ;

For cutting off our trade with all parts of the world ;

For imposing taxes on us without our consent ;

For depriving us, in many cases, of the benefits of trial by jury ;

For transporting us beyond seas to be tried for pretended offences;

For abolishing the free system of English laws in a neighboring province, establishing therein an arbitrary government, and enlarging its boundaries, so as to render it at once an example and fit instrument for introducing the same absolute rule into these colonies;

For taking away our charters, abolishing our most valuable laws, and altering, fundamentally, the powers of our governments;

For suspending our own legislatures, and declaring themselves invested with power to legislate for us in all cases whatsoever.

He has abdicated government here, by declaring us out of his protection and waging war against us.

He has plundered our seas, ravaged our coasts, burnt our towns, and destroyed the lives of our people.

He is, at this time, transporting large armies of foreign mercenaries to complete the works of death, desolation, and tyranny, already begun, with circumstances of cruelty and perfidy scarcely paralleled in the most barbarous ages, and totally unworthy the head of a civilized nation.

He has constrained our fellow-citizens, taken captive on the high seas, to bear arms against their country, to become the executioners of their friends and brethren, or to fall themselves by their hands.

He has excited domestic insurrections amongst us, and has endeavored to bring on the inhabitants of our frontiers the merciless Indian savages, whose known rule of warfare is an undistinguished destruction, of all ages, sexes and conditions.

In every stage of these oppressions, we have petitioned for redress, in the most humble terms; our repeated petitions have been answered only by repeated injury. A prince, whose character is thus marked by every act which may define a tyrant, is unfit to be the ruler of a free people.

Nor have we been wanting in attention to our British brethren.

We have warned them, from time to time, of attempts made by their legislature to extend an unwarrantable jurisdiction over us. We have reminded them of the circumstances of our emigration and settlement here. We have appealed to their native justice and magnanimity, and we have conjured them, by the ties of our common kindred, to disavow these usurpations; which would inevitably interrupt our connections and correspondence. They, too, have been deaf to the voice of justice and consanguinity. We must, therefore, acquiesce in the necessity which denounces our separation, and hold them as we hold the rest of mankind, enemies in war, in peace, friends.

We, therefore, the representatives of the UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, in GENERAL CONGRESS assembled, appealing to the Supreme Judge of the world for the rectitude of our intentions, do, in the name, and by the authority of the good people of these colonies, solemnly publish and declare, That these United Colonies are, and of right ought to be, *free and independent States*; that they are absolved from all allegiance to the British crown, and that all political connection between them and the state of Great Britain, is, and ought to be, totally dissolved; and that, as FREE AND INDEPENDENT STATES, they have full power to levy war, conclude peace,

contract alliances, establish commerce, and to do all other acts and things which INDEPENDENT STATES may of right do. And, for the support of this declaration, with a firm reliance on the protection of DIVINE PROVIDENCE, we mutually pledge to each other, our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honor.

John Penn John Hancock John Hart
 Wm Lloyd Wm. Paine
 Geo. Read Wm. Hooper Saml. Adams
 Stephen Hopkins Thos. Nelson Geo. Clymer
 Charles Carroll Thos. Mifflin George
 Thos. M. Heath Roger Sherman Saml. Huntington
 Wm. Whipple Wm. Thomas Lynch Junr
 Geo. Taylor Josiah Bartlett Benj. Franklin
 Wm. Williams Richd. Stockton John Morton
 Oliver Wolcott Jas. Watson Le. Geo. Ross
 Thos. Stone Saml. Shaw Robt. Treat Paine
 George Wythe Matthew Thornton
 Fran. Lewis Thos. Jefferson Wm. Harrison
 Lewis Morris Abra. C. Clark Phil. Livingston
 Arthur Middleton Jas. Hopkinson
 Geo. Walton Cortney Braxton James Wilson
 Richard Henry Lee Thos. Mifflin Baynard Ruston
 Benjamin Rush John Adams Robt. Morris
 Simon Hall Joseph Hewes Button Gwinnett
 Francis Lightfoot Lee
 William Blount Edward Rutledge Jas. Smith

ARTICLES OF CONFEDERATION

AND perpetual union between the states of New Hampshire, Massachusetts Bay, Rhode Island and Providence Plantations, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia.

ARTICLE I. The style of this Confederacy shall be, "THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA."

ARTICLE II. Each state retains its sovereignty, freedom, and independence, and every power, jurisdiction, and right, which is not by this Confederation expressly delegated to the United States in Congress assembled.

ARTICLE III. The said states hereby severally enter into a firm league of friendship with each other, for their common defence, the security of their liberties, and their mutual and general welfare; binding themselves to assist each other against all force offered to, or attacks made upon them, or any of them, on account of religion, sovereignty, trade, or any other pretence whatever.

ARTICLE IV. The better to secure and perpetuate mutual friendship and intercourse among the people of the different states in this Union, the free inhabitants of each of these states, paupers, vagabonds, and fugitives from justice excepted, shall be entitled to all privileges and immunities of free citizens in the several states; and the people of each state shall have free ingress and regress to and from any other state; and shall enjoy therein all the privileges of trade and commerce, subject to the same duties, impositions, and restrictions as the inhabitants thereof respectively; provided, that such restriction shall not extend so far as to prevent the removal of property imported into any state to any other state, of which the owner is an inhabitant; provided also, that no imposition, duties, or restriction shall be laid by any state on the property of the United States, or either of them.

If any person guilty of, or charged with treason, felony, or other high misdemeanor, in any state, shall flee from justice, and be found in any of the United States, he shall, upon demand of the governor or executive power of the state from which he fled, be delivered up and removed to the state having jurisdiction of his offence.

Full faith and credit shall be given in each of these states to the records, acts, and judicial proceedings of the courts and magistrates of every other state.

ARTICLE V. For the more convenient management of the general interests of the United States, delegates shall be annually appointed in such manner as the legislature of each state shall direct, to meet in Congress on the first Monday in November, in every year, with a power reserved to each state to recall its delegates, or any of them, at any time within the year, and send others in their stead for the remainder of the year.

No state shall be represented in Congress by less than two, nor by more than seven members; and no person shall be capable of being a delegate for more than three years in any term of six years; nor shall any person, being a delegate, be capable of holding any office under the United States, for which he, or another for his benefit, receives any salary, fees, or emolument of any kind.

Each state shall maintain its own delegates in a meeting of the states, and while they act as members of the committee of the states.

In determining questions in the United States in Congress assembled, each state shall have one vote.

Freedom of speech and debate in Congress shall not be impeached or questioned in any court or place out of Congress; and the members of Congress shall be protected in their persons from arrests and imprisonment during the time of their going to, and from, and attending on Congress, except for treason, felony, or breach of the peace.

ARTICLE VI. No state, without the consent of the United States in Congress assembled, shall send any embassy to, or receive any embassy from, or enter into any conference, agreement, alliance, or treaty with any king, prince, or state; nor shall any person, holding any office of profit or trust under the United States, or any of them, accept of any present, emolument, office, or title of any kind whatever from any king, prince, or foreign state; nor shall the United States in Congress assembled, or any of them, grant any title of nobility.

No two or more states shall enter into any treaty, confederation, or alliance whatever between them, without the consent of the United States in Congress assembled, specifying accurately the purposes for which the same is to be entered into, and how long it shall continue.

No state shall lay any imposts or duties, which may interfere with any stipulations in treaties entered into by the United States in Congress assembled, with any king, prince, or state, in pursuance of any treaties already proposed by Congress to the Courts of France and Spain.

No vessels of war shall be kept up, in time of peace, by any state, except such number only as shall be deemed necessary, by the United States in Congress assembled, for the defence of such state, or its trade; nor shall any body of forces be kept up by any state, in time of peace, except such number only as, in the judgment of the United States in Congress assembled, shall be deemed requisite to garrison the forts necessary for the defence of such state: but every state shall always keep up a well-regulated and disciplined militia, sufficiently armed and accoutred; and shall provide and constantly have ready for use, in public stores, a due number of field-pieces and tents, and a proper quantity of arms, ammunition, and camp equipage.

No state shall engage in any war, without the consent of the United States in Congress assembled, unless such state be actually invaded by enemies, or shall have received certain advice of a resolution being formed by some nation of Indians to invade such state, and the danger is so imminent as not to admit of a delay till the United States in Congress assembled can be consulted; nor shall any state grant commissions to any ship or vessels of war, nor letters of marque or reprisal, except

it be after a declaration of war by the United States in Congress assembled; and then only against the kingdom or state, and the subjects thereof, against which war has been so declared, and under such regulations as shall be established by the United States in Congress assembled, unless such state be infested by pirates, in which case vessels of war may be fitted out for that occasion, and kept so long as the danger shall continue, or until the United States in Congress assembled shall determine otherwise.

ARTICLE VII. When land forces are raised by any state for the common defence, all officers of or under the rank of colonel shall be appointed by the legislature of each state respectively, by whom such forces shall be raised, or in such manner as such state shall direct; and all vacancies shall be filled up by the state which first made the appointment.

ARTICLE VIII. All charges of war, and all other expenses that shall be incurred for the common defence or general welfare, and allowed by the United States in Congress assembled, shall be defrayed out of a common treasury which shall be supplied by the several states in proportion to the value of all land within each state, granted to or surveyed for any person as such land and the buildings and improvements thereon shall be estimated, according to such mode as the United States in Congress assembled shall, from time to time, direct and appoint. The taxes for paying that proportion shall be laid and levied by the authority and direction of the legislatures of the several states, within the time agreed upon by the United States in Congress assembled.

ARTICLE IX. The United States, in Congress assembled, shall have the sole and exclusive right and power of determining on peace and war, except in the cases mentioned in the sixth Article: Of sending and receiving ambassadors: Entering into treaties and alliances, provided that no treaty of commerce shall be made whereby the legislative power of the respective states shall be restrained from imposing such imposts and duties on foreigners as their own people are subjected to, or from prohibiting the exportation or importation of any species of goods or commodities whatever: Of establishing rules for deciding, in all cases, what captures on land or water shall be legal; and in what manner prizes, taken by land or naval forces in the service of the United States, shall be divided or appropriated: Of granting letters of marque and reprisal in times of peace: Appointing courts for the trial of piracies and felonies committed on the high seas; and establishing courts for receiving and determining, finally, appeals in all cases of captures; provided that no member of Congress shall be appointed a judge of any of the said courts.

The United States, in Congress assembled, shall also be the last resort, on appeal, in all disputes and differences now subsisting, or that hereafter may arise between two or more states concerning boundary, jurisdiction, or any other cause whatever; which authority shall always be exercised in the manner following: Whenever the legislative or executive authority, or lawful agent of any state, in controversy with another, shall present a petition to Congress, stating the matter in question, and praying for a hearing, notice thereof shall be given, by order of Congress, to the legislative or executive authority of the other state in controversy; and a day assigned for the appearance of the parties by their lawful agents, who shall then be

directed to appoint, by joint consent, commissioners or judges to constitute a court for hearing and determining the matter in question, but if they cannot agree, Congress shall name three persons out of each of the United States; and from the list of such persons each party shall alternately strike out one, the petitioners beginning, until the number shall be reduced to thirteen; and from that number not less than seven nor more than nine names, as Congress shall direct, shall, in the presence of Congress, be drawn out by lot; and the persons whose names shall be so drawn, or any five of them, shall be commissioners or judges to hear and finally determine the controversy, so always as a major part of the judges, who shall hear the cause, shall agree in the determination. And if either party shall neglect to attend at the day appointed, without showing reasons which Congress shall judge sufficient, or being present shall refuse to strike, the Congress shall proceed to nominate three persons out of each state, and the Secretary of Congress shall strike in behalf of such party absent or refusing; and the judgment and sentence of the court, to be appointed in the manner before prescribed, shall be final and conclusive. And if any of the parties shall refuse to submit to the authority of such court, or to appear, or defend their claim or cause, the court shall nevertheless proceed to pronounce sentence or judgment, which shall in like manner be final and decisive; the judgment or sentence and other proceedings being, in either case, transmitted to Congress and lodged among the Acts of Congress for the security of the parties concerned: Provided that every commissioner, before he sits in judgment, shall take an oath, to be administered by one of the judges of the supreme or superior court of the state where the cause shall be tried, "Well and truly to hear and determine the matter in question, according to the best of his judgment, without favor, affection, or hope of reward:" Provided also, that no state shall be deprived of territory for the benefit of the United States.

All controversies concerning the private right of soil claimed under different grants of two or more states, whose jurisdictions, as they may respect such lands and the states which passed such grants, are adjusted, the said grants, or either of them, being at the same time claimed to have originated antecedent to such settlement of jurisdiction, shall, on the petition of either party to the Congress of the United States, be finally determined, as near as may be, in the same manner as is before prescribed for deciding disputes respecting territorial jurisdiction between different states.

The United States, in Congress assembled, shall also have the sole and exclusive right and power of regulating the alloy and value of coin struck by their own authority, or by that of the respective states: Fixing the standard of weights and measures throughout the United States: Regulating the trade and managing all affairs with the Indians, not members of any of the states; provided that the legislative right of any state within its own limits be not infringed or violated: Establishing and regulating post-offices, from one state to another, throughout all the United States, and exacting such postage on the papers passing through the same as may be requisite to defray the expenses of the said office: Appointing all officers of the land forces in the service of the United States, excepting regimental officers: Appointing all the officers of the naval forces, and commissioning all officers what-

ever in the service of the United States : Making rules for the government and regulation of the land and naval forces, and directing their operations.

The United States, in Congress assembled, shall have authority to appoint a committee, to sit in the recess of Congress, to be denominated A COMMITTEE OF THE STATES, and to consist of one delegate from each state, and to appoint such other committees and civil officers as may be necessary for managing the general affairs of the United States under their direction : To appoint one of their number to preside ; provided that no person be allowed to serve in the office of president more than one year in any term of three years : To ascertain the necessary sums of money to be raised for the service of the United States, and to appropriate and apply the same for defraying the public expenses : To borrow money or emit bills on the credit of the United States, transmitting every half year to the respective states an account of the sums of money so borrowed or emitted : To build and equip a navy : To agree upon the number of land forces, and to make requisitions from each state for its quota, in proportion to the number of white inhabitants in such state, which requisition shall be binding ; and thereupon the legislature of each state shall appoint the regimental officers, raise the men, and clothe, arm, and equip them, in a soldier-like manner, at the expense of the United States ; and the officers and men so clothed, armed, and equipped, shall march to the place appointed, and within the time agreed on by the United States in Congress assembled : but if the United States, in Congress assembled, shall, on consideration of circumstances, judge proper that any state should not raise men, or should raise a smaller number than its quota, and that any other state should raise a greater number of men than its quota thereof, such extra number shall be raised, officered, clothed, armed, and equipped in the same manner as the quota of such state ; unless the legislature of such state shall judge that such extra number cannot be safely spared out of the same ; in which case they shall raise, officer, clothe, arm, and equip as many of such extra number as they judge can be safely spared : and the officers and men so clothed, armed, and equipped, shall march to the place appointed, and within the time agreed on by the United States in Congress assembled.

The United States, in Congress assembled, shall never engage in a war ; nor grant letters of marque and reprisal in time of peace ; nor enter into any treaties or alliances ; nor coin money ; nor regulate the value thereof ; nor ascertain the sums and expenses necessary for the defence and welfare of the United States, or any of them ; nor emit bills ; nor borrow money on the credit of the United States ; nor appropriate money ; nor agree upon the number of vessels of war to be built or purchased, or the number of land or sea forces to be raised ; nor appoint a Commander-in-Chief of the army or navy ; unless nine states assent to the same ; nor shall a question on any other point, except for adjourning from day to day, be determined, unless by the votes of a majority of the United States in Congress assembled.

The Congress of the United States shall have power to adjourn to any time within the year, and to any place within the United States, so that no period of adjournment be for a longer duration than the space of six months ; and shall publish the Journal of their proceedings monthly, except such parts thereof relating to treaties, alliances, or military operations, as in their judgment require secrecy ; and

the yeas and nays of the delegates of each state on any question shall be entered on the Journal, when it is desired by any delegate; and the delegates of a state, or any of them, at his or their request, shall be furnished with a transcript of the said Journal, except such parts as are above excepted, to lay before the legislatures of the several states.

ARTICLE X. The committee of the states, or any nine of them, shall be authorized to execute, in the recess of Congress, such of the powers of Congress as the United States in Congress assembled, by the consent of nine states, shall from time to time think expedient to vest them with; provided that no power be delegated to the said committee, for the exercise of which, by the Articles of Confederation, the voice of nine states in the Congress of the United States assembled is requisite.

ARTICLE XI. Canada, acceding to this Confederation, and joining in the measures of the United States, shall be admitted into, and entitled to all the advantages of this Union; but no other colony shall be admitted into the same, unless such admission be agreed to by nine states.

ARTICLE XII. All bills of credit emitted, moneys borrowed, and debts contracted by, or under the authority of Congress, before the assembling of the United States, in pursuance of the present Confederation, shall be deemed and considered as a charge against the United States, for payment and satisfaction whereof the said United States, and the public faith, are hereby solemnly pledged.

ARTICLE XIII. Every state shall abide by the determinations of the United States in Congress assembled, on all questions which by this Confederation are submitted to them. And the Articles of this Confederation shall be inviolably observed by every state; and the Union shall be perpetual. Nor shall any alteration at any time hereafter be made in any of them, unless such alteration be agreed to in a Congress of the United States, and be afterwards confirmed by the legislatures of every state.

And whereas, it hath pleased the Great Governor of the world to incline the hearts of the legislatures we respectively represent in Congress, to approve of, and to authorize us to ratify the said Articles of Confederation and perpetual Union: Know ye that we the undersigned delegates, by virtue of the power and authority to us given for that purpose, do by these presents, in the name and in behalf of our respective constituents, fully and entirely ratify and confirm each and every of the said Articles of Confederation and perpetual Union, and all and singular the matters and things therein contained. And we do further solemnly plight and engage the faith of our respective constituents, that they shall abide by the determinations of the United States in Congress assembled, on all questions, which by the said Confederation are submitted to them; and that the articles thereof shall be inviolably observed by the states we respectively represent; and that the Union shall be perpetual. In witness whereof we have hereunto set our hands in Congress. Done at Philadelphia, in the state of Pennsylvania, the 9th day of July, in the year of our Lord 1778, and in the 3d year of the Independence of America.

CONSTITUTION

OF THE

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

WE, the people of the United States, in order to form a more perfect Union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquility, provide for the common defence, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity, do ordain and establish this Constitution for the United States of America.

ARTICLE I.

SECTION 1.—1. All legislative powers herein granted shall be vested in a Congress of the United States, which shall consist of a Senate and House of Representatives.

SECTION 2.—1. The House of Representatives shall be composed of members chosen every second year by the people of the several states, and the electors in each state shall have the qualifications requisite for electors of the most numerous branch of the state legislature.

2. No person shall be a Representative who shall not have attained to the age of twenty-five years, and been seven years a citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an inhabitant of that state in which he shall be chosen.

3. Representatives and direct taxes shall be apportioned among the several states which may be included within this Union, according to their respective numbers, which shall be determined by adding to the whole number of free persons, including those bound to service for a term of years, and excluding Indians not taxed, three-fifths of all other persons. The actual enumeration shall be made within three years after the first meeting of the Congress of the United States, and within every subsequent term of ten years, in such manner as they shall by law direct. The number of Representatives shall not exceed one for every thirty thousand, but each state shall have at least one Representative; and, until such enumeration shall be made, the state of New Hampshire shall be entitled to choose three, Massachusetts eight,

Rhode Island and Providence Plantations one, Connecticut five, New York six, New Jersey four, Pennsylvania eight, Delaware one, Maryland six, Virginia ten, North Carolina five, South Carolina five, and Georgia three.

4. When vacancies happen in the representation from any state, the executive authority thereof shall issue writs of election to fill such vacancies.

5. The House of Representatives shall choose their Speaker and other officers; and shall have the sole power of impeachment.

SECTION 3.—1. The Senate of the United States shall be composed of two Senators from each state, chosen by the legislature thereof, for six years; and each Senator shall have one vote.

2. Immediately after they shall be assembled in consequence of the first election, they shall be divided, as equally as may be, into three classes. The seats of the Senators of the first class shall be vacated at the expiration of the second year; of the second class, at the expiration of the fourth year; and of the third class, at the expiration of the sixth year; so that one-third may be chosen every second year; and if vacancies happen by resignation, or otherwise, during the recess of the legislature of any state, the executive thereof may make temporary appointments until the next meeting of the legislature, which shall then fill such vacancies.

3. No person shall be a Senator who shall not have attained to the age of thirty years, and been nine years a citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an inhabitant of that state for which he shall be chosen.

4. The Vice-President of the United States shall be President of the Senate, but shall have no vote, unless they be equally divided.

5. The Senate shall choose their other officers, and also a President *pro tempore*, in the absence of the Vice-President, or when he shall exercise the office of President of the United States.

6. The Senate shall have the sole power to try all impeachments. When sitting for that purpose, they shall be on oath or affirmation. When the President of the United States is tried, the Chief Justice shall preside; and no person shall be convicted without the concurrence of two-thirds of the members present.

7. Judgment in cases of impeachment shall not extend further than to removal from office, and disqualification to hold and enjoy any office of honor, trust, or profit, under the United States; but the party convicted shall, nevertheless, be liable and subject to indictment, trial, judgment, and punishment, according to law.

SECTION 4.—1. The times, places, and manner, of holding elections for Senators and Representatives, shall be prescribed in each state by the legislature thereof: but the Congress may at any time, by law, make or alter such regulations, except as to the places of choosing Senators.

2. The Congress shall assemble at least once in every year, and such meeting shall be on the first Monday in December, unless they shall by law appoint a different day.

SECTION 5.—1. Each House shall be the judge of the elections, returns, and qualifications of its own members, and a majority of each shall constitute a quorum to do business; but a smaller number may adjourn from day to day, and may be authorized to compel the attendance of absent members, in such manner, and under such penalties, as each House may provide.

2. Each House may determine the rules of its proceedings, punish its members for disorderly behavior, and with the concurrence of two-thirds, expel a member.

3. Each House shall keep a journal of its proceedings, and, from time to time, publish the same, excepting such parts as may, in their judgment, require secrecy; and the yeas and nays of the members of either House, on any question, shall, at the desire of one-fifth of those present, be entered on the journal.

4. Neither House, during the session of Congress, shall, without the consent of the other, adjourn for more than three days, nor to any other place than that in which the two Houses shall be sitting.

SECTION 6.—1. The Senators and Representatives shall receive a compensation for their services, to be ascertained by law, and paid out of the treasury of the United States. They shall, in all cases, except treason, felony, and breach of the peace, be privileged from arrest during their attendance at the session of their respective Houses, and in going to, and returning from, the same; and for any speech or debate in either House, they shall not be questioned in any other place.

2. No Senator or Representative shall, during the time for which he was elected, be appointed to any civil office under the authority of the United States, which shall have been created, or the emoluments whereof shall have been increased during such time; and no person holding any office under the United States, shall be a member of either House during his continuance in office.

SECTION 7.—1. All bills for raising revenue shall originate in the House of Representatives; but the Senate may propose or concur with amendments as on other bills.

2. Every bill, which shall have passed the House of Representatives and the Senate, shall, before it become a law, be presented to the President of the United States; if he approve, he shall sign it, but if not, he shall return it, with his objections, to that House in which it shall have originated, who shall enter the objections at large on their journal, and proceed to reconsider it. If, after such reconsideration, two-thirds of that House shall agree to pass the bill, it shall be sent, together with the objections, to the other House, by which it shall likewise be reconsidered, and if approved by two-thirds of that House, it shall become a law. But in all such cases the votes of both Houses shall be determined by yeas and nays, and the names of the persons voting for and against the bill shall be entered on the journal of each House respectively. If any bill shall not be returned by the President within ten days (Sundays excepted) after it shall have been presented to him, the same shall be a law, in like manner as if he had signed it, unless the Congress, by their adjournment, prevent its return, in which case it shall not be a law.

3. Every order, resolution, or vote, to which the concurrence of the Senate and House of Representatives may be necessary (except on a question of adjournment), shall be presented to the President of the United States; and before the same shall take effect, shall be approved by him, or, being disapproved by him, shall be repassed by two-thirds of the Senate and House of Representatives, according to the rules and limitations prescribed in the case of a bill.

SECTION 8.—The Congress shall have power

1. To lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts, and excises, to pay the debts, and provide for the common defence and general welfare, of the United States; but all duties, imposts, and excises, shall be uniform throughout the United States:

2. To borrow money on the credit of the United States:

3. To regulate commerce with foreign nations, and among the several states, and with the Indian tribes:

4. To establish a uniform rule of naturalization, and uniform laws on the subject of bankruptcies, throughout the United States:

5. To coin money, regulate the value thereof, and of foreign coin, and fix the standard of weights and measures:

6. To provide for the punishment of counterfeiting the securities and current coin of the United States:

7. To establish post-offices and post-roads:

8. To promote the progress of science and useful arts, by securing, for limited times, to authors and inventors, the exclusive right to their respective writings and discoveries:

9. To constitute tribunals inferior to the Supreme Court:

10. To define and punish piracies and felonies, committed on the high seas, and offences against the law of nations:

11. To declare war, grant letters of marque and reprisal, and make rules concerning captures on land and water:

12. To raise and support armies; but no appropriation of money to that use shall be for a longer term than two years:

13. To provide and maintain a navy:

14. To make rules for the government and regulation of the land and naval forces:

15. To provide for calling forth the militia to execute the laws of the Union, suppress insurrections, and repel invasions:

16. To provide for organizing, arming, and disciplining the militia, and for governing such part of them as may be employed in the service of the United States, reserving to the states respectively the appointment of the officers, and the authority of training the militia, according to the discipline prescribed by Congress:

17. To exercise exclusive legislation in all cases whatsoever, over such district (not exceeding ten miles square) as may, by cession of particular states, and the acceptance of Congress, become the seat of the government of the United States, and to exercise like authority over all places, purchased by the consent of the legislature of the state in which the same shall be, for the erection of forts, magazines, arsenals, dock-yards, and other needful buildings:—And

18. To make all laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into execution the foregoing powers, and all other powers vested by this Constitution in the Government of the United States, or in any department or officer thereof.

SECTION 9.—1. The migration or importation of such persons, as any of the states, now existing, shall think proper to admit, shall not be prohibited by the Congress prior to the year one thousand eight hundred and eight; but a tax or duty may be imposed on such importation, not exceeding ten dollars for each person.

2. The privilege of the writ of *habeas corpus* shall not be suspended, unless when, in cases of rebellion or invasion, the public safety may require it.

3. No bill of attainder, or *ex post facto* law, shall be passed.

4. No capitation, or other direct tax, shall be laid, unless in proportion to the *census* or enumeration hereinfore directed to be taken.

5. No tax or duty shall be laid on articles exported from any state. No preference shall be given by any regulation of commerce or revenue to the ports of one state over those of another; nor shall vessels bound to, or from, one state, be obliged to enter, clear, or pay duties, in another.

6. No money shall be drawn from the treasury, but in consequence of appropriations made by law; and a regular statement and account of the receipts and expenditures of all public money shall be published from time to time.

7. No title of nobility shall be granted by the United States; and no person, holding any office of profit or trust under them, shall, without the consent of the Congress, accept of any present, emolument, office, or title, of any kind whatever, from any king, prince, or foreign state.

SECTION 10.—1. No state shall enter into any treaty, alliance, or confederation; grant letters of marque and reprisal; coin money; emit bills of credit; make anything but gold and silver coin a tender in payment of debts; pass any bill of attainder, *ex post facto* law, or law impairing the obligation of contracts, or grant any title of nobility.

2. No state shall, without the consent of the Congress, lay any imposts or duties on imports or exports, except what may be absolutely necessary for executing its inspection laws; and the net produce of all duties and imposts, laid by any state on imports or exports, shall be for the use of the treasury of the United States; and all such laws shall be subject to the revision and control of the Congress. No state shall, without the consent of Congress, lay any duty of tonnage, keep troops, or ships of war, in time of peace, enter into any agreement or compact with another state, or with a foreign power, or engage in war, unless actually invaded, or in such imminent danger as will not admit of delay.

ARTICLE II.

SECTION 1.—1. The Executive power shall be vested in a President of the United States of America. He shall hold his office during the term of four years, and together with the Vice-President, chosen for the same term, be elected as follows:

2. Each state shall appoint, in such manner as the legislature thereof may direct, a number of Electors, equal to the whole number of Senators and Representatives, to which the state may be entitled in the Congress; but no Senator or Representative, or person holding an office of trust or profit, under the United States, shall be appointed an Elector.

3. The Electors shall meet in their respective states, and vote by ballot for two persons, of whom one, at least, shall not be an inhabitant of the same state with themselves. And they shall make a list of all the persons voted for, and of the number of votes for each; which list they shall sign and certify, and transmit, sealed, to the seat of the Government of the United States, directed to the President of the

Senate. The President of the Senate shall, in the presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, open all the certificates, and the votes shall then be counted. The person having the greatest number of votes shall be the President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of Electors appointed; and if there be more than one, who have such majority, and have an equal number of votes, then the House of Representatives shall immediately choose, by ballot, one of them for President; and if no person have a majority, then, from the five highest on the list, the said House shall, in like manner, choose the President. But in choosing the President, the votes shall be taken by states, the representation from each state having one vote; a quorum for this purpose shall consist of a member or members from two-thirds of the states, and a majority of all the states shall be necessary to a choice. In every case, after the choice of the President, the person having the greatest number of votes of the Electors shall be the Vice-President. But if there should remain two or more who have equal votes, the Senate shall choose from them, by ballot, the Vice-President.

4. The Congress may determine the time of choosing the Electors, and the day on which they shall give their votes; which day shall be the same throughout the United States.

5. No person, except a natural-born citizen, or a citizen of the United States at the time of the adoption of this Constitution, shall be eligible to the office of President; neither shall any person be eligible to that office, who shall not have attained to the age of thirty-five years, and been fourteen years a resident within the United States.

6. In case of the removal of the President from office, or of his death, resignation, or inability to discharge the powers and duties of the said office, the same shall devolve on the Vice-President, and the Congress may by law provide for the case of removal, death, resignation, or inability, both of the President and Vice-President, declaring what officer shall then act as President, and such officer shall act accordingly, until the disability be removed, or a President shall be elected.

7. The President shall, at stated times, receive for his services, a compensation, which shall neither be increased nor diminished during the period for which he shall have been elected, and he shall not receive, within that period, any other emolument from the United States, or any of them.

8. Before he enter on the execution of his office, he shall take the following oath or affirmation:

9. "I do solemnly swear (or affirm), that I will faithfully execute the office of President of the United States, and will, to the best of my ability, preserve, protect, and defend the Constitution of the United States."

SECTION 2.—1. The President shall be Commander-in-Chief of the army and navy of the United States, and of the militia of the several states, when called into the actual service of the United States; he may require the opinion, in writing, of the principal officer in each of the executive departments upon any subject relating to the duties of their respective offices, and he shall have power to grant reprieves and pardons for offences against the United States, except in cases of impeachment.

2. He shall have power, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate,

to make treaties, provided two-thirds of the Senators present concur; and he shall nominate, and, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, shall appoint ambassadors, other public ministers, and consuls, judges of the Supreme Court, and all other officers of the United States whose appointments are not herein otherwise provided for, and which shall be established by law: but the Congress may by law vest the appointment of such inferior officers, as they think proper, in the President alone, in the courts of law, or in the heads of departments.

3. The President shall have power to fill up all vacancies that may happen during the recess of the Senate, by granting commissions which shall expire at the end of their next session.

SECTION 3.—1. He shall, from time to time, give to the Congress information of the state of the Union, and recommend to their consideration such measures as he shall judge necessary and expedient; he may, on extraordinary occasions, convene both Houses, or either of them, and in case of disagreement between them, with respect to the time of adjournment, he may adjourn them to such time as he shall think proper; he shall receive ambassadors and other public ministers; he shall take care that the laws be faithfully executed, and shall commission all the officers of the United States.

SECTION 4.—1. The President, Vice-President, and all civil officers of the United States, shall be removed from office on impeachment for, and conviction of, treason, bribery, or other high crimes and misdemeanors.

ARTICLE III.

SECTION 1.—1. The judicial power of the United States shall be vested in one Supreme Court, and in such inferior courts as the Congress may, from time to time, ordain and establish. The judges, both of the Supreme and inferior courts, shall hold their offices during good behavior, and shall, at stated times, receive for their services a compensation which shall not be diminished during their continuance in office.

SECTION 2.—1. The judicial power shall extend to all cases, in law and equity, arising under this Constitution, the laws of the United States, and treaties made, or which shall be made, under their authority; to all cases affecting ambassadors, other public ministers, and consuls; to all cases of admiralty and maritime jurisdiction; to controversies to which the United States shall be a party; to controversies between two or more states, between a state and citizens of another state, between citizens of different states, between citizens of the same state claiming lands under grants of different states, and between a state or the citizens thereof, and foreign states, citizens, or subjects.

2. In all cases affecting ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls, and those in which a state shall be a party, the Supreme Court shall have original jurisdiction. In all the other cases before mentioned, the Supreme Court shall have appellate jurisdiction, both as to law and fact, with such exceptions and under such regulations as the Congress shall make.

3. The trial of all crimes, except in cases of impeachment, shall be by jury; and such trial shall be held in the state where the said crimes shall have been committed;

but when not committed within any state the trial shall be at such place or places as the Congress may by law have directed.

SECTION 3.—1. Treason against the United States shall consist only in levying war against them, or in adhering to their enemies, giving them aid and comfort. No person shall be convicted of treason unless on the testimony of two witnesses to the same overt act, or on confession in open court.

2. The Congress shall have power to declare the punishment of treason, but no attainder of treason shall work corruption of blood or forfeiture, except during the life of the person attainted.

ARTICLE IV.

SECTION 1.—1. Full faith and credit shall be given in each state to the public acts, records, and judicial proceedings of every other state. And the Congress may, by general laws, prescribe the manner in which such acts, records, and proceedings shall be proved, and the effect thereof.

SECTION 2.—1. The citizens of each state shall be entitled to all privileges and immunities of citizens in the several states.

2. A person charged in any state with treason, felony, or other crime, who shall flee from justice, and be found in another state, shall, on demand of the executive authority of the state from which he fled, be delivered up, to be removed to the state having jurisdiction of the crime.

3. No person held to service or labor in one state, under the laws thereof, escaping into another, shall, in consequence of any law or regulation therein, be discharged from such service or labor, but shall be delivered up on claim of the party to whom such service or labor may be due.

SECTION 3.—1. New states may be admitted by the Congress into this Union; but no new state shall be formed or erected within the jurisdiction of any other state; nor any state be formed by the junction of two or more states, or parts of states, without the consent of the legislatures of the states concerned as well as of the Congress.

2. The Congress shall have power to dispose of and make all needful rules and regulations respecting the territory or other property belonging to the United States; and nothing in this Constitution shall be so construed as to prejudice any claims of the United States, or of any particular state.

SECTION 4.—1. The United States shall guarantee to every state in this Union a republican form of government, and shall protect each of them against invasion; and on application of the legislature, or of the executive (when the legislature cannot be convened), against domestic violence.

ARTICLE V.

1. The Congress, whenever two-thirds of both Houses shall deem it necessary, shall propose amendments to this Constitution, or, on the application of the legislatures of two-thirds of the several states, shall call a convention for proposing amendments, which, in either case, shall be valid, to all intents and purposes, as part of this Constitution, when ratified by the legislatures of three-fourths of the several

states, or by conventions in three-fourths thereof, as the one or the other mode of ratification may be proposed by the Congress : provided that no amendment which may be made prior to the year one thousand eight hundred and eight shall, in any manner, affect the first and fourth clauses in the ninth section of the first Article ; and that no state, without its consent, shall be deprived of its equal suffrage in the Senate.

ARTICLE VI.

1. All debts contracted and engagements entered into, before the adoption of this Constitution, shall be as valid against the United States under this Constitution as under the Confederation.

2. This Constitution, and the laws of the United States which shall be made in pursuance thereof, and all treaties made, or which shall be made, under the authority of the United States, shall be the supreme law of the land ; and the judges in every state shall be bound thereby, anything in the constitution or laws of any state to the contrary notwithstanding.

3. The Senators and Representatives before mentioned, and the members of the several state legislatures, and all executive and judicial officers, both of the United States and of the several states, shall be bound, by oath or affirmation, to support this Constitution ; but no religious test shall ever be required as a qualification to any office or public trust under the United States.

ARTICLE VII.

1. The ratification of the conventions of nine states shall be sufficient for the establishment of this Constitution between the states so ratifying the same.

AMENDMENTS TO THE CONSTITUTION.

ARTICLE I.

Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof ; or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press ; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the government for a redress of grievances.

ARTICLE II.

A well-regulated militia being necessary to the security of a free state, the right of the people to keep and bear arms shall not be infringed.

ARTICLE III.

No soldier shall, in time of peace, be quartered in any house without the consent of the owner ; nor, in time of war, but in a manner to be prescribed by law.

ARTICLE IV.

The right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers, and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures, shall not be violated; and no warrants shall issue but upon probable cause, supported by oath or affirmation, and particularly describing the place to be searched, and the person or things to be seized.

ARTICLE V.

No person shall be held to answer for a capital, or otherwise infamous, crime, unless on a presentment or indictment of a grand jury, except in cases arising in the land or naval forces, or in the militia, when in actual service, in time of war or public danger; nor shall any person be subject, for the same offence, to be twice put in jeopardy of life or limb; nor shall be compelled, in any criminal case, to be a witness against himself, nor be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor shall private property be taken for public use, without just compensation.

ARTICLE VI.

In all criminal prosecutions, the accused shall enjoy the right to a speedy and public trial, by an impartial jury of the state and district wherein the crime shall have been committed, which district shall have been previously ascertained by law; and to be informed of the nature and cause of the accusation; to be confronted with the witnesses against him; to have compulsory process for obtaining witnesses in his favor; and to have the assistance of counsel for his defence.

ARTICLE VII.

In suits at common law, where the value in controversy shall exceed twenty dollars, the right of trial by jury shall be preserved; and no fact, tried by a jury, shall be otherwise re-examined in any court of the United States than according to the rules of the common law.

ARTICLE VIII.

Excessive bail shall not be required, nor excessive fines imposed, nor cruel and unusual punishments inflicted.

ARTICLE IX.

The enumeration in the Constitution of certain rights shall not be construed to deny or disparage others retained by the people.

ARTICLE X.*

The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the states, are reserved to the states respectively, or to the people.

ARTICLE XI.†

The judicial power of the United States shall not be construed to extend to any

* The first ten Amendments were proposed by Congress, September 25, 1789, and declared in force December 15, 1791.

† Proposed by Congress March 5, 1794, declared in force January 8, 1798.

suit in law or equity commenced or prosecuted against one of the United States by citizens of another state, or by citizens or subjects of any foreign state.

ARTICLE XII.*

1. The Electors shall meet in their respective states, and vote by ballot for President and Vice-President, one of whom, at least, shall not be an inhabitant of the same state with themselves; they shall name in their ballots the person voted for as President, and in distinct ballots the person voted for as Vice-President; and they shall make distinct lists of all persons voted for as President, and of all persons voted for as Vice-President, and of the number of votes for each, which lists they shall sign, and certify, and transmit, sealed, to the seat of the Government of the United States, directed to the President of the Senate; the President of the Senate shall, in the presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, open all the certificates, and the votes shall then be counted; the person having the greatest number of votes for President shall be the President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of Electors appointed; and if no person have such a majority, then, from the persons having the highest numbers, not exceeding three, on the list of those voted for as President, the House of Representatives shall choose immediately, by ballot, the President. But in choosing the President, the votes shall be taken by states, the representation from each state having one vote; a quorum for this purpose shall consist of a member or members from two-thirds of the states, and a majority of all the states shall be necessary to a choice. And if the House of Representatives shall not choose a President, whenever the right of choice shall devolve upon them, before the fourth day of March next following, then the Vice-President shall act as President, as in case of the death, or other constitutional disability, of the President.

2. The person having the greatest number of votes as Vice-President shall be the Vice-President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of Electors appointed; and if no person have a majority, then, from the two highest numbers on the list, the Senate shall choose the Vice-President; a quorum for the purpose shall consist of two-thirds of the whole number of Senators; a majority of the whole number shall be necessary to a choice.

3. But no person constitutionally ineligible to the office of President shall be eligible to that of Vice-President of the United States.

ARTICLE XIII.†

SECTION 1.—Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime, whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States, or any place subject to their jurisdiction.

SECTION 2.—Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

Proposed by Congress December 12, 1803, declared in force September 25, 1804.

† Proposed by Congress February 1, 1865, declared in force December 18, 1865.

ARTICLE XIV.*

SECTION 1.—All persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the state wherein they reside. No state shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States; nor shall any state deprive any person of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law, nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws.

SECTION 2.—Representatives shall be apportioned among the several states according to their respective numbers, counting the whole number of persons in each state, excluding Indians not taxed. But when the right to vote at any election for the choice of electors for President and Vice-President of the United States, Representatives in Congress, the executive and judicial officers of a state, or the members of the legislature thereof, is denied to any of the male inhabitants of such state, being twenty-one years of age, and citizens of the United States, or in any way abridged, except for participation in rebellion or other crime, the basis of representation therein shall be reduced in the proportion which the number of such male citizens shall bear to the whole number of male citizens twenty-one years of age in such state.

SECTION 3.—No person shall be a Senator or Representative in Congress, or elector of President and Vice-President, or hold any office, civil or military, under the United States, or under any state, who, having previously taken an oath, as a member of Congress, or as an officer of the United States, or as a member of any state legislature, or as an executive or judicial officer of any state, to support the Constitution of the United States, shall have engaged in insurrection or rebellion against the same, or given aid or comfort to the enemies thereof. But Congress may, by a vote of two-thirds of each House, remove such disability.

SECTION 4.—The validity of the public debt of the United States, authorized by law, including debts incurred for payment of pensions and bounties for services in suppressing insurrection or rebellion, shall not be questioned. But neither the United States nor any state shall assume or pay any debt or obligation incurred in aid of insurrection or rebellion against the United States, or any claim for the loss or emancipation of any slave; but all such debts, obligations, and claims shall be held illegal and void.

SECTION 5.—The Congress shall have power to enforce, by appropriate legislation, the provisions of this article.

ARTICLE XV.†

SECTION 1.—The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any state on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude.

SECTION 2.—The Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

* Proposed by Congress June 16, 1866, declared in force July 28, 1868.

† Proposed by Congress February 26, 1869, declared in force March 30, 1870.

. ACTION OF THE CONVENTION AFTER AGREEING ON A CONSTITUTION.

IN THE CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION, MONDAY, *September 17, 1787.*

Present : The States of New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Connecticut, Mr. Hamilton from New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia.

Resolved, That the preceding Constitution be laid before the United States in Congress assembled, and that it is the opinion of this convention that it should afterwards be submitted to a Convention of delegates, chosen in each state by the people thereof, under the recommendation of its legislature, for their assent and ratification; and that each convention, assenting to and ratifying the same, should give notice thereof to the United States in Congress assembled.

Resolved, That it is the opinion of this Convention, that as soon as the conventions of nine states shall have ratified this Constitution, the United States in Congress assembled should fix a day on which electors should be appointed by the states which shall have ratified the same, and a day on which the electors should assemble to vote for the President, and the time and place for commencing proceedings under this Constitution. That after such publication the electors should be appointed, and the Senators and Representatives elected; that the electors should meet on the day fixed for the election of the President, and should transmit their votes certified, signed, sealed, and directed as the Constitution requires, to the Secretary of the United States in Congress assembled; and that the Senators and Representatives should convene at the time and place assigned; that the Senators should appoint a president of the Senate, for the sole purpose of receiving, opening, and counting the votes for President; and that, after he shall be chosen, the Congress, together with the President, should, without delay, proceed to execute this Constitution.

By the unanimous order of the Convention.

GEORGE WASHINGTON, *President.*

WILLIAM JACKSON, *Secretary.*

WASHINGTON SUBMITS THE CONSTITUTION TO CONGRESS.

IN THE CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION, *September 17, 1787.*

SIR : We have now the honor to submit to the consideration of the United States in Congress assembled that Constitution which has appeared to us the most advisable.

The friends of our country have long seen and desired that the power of making war, peace, and treaties, that of levying money and regulating commerce, and the correspondent executive and judicial authorities should be fully and effectually vested in the General Government of the Union; but the impropriety of delegating such extensive trust to one body of men is evident: hence results the necessity of a different organization.

It is obviously impracticable, in the Federal Government of these States, to secure all rights of independent sovereignty to each, and yet provide for the interest and safety of all. Individuals entering into society must give up a share of liberty to preserve the rest. The magnitude of the sacrifice must depend as well on situation and circumstance as on the object to be obtained. It is at all times difficult to draw with precision the line between those rights which must be surrendered and those which may be reserved; and on the present occasion this difficulty was increased by a difference among the several states as to their situation, extent, habits, and particular interests.

In all our deliberations on this subject, we kept steadily in our view that which appears to us the greatest interest of every true American—the consolidation of our Union—in which is involved our prosperity, felicity, safety, perhaps our national existence. This important consideration, seriously and deeply impressed on our minds, led each state in the Convention to be less rigid on points of inferior magnitude than might have been otherwise expected; and thus the Constitution which we now present is the result of a spirit of amity, and of that mutual deference and concession which the peculiarity of our political situation rendered indispensable.

That it will meet the full and entire approbation of every state is not, perhaps, to be expected; but each will doubtless consider that, had her interest been alone consulted, the consequences might have been particularly disagreeable or injurious to others; that it is liable to as few exceptions as could reasonably have been expected, we hope and believe; that it may promote the lasting welfare of that country so dear to us all, and secure her freedom and happiness, is our most ardent wish.

With great respect, we have the honor to be, sir, your excellency's most obedient, humble servants.

By unanimous order of the Convention.

GEORGE WASHINGTON, *President*.

His Excellency the PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS.

FAREWELL ADDRESS

OF

GEORGE WASHINGTON, PRESIDENT,

TO THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES, *September 17, 1796.*

Friends and Fellow-citizens :

The period for a new election of a citizen to administer the Executive Government of the United States being not far distant, and the time actually arrived when your thoughts must be employed in designating the person who is to be clothed with that important trust, it appears to me proper, especially as it may conduce to a more distinct expression of the public voice, that I should now apprise you of the resolution I have formed, to decline being considered among the number of those out of whom a choice is to be made.

I beg you, at the same time, to do me the justice to be assured that this resolution has not been taken without a strict regard to all the considerations appertaining to the relation which binds a dutiful citizen to his country ; and that, in withdrawing the tender of service, which silence, in my situation, might imply, I am influenced by no diminution of zeal for your future interest ; no deficiency of grateful respect for your past kindness ; but am supported by a full conviction that the step is compatible with both.

The acceptance of, and continuance hitherto in, the office to which your suffrages have twice called me, have been a uniform sacrifice of inclination to the opinion of duty, and to a deference for what appeared to be your desire. I constantly hoped that it would have been much earlier in my power, consistently with motives which I was not at liberty to disregard, to return to that retirement from which I had been reluctantly drawn. The strength of my inclination to do this, previous to the last election, had even led to the preparation of an address to declare it to you ; but mature reflection on the then perplexed and critical posture of our affairs with foreign nations, and the unanimous advice of persons entitled to my confidence, impelled me to abandon the idea.

I rejoice that the state of your concerns, external as well as internal, no longer renders the pursuit of inclination incompatible with the sentiment of duty or propriety ; and am persuaded, whatever partiality may be retained for my services, that, in the present circumstances of our country, you will not disapprove my determination to retire.

The impressions with which I first undertook the arduous trust were explained on the proper occasion. In the discharge of this trust, I will only say, that I have with good intentions contributed towards the organization and administration of the Government the best exertions of which a very fallible judgment was capable. Not unconscious in the outset of the inferiority of my qualifications, experience, in my own eyes—perhaps still more in the eyes of others—has strengthened the motives to diffidence of myself; and every day the increasing weight of years admonishes me, more and more, that the shade of retirement is as necessary to me as it will be welcome. Satisfied, that if any circumstances have given peculiar value to my services, they were temporary, I have the consolation to believe that, while choice and prudence invite me to quit the political scene, patriotism does not forbid it.

In looking forward to the moment which is intended to terminate the career of my public life, my feelings do not permit me to suspend the deep acknowledgment of that debt of gratitude which I owe to my beloved country for the many honors it has conferred upon me; still more for the steadfast confidence with which it has supported me; and for the opportunities I have thence enjoyed of manifesting my inviolable attachment, by services faithful and persevering, though in usefulness unequal to my zeal. If benefits have resulted to our country from these services, let it always be remembered to your praise and as an instructive example in our annals, that, under circumstances in which the passions, agitated in every direction, were liable to mislead; amidst appearances sometimes dubious, vicissitudes of fortune often discouraging; in situations in which, not unfrequently, want of success has countenanced the spirit of criticism,—the constancy of your support was the essential prop of the efforts, and a guarantee of the plans, by which they were effected. Profoundly penetrated with this idea, I shall carry it with me to my grave, as a strong incitement to unceasing vows, that Heaven may continue to you the choicest tokens of its beneficence; that your union and brotherly affection may be perpetual; that the free Constitution, which is the work of your hands, may be sacredly maintained; that its administration, in every department, may be stamped with wisdom and virtue; that, in fine, the happiness of the people of these States, under the auspices of liberty, may be made complete, by so careful a preservation and so prudent a use of this blessing as will acquire to them the glory of recommending it to the applause, the affection, and the adoption of every nation which is yet a stranger to it.

Here, perhaps, I ought to stop; but a solicitude for your welfare, which cannot end but with my life, and the apprehension of danger natural to that solicitude, urge me, on an occasion like the present, to offer to your solemn contemplation, and to recommend to your frequent review, some sentiments, which are the result of much reflection, of no inconsiderable observation, and which appear to me all-important to the permanency of your felicity as a people. These will be afforded to you with the more freedom, as you can only see in them the disinterested warnings of a parting friend, who can possibly have no personal motive to bias his counsel; nor can I forget, as an encouragement to it, your indulgent reception of my sentiments on a former and not dissimilar occasion.

Interwoven as is the love of liberty with every ligament of your hearts, no recommendation of mine is necessary to fortify or confirm the attachment.

The unity of government, which constitutes you one people, is also now dear to you. It is justly so; for it is a main pillar in the edifice of your real independence—the support of your tranquility at home, your peace abroad, of your safety, of your prosperity, of that very liberty which you so highly prize. But as it is easy to foresee that, from different causes and from different quarters, much pains will be taken, many artifices employed, to weaken in your minds the conviction of this truth, as this is the point in your political fortress against which the batteries of internal and external enemies will be most constantly and actively (though often covertly and insidiously) directed—it is of infinite moment that you should properly estimate the immense value of your national union to your collective and individual happiness; that you should cherish a cordial, habitual, and immovable attachment to it, accustoming yourselves to think and speak of it as of the palladium of your political safety and prosperity; watching for its preservation with jealous anxiety; discountenancing whatever may suggest even a suspicion that it can, in any event, be abandoned; and indignantly frowning upon the first dawning of every attempt to alienate any portion of our country from the rest, or to enfeeble the sacred ties which now link together the various parts.

For this you have every inducement of sympathy and interest. Citizens by birth or choice, of a common country, that country has a right to concentrate your affections. The name of *American*, which belongs to you in your national capacity, must always exalt the just pride of patriotism, more than any appellation derived from local discriminations. With slight shades of difference, you have the same religion, manners, habits, and political principles. You have, in a common cause, fought and triumphed together; the independence and liberty you possess are the work of joint counsels and joint efforts, of common dangers, sufferings, and successes.

But these considerations, however powerfully they address themselves to your sensibility, are greatly outweighed by those which apply more immediately to your interest; here every portion of our country finds the most commanding motives for carefully guarding and preserving the union of the whole.

The North, in an unrestrained intercourse with the South, protected by the equal laws of a common government, finds, in the productions of the latter, great additional resources of maritime and commercial enterprise, and precious materials of manufacturing industry. The South, in the same intercourse, benefiting by the agency of the North, sees its agriculture grow, and its commerce expand. Turning partly into its own channels the seamen of the North, it finds its particular navigation invigorated; and while it contributes, in different ways, to nourish and increase the general mass of the national navigation, it looks forward to the protection of a maritime strength to which itself is unequally adapted. The East, in like intercourse with the West, already finds, and in the progressive improvement of interior communication, by land and water, will more and more find, a valuable vent for the commodities which it brings from abroad, or manufactures at home. The West derives from the East supplies requisite to its growth and comfort; and what is perhaps of still greater consequence, it must, of necessity, owe the secure enjoyment of indispensable outlets for its own productions, to the weight, influence, and the future maritime strength of the Atlantic side of the Union, directed by an indissoluble community of interest

as one nation. Any other tenure by which the West can hold this essential advantage, whether derived from its own separate strength, or from an apostate and unnatural connexion with any foreign power, must be intrinsically precarious.

While, then, every part of our country thus feels an immediate and particular interest in union, all the parts combined cannot fail to find, in the united mass of means and efforts, greater strength, greater resource, proportionably greater security from external danger, a less frequent interruption of their peace by foreign nations; and what is of inestimable value, they must derive from union an exemption from those broils and wars between themselves, which so frequently afflict neighboring countries, not tied together by the same government; which their own rivalships alone would be sufficient to produce, but which opposite foreign alliances, attachments, and intrigues, would stimulate and embitter. Hence, likewise, they will avoid the necessity of those over-grown military establishments, which, under any form of government, are inauspicious to liberty, and which are to be regarded as particularly hostile to republican liberty; in this sense it is that your union ought to be considered as a main prop of your liberty, and that the love of the one ought to endear to you the preservation of the other.

These considerations speak a persuasive language to every reflecting and virtuous mind, and exhibit the continuance of the Union as a primary object of patriotic desire. Is there a doubt, whether a common government can embrace so large a sphere? Let experience solve it. To listen to mere speculation, in such a case, were criminal. We are authorized to hope, that a proper organization of the whole, with the auxiliary agency of governments for the respective subdivisions, will afford a happy issue to the experiment. It is well worth a fair and full experiment. With such powerful and obvious motives to Union, affecting all parts of our country, while experience shall not have demonstrated its impracticability, there will always be reason to distrust the patriotism of those, who, in any quarter, may endeavor to weaken its bands.

In contemplating the causes which may disturb our Union, it occurs, as a matter of serious concern, that any ground should have been furnished for characterizing parties by geographical discriminations—Northern and Southern—Atlantic and Western: whence designing men may endeavor to excite a belief that there is a real difference of local interests and views. One of the expedients of party to acquire influence within particular districts, is to misrepresent the opinions and aims of other districts. You cannot shield yourselves too much against the jealousies and heart-burnings which spring from these misrepresentations; they tend to render alien to each other those who ought to be bound together by fraternal affection. The inhabitants of our western country have lately had a useful lesson on this head; they have seen in the negotiation by the Executive, and in the unanimous ratification by the Senate, of the treaty with Spain, and in the universal satisfaction at that event throughout the United States, a decisive proof how unfounded were the suspicions propagated among them, of a policy in the General Government, and in the Atlantic States, unfriendly to their interests in regard to the Mississippi: they have been witnesses to the formation of two treaties—that with Great Britain, and that with Spain, which secure to them everything they could desire in respect to our foreign rela-

tions, towards confirming their prosperity. Will it not be their wisdom to rely for the preservation of these advantages on the Union by which they were procured? Will they not henceforth be deaf to those advisers, if such there are, who would sever them from their brethren, and connect them with aliens?

To the efficacy and permanency of your Union, a Government for the whole is indispensable. No alliance, however strict between the parts, can be an adequate substitute; they must inevitably experience the infractions and interruptions which all alliances, in all time, have experienced. Sensible of this momentous truth, you have improved upon your first essay, by the adoption of a Constitution of Government better calculated than your former for an intimate Union, and for the efficacious management of your common concerns. This Government, the offspring of our own choice, uninfluenced and unawed, adopted upon full investigation and mature deliberation, completely free in its principles, in the distribution of its powers, uniting security with energy, and containing within itself a provision for its own amendment, has a just claim to your confidence and your support. Respect for its authority, compliance with its laws, acquiescence in its measures, are duties enjoined by the fundamental maxims of true liberty. The bases of our political systems, is the right of the people to make and to alter their constitutions of Government: but the Constitution which at any time exists, till changed by an explicit and authentic act of the whole people, is sacredly obligatory upon all. The very idea of the power, and the right of the people to establish Government, pre-supposes the duty of every individual to obey the established Government.

All obstructions to the execution of the laws, all combinations and associations, under whatever plausible character, with the real design to direct, control, counteract, or awe the regular deliberation and action of the constituted authorities, are destructive to this fundamental principle, and of fatal tendency. They serve to organize faction, to give it an artificial and extraordinary force, to put in the place of the delegated will of the nation the will of a party, often a small but artful and enterprising minority of the community; and, according to the alternate triumphs of different parties, to make the public administration the mirror of the ill-concerted and incongruous projects of faction, rather than the organ of consistent and wholesome plans, digested by common counsels, and modified by mutual interests.

However combinations or associations of the above description may now and then answer popular ends, they are likely, in the course of time and things, to become potent engines, by which cunning, ambitious, and unprincipled men, will be enabled to subvert the power of the people, and to usurp for themselves the reins of Government; destroying, afterwards, the very engines which had lifted them to unjust dominion.

Towards the preservation of your Government, and the permanency of your present happy state, it is requisite, not only that you steadily discountenance irregular oppositions to its acknowledged authority, but also that you resist with care the spirit of innovation upon its principles, however specious the pretexts. One method of assault may be to effect, in the forms of the Constitution, alterations which will impair the energy of the system, and thus to undermine what cannot be directly overthrown. In all the changes to which you may be invited, remember that time and

habit are at least as necessary to fix the true character of governments as of other human institutions; that experience is the surest standard by which to test the real tendency of the existing constitution of a country; that facility in changes, upon the credit of mere hypothesis and opinion, exposes to perpetual change, from the endless variety of hypothesis and opinion; and remember, especially, that for the efficient management of your common interests, in a country so extensive as ours, a Government of as much vigor as is consistent with the perfect security of liberty is indispensable. Liberty itself will find in such a Government, with powers properly distributed and adjusted, its surest guardian. It is, indeed, little else than a name, where the Government is too feeble to withstand the enterprises of faction, to confine each member of the society within the limits prescribed by the laws, and to maintain all in the secure and tranquil enjoyment of the rights of person and property.

I have already intimated to you the danger of parties in the State, with particular reference to the founding of them on geographical discriminations. Let me now take a more comprehensive view, and warn you, in the most solemn manner, against the baneful effects of the spirit of party generally.

This spirit, unfortunately, is inseparable from our nature, having its root in the strongest passions of the human mind. It exists under different shapes, in all Governments, more or less stifled, controlled, or repressed; but in those of the popular form it is seen in its greatest rankness, and is truly their worst enemy.

The alternate domination of one faction over another, sharpened by the spirit of revenge, natural to party dissension, which, in different ages and countries, has perpetrated the most horrid enormities, is itself a frightful despotism. But this leads, at length, to a more formal and permanent despotism. The disorders and miseries which result, gradually incline the minds of men to seek security and repose in the absolute power of an individual; and, sooner or later, the chief of some prevailing faction, more able or more fortunate than his competitors, turns this disposition to the purposes of his own elevation on the ruins of public liberty.

Without looking forward to an extremity of this kind (which, nevertheless, ought not to be entirely out of sight), the common and continual mischiefs of the spirit of party are sufficient to make it the interest and duty of a wise people to discourage and restrain it.

It serves always to distract the public councils and enfeeble the public administration. It agitates the community with ill-founded jealousies and false alarms; kindles the animosity of one part against another; foment, occasionally, riot and insurrection. It opens the door to foreign influence and corruption, which find a facilitated access to the Government itself, through the channels of party passions. Thus the policy and the will of one country are subjected to the policy and will of another.

There is an opinion that parties, in free countries, are useful checks upon the administration of the Government, and serve to keep alive the spirit of liberty. This, within certain limits, is probably true; and in Governments of a monarchical cast, patriotism may look with indulgence, if not with favor, upon the spirit of party. But in those of the popular character, in Governments purely elective, it is a spirit

not to be encouraged. From their natural tendency, it is certain there will always be enough of that spirit for every salutary purpose. And there being constant danger of excess, the effort ought to be, by force of public opinion, to mitigate and assuage it. A fire not to be quenched, it demands a uniform vigilance to prevent its bursting into a flame, lest, instead of warming, it should consume.

It is important, likewise, that the habits of thinking, in a free country, should inspire caution in those intrusted with its administration, to confine themselves within their respective constitutional spheres, avoiding, in the exercise of the powers of one department, to encroach upon another. The spirit of encroachment tends to consolidate the powers of all the departments in one, and thus to create, whatever the form of Government, a real despotism. A just estimate of that love of power, and proneness to abuse it which predominates in the human heart, is sufficient to satisfy us of the truth of this position. The necessity of reciprocal checks in the exercise of political power, by dividing and distributing it into different depositories, and constituting each the guardian of the public weal, against invasions by the others, has been evinced by experiments, ancient and modern; some of them in our own country, and under our own eyes. To preserve them must be as necessary as to institute them. If, in the opinion of the people, the distribution or modification of the constitutional powers be, in any particular, wrong, let it be corrected by an amendment in the way which the Constitution designates. But let there be no change by usurpation; for though this, in one instance, may be the instrument of good, it is the customary weapon by which free Governments are destroyed. The precedent must always greatly overbalance, in permanent evil, any partial or transient benefit which the use can, at any time, yield.

Of all the dispositions and habits which lead to political prosperity, religion and morality are indispensable supports. In vain would that man claim the tribute of patriotism, who should labor to subvert these great pillars of human happiness, these firmest props of the duties of men and citizens. The mere politician, equally with the pious man, ought to respect and to cherish them. A volume could not trace all their connexions with private and public felicity. Let it simply be asked, where is the security for property, for reputation, for life, if the sense of religious obligation *desert* the oaths which are the instruments of investigation in courts of justice? And let us with caution indulge the supposition, that morality can be maintained without religion. Whatever may be conceded to the influence of refined education on minds of peculiar structure, reason and experience both forbid us to expect that natural morality can prevail in exclusion of religious principles.

It is substantially true, that virtue or morality is a necessary spring of popular Government. The rule, indeed, extends with more or less force to every species of free Government. Who, that is a sincere friend to it, can look with indifference upon attempts to shake the foundation of the fabric?

Promote, then, as an object of primary importance, institutions for the general diffusion of knowledge. In proportion as the structure of a Government gives force to public opinion, it is essential that public opinion should be enlightened.

As a very important source of strength and security, cherish public credit. One

method of preserving it is to use it as sparingly as possible; avoiding occasions of expense by cultivating peace, but remembering also that timely disbursements to prepare for danger, frequently prevent much greater disbursements to repel it; avoiding, likewise, the accumulation of debt, not only by shunning occasions of expense, but by vigorous exertions in time of peace to discharge the debts which unavoidable wars may have occasioned; not ungenerously throwing upon posterity the burden which we ourselves ought to bear. The execution of these maxims belongs to your representatives, but it is necessary that public opinion should co-operate. To facilitate to them the performance of their duty, it is essential that you should practically bear in mind, that towards the payment of debts there must be revenue; that to have revenue there must be taxes; that no taxes can be devised which are not more or less inconvenient and unpleasant; that the intrinsic embarrassment inseparable from the selection of the proper objects (which is always a choice of difficulties) ought to be a decisive motive for a candid construction of the conduct of the Government in making it, and for a spirit of acquiescence in the measures for obtaining revenue, which the public exigencies may at any time dictate.

Observe good faith and justice towards all nations; cultivate peace and harmony with all; religion and morality enjoin this conduct; and can it be that good policy does not equally enjoin it? It will be worthy of a free, enlightened, and, at no distant period, a great nation, to give to mankind the magnanimous and too novel example of a people always guided by an exalted justice and benevolence. Who can doubt that, in the course of time and things, the fruits of such a plan would richly repay any temporary advantages which might be lost by a steady adherence to it? Can it be that Providence has not connected the permanent felicity of a nation with its virtue? The experiment, at least, is recommended by every sentiment which ennobles human nature. Alas! is it rendered impossible by its vices?

In the execution of such a plan, nothing is more essential than that permanent inveterate antipathies against particular nations, and passionate attachments for others, should be excluded; and that, in place of them, just and amicable feelings towards all should be cultivated. The nation which indulges towards another an habitual hatred, or an habitual fondness, is, in some degree, a slave. It is a slave to its animosity or to its affection; either of which is sufficient to lead it astray from its duty and its interest. Antipathy in one nation against another, disposes each more readily to offer insult and injury, to lay hold of slight causes of umbrage, and to be haughty and intractable, when accidental or trifling occasions of dispute occur. Hence frequent collisions, obstinate, envenomed, and bloody contests. The nation, prompted by ill will and resentment, sometimes impels to war the Government, contrary to the best calculations of policy. The Government sometimes participates in the national propensity, and adopts, through passion, what reason would reject; at other times it makes the animosity of the nation subservient to projects of hostility, instigated by pride, ambition, and other sinister and pernicious motives. The peace often, sometimes perhaps the liberty, of nations has been the victim.

So, likewise, a passionate attachment of one nation to another produces a variety of evils. Sympathy for the favorite nation, facilitating the illusion of an imaginary common interest, in cases where no real common interest exists, and infusing into

one the enmities of the other, betrays the former into a participation in the quarrels and wars of the latter, without adequate inducement or justification. It leads also to concessions to the favorite nation of privileges denied to others, which is apt doubly to injure the nation making the concessions; by unnecessarily parting with what ought to have been retained, and by exciting jealousy, ill will, and a disposition to retaliate, in the parties from whom equal privileges are withheld; and it gives to ambitious, corrupted, or deluded citizens (who devote themselves to the favorite nation) facility to betray, or sacrifice the interest of their own country, without odium; sometimes even with popularity; gilding with the appearance of a virtuous sense of obligation, a commendable deference for public opinion, or a laudable zeal for public good, the base or foolish compliances of ambition, corruption, or infatuation.

As avenues to foreign influence in innumerable ways, such attachments are particularly alarming to the truly enlightened and independent patriot. How many opportunities do they afford to tamper with domestic factions, to practise the art of seduction, to mislead public opinion, to influence or awe the public councils! Such an attachment of a small or weak, towards a great and powerful nation, dooms the former to be the satellite of the latter.

Against the insidious wiles of foreign influence (I conjure you to believe me, fellow-citizens) the jealousy of a free people ought to be *constantly* awake; since history and experience prove that foreign influence is one of the most baneful foes of republican Government. But that jealousy, to be useful, must be impartial; else it becomes the instrument of the very influence to be avoided, instead of a defence against it. Excessive partiality for one foreign nation, and excessive dislike for another, cause those whom they actuate to see danger only on one side, and serve to veil, and even second, the arts of influence on the other. Real patriots, who may resist the intrigues of the favorite, are liable to become suspected and odious; while its tools and dupes usurp the applause and confidence of the people to surrender their interests.

The great rule of conduct for us, in regard to foreign nations, is, in extending our commercial relations, to have with them as little political connexion as possible. So far as we have already formed engagements, let them be fulfilled with perfect good faith. Here let us stop.

Europe has a set of primary interests, which to us have none, or a very remote relation. Hence she must be engaged in frequent controversies, the causes of which are essentially foreign to our concerns. Hence, therefore, it must be unwise in us to implicate ourselves, by artificial ties, in the ordinary vicissitudes of her politics, or the ordinary combinations and collisions of her friendships or enmities.

Our detached and distant situation invites and enables us to pursue a different course. If we remain one people, under an efficient Government, the period is not far off when we may defy material injury from external annoyance; when we may take such an attitude as will cause the neutrality we may at any time resolve upon, to be scrupulously respected; when belligerent nations, under the impossibility of making acquisitions upon us, will not lightly hazard the giving us provocation; when we may choose peace or war, as our interest, guided by justice, shall counsel.

Why forego the advantages of so peculiar a situation? Why quit our own to stand upon foreign ground? Why, by interweaving our destiny with that of any part of Europe, entangle our peace and prosperity in the toils of European ambition, rivalry, interest, humor, or caprice?

It is our true policy to steer clear of permanent alliances with any portion of the foreign world; so far, I mean, as we are now at liberty to do it; for let me not be understood as capable of patronising infidelity to existing engagements. I hold the maxim no less applicable to public than to private affairs, that honesty is always the best policy. I repeat it, therefore, let those engagements be observed in their genuine sense. But, in my opinion, it is unnecessary, and would be unwise to extend them.

Taking care always to keep ourselves, by suitable establishments, on a respectable defensive posture, we may safely trust to temporary alliances for extraordinary emergencies.

Harmony, and a liberal intercourse with all nations, are recommended by policy, humanity, and interest. But even our commercial policy should hold an equal and impartial hand; neither seeking nor granting exclusive favors or preferences; consulting the natural course of things; diffusing and diversifying, by gentle means, the streams of commerce, but forcing nothing; establishing, with powers so disposed, in order to give trade a stable course, to define the rights of our merchants, and to enable the Government to support them, conventional rules of intercourse, the best that present circumstances and mutual opinions will permit, but temporary, and liable to be, from time to time, abandoned or varied, as experience and circumstances shall dictate; constantly keeping in view, that it is folly in one nation to look for disinterested favors from another; that it must pay, with a portion of its independence, for whatever it may accept under that character; that by such acceptance it may place itself in the condition of having given equivalents for nominal favors, and yet of being reproached with ingratitude for not giving more. There can be no greater error than to expect, or calculate upon, real favors from nation to nation. It is an illusion which experience must cure, which a just pride ought to discard.

In offering to you, my countrymen, these counsels of an old and affectionate friend, I dare not hope they will make the strong and lasting impression I could wish; that they will control the usual current of the passions, or prevent our nation from running the course which has hitherto marked the destiny of nations; but if I may even flatter myself that they may be productive of some partial benefit, some occasional good; that they may now and then recur to moderate the fury of party spirit, to warn against the mischiefs of foreign intrigues, to guard against the impostures of pretended patriotism; this hope will be a full recompense for the solicitude for your welfare by which they have been dictated.

How far, in the discharge of my official duties, I have been guided by the principles which have been delineated, the public records, and other evidences of my conduct, must witness to you and the world. To myself, the assurance of my own conscience is, that I have at least believed myself to be guided by them.

In relation to the still subsisting war in Europe, my proclamation of the 22d of

April, 1793, is the index to my plan. Sanctioned by your approving voice, and by that of your Representatives in both Houses of Congress, the spirit of that measure has continually governed me, uninfluenced by any attempts to deter or divert me from it.

After deliberate examination, with the aid of the best lights I could obtain, I was well satisfied that our country, under all the circumstances of the case, had a right to take, and was bound in duty and interest to take, a neutral position. Having taken it I determined, as far as should depend upon me, to maintain it with moderation, perseverance, and firmness.

The considerations which respect the right to hold this conduct, it is not necessary on this occasion to detail. I will only observe, that, according to my understanding of the matter, that right, so far from being denied by any of the belligerent powers, has been virtually admitted by all.

The duty of holding a neutral conduct may be inferred, without any thing more, from the obligation which justice and humanity impose on every nation, in cases in which it is free to act, to maintain inviolate the relations of peace and amity towards other nations.

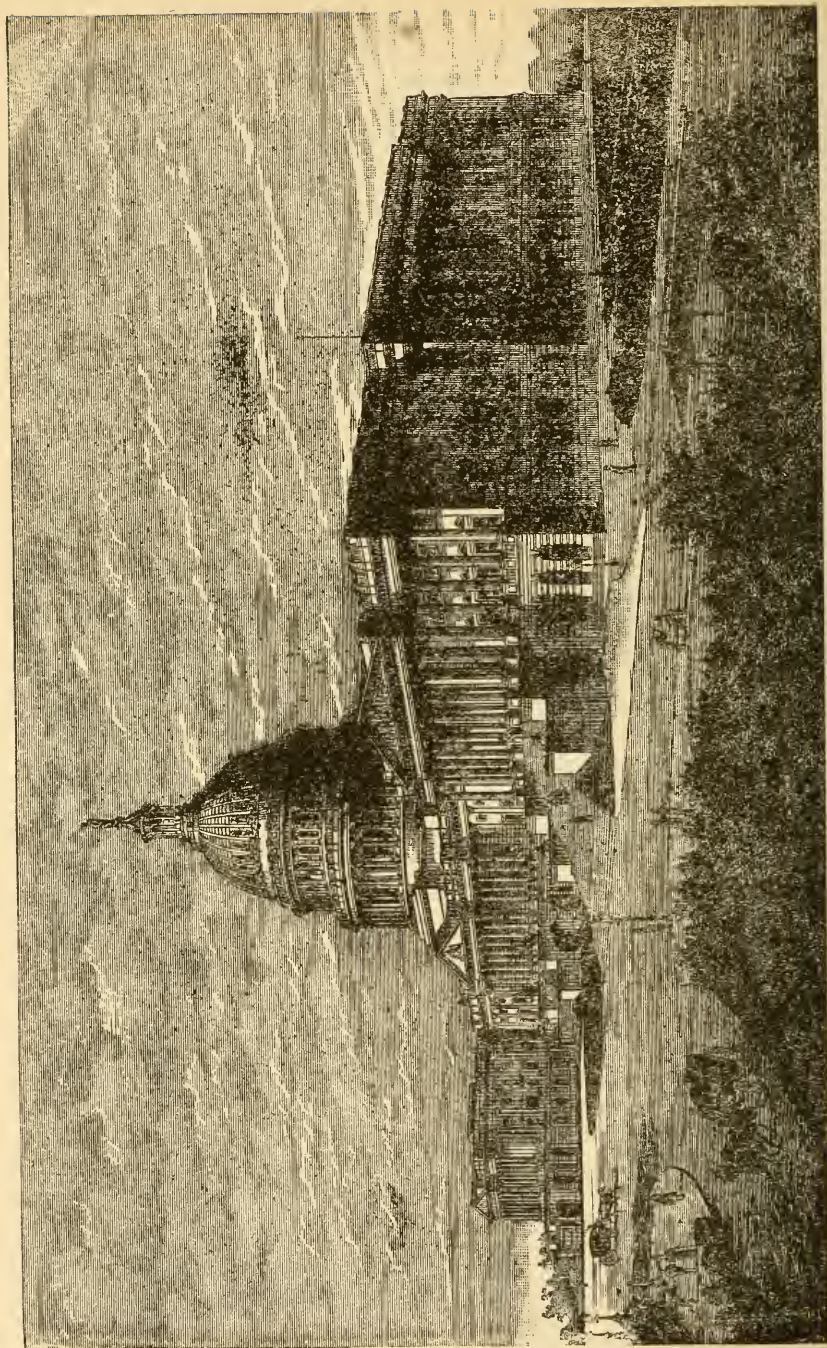
The inducements of interest, for observing that conduct, will best be referred to your own reflections and experience. With me, a predominant motive has been to endeavor to gain time to our country to settle and mature its yet recent institutions, and to progress, without interruption, to that degree of strength and consistency which is necessary to give it, humanly speaking, the command of its own fortunes.

Though in reviewing the incidents of my administration, I am unconscious of intentional error; I am, nevertheless, too sensible of my defects not to think it probable that I may have committed many errors. Whatever they may be, I fervently beseech the Almighty to avert or mitigate the evils to which they may tend. I shall also carry with me the hope, that my country will never cease to view them with indulgence; and that, after forty-five years of my life dedicated to its service with an upright zeal, the faults of incompetent abilities will be consigned to oblivion, as myself must soon be to the mansions of rest.

Relying on its kindness in this, as in other things, and actuated by that fervent love towards it which is so natural to a man who views in it the native soil of himself and his progenitors for several generations, I anticipate, with pleasing expectation, that retreat in which I promise myself to realize, without alloy, the sweet enjoyment of partaking, in the midst of my fellow-citizens, the benign influence of good laws under a free Government—the ever favorite object of my heart—and the happy reward, as I trust, of our mutual cares, labors, and dangers.

GEORGE WASHINGTON.


UNITED STATES, *17th September, 1796.*



CAPITOL AT WASHINGTON.

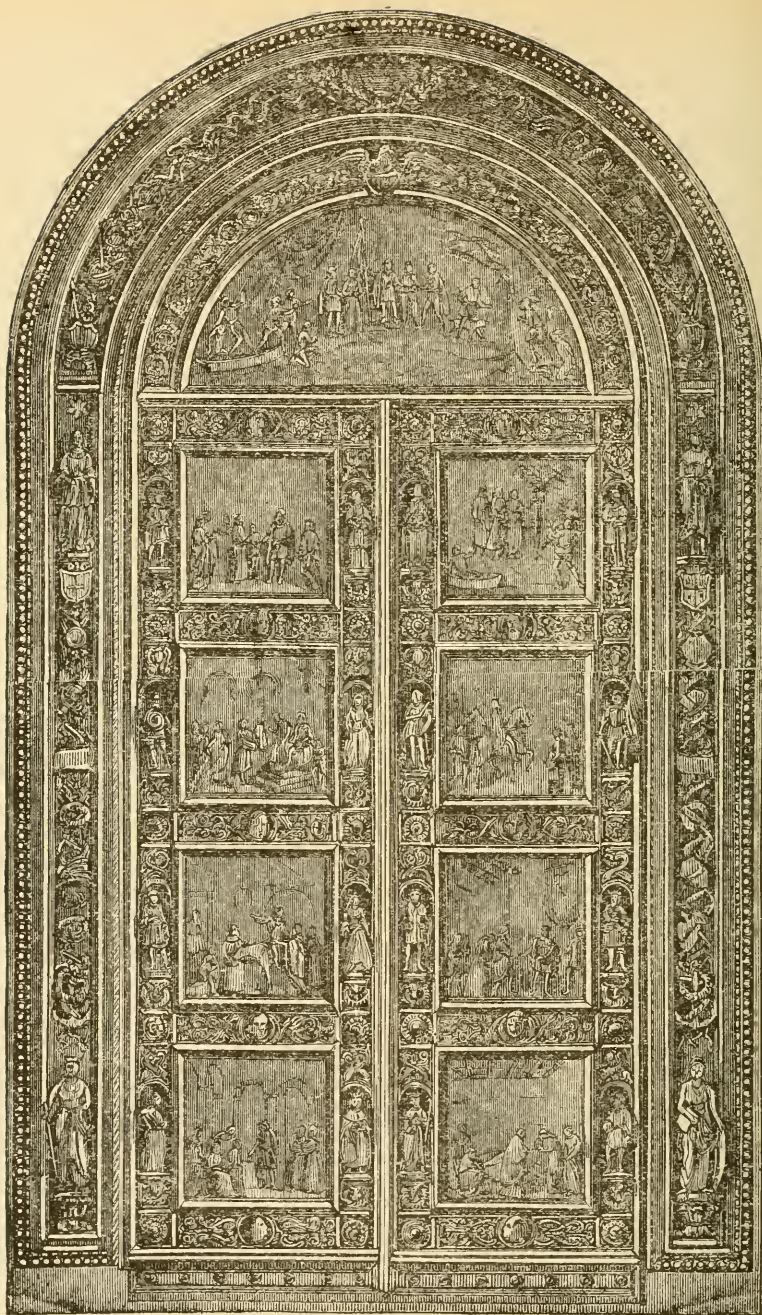
OUR PLAN OF GOVERNMENT;

THE THREE GREAT BRANCHES; FULL DESCRIPTION
OF EACH BRANCH; ALL THE DEPARTMENTS AT
WASHINGTON; ENTIRE GOVERNMENT MACHINERY.

HE THREE GREAT BRANCHES.—Our government is divided by the Constitution into three distinct branches or departments, the Legislative, the Executive, and the Judicial. The existence of these departments is necessary for the energy and stability of the government. Their separation is necessary for the preservation of public liberty and private rights. When they are all united in one person or one body of men, that government is a despotism. The first resolution adopted by the Convention which framed the Constitution was that “a national government ought to be established consisting of a *supreme legislative, judiciary and executive.*”

THE LEGISLATIVE DEPARTMENT.

This department consists of the Senate and the House of Representatives, and these two are called the Congress. The Senate is sometimes called the Upper House, and the House of Representatives the Lower House. The latter is also known as “the House,” in contrast to “the Senate.” In the Constitution they are spoken of as “each House,” the “two Houses,” “both Houses.” The Constitution gives to the Congress the power to make all laws, and withholds that power from the other departments. It is a representative body, and is supposed to do what the people would do if they were assembled in deliberative meeting to



The Bronze Door in the Capitol Commemorating the events in the Life of Christopher Columbus.

enact laws for their government. The Congress meets in regular session, according to the Constitution, on the first Monday in December, each year; but the President may call extra sessions when necessary. The two Houses not only meet on the same day, but neither can adjourn without the consent of the other for more than three days at a time, nor to any other place than that of regular meeting, now the capitol at Washington. The President may however change the place of meeting to avoid plague or other danger. Congresses themselves run by odd years, like the administrations. The 50th Congress met in first regular session Dec. (1st Monday), 1887. This first session of any Congress is called "the long session." It may end at any time during the next year, prior to December. The "long session" usually runs to July or August of an even year. The second session of a Congress is called the "short session." It meets in December of an even year and ends by limitation on March 3d of an odd year. Thus elections for President and for Congressmen occur in even years. Administrations and Congresses begin and end in odd years.

THE SENATE.—This branch or House of Congress is composed of two Senators from each State. There are now forty-four States. Multiply 44 by 2 and you have the number of United States Senators. It seems somewhat unfair that a large and populous State like New York should have no greater representation in the National Senate than small States like Delaware and Rhode Island. But this result was one of the necessary compromises of the Constitution. The Senate is built on the theory of State representation, the House of Representatives on the theory of popular or people representation. Senators are elected for six years. No man can be a Senator who is not thirty years old, who has not been a citizen of the United States for nine years, and who is not an inhabitant of the State for which he is chosen.

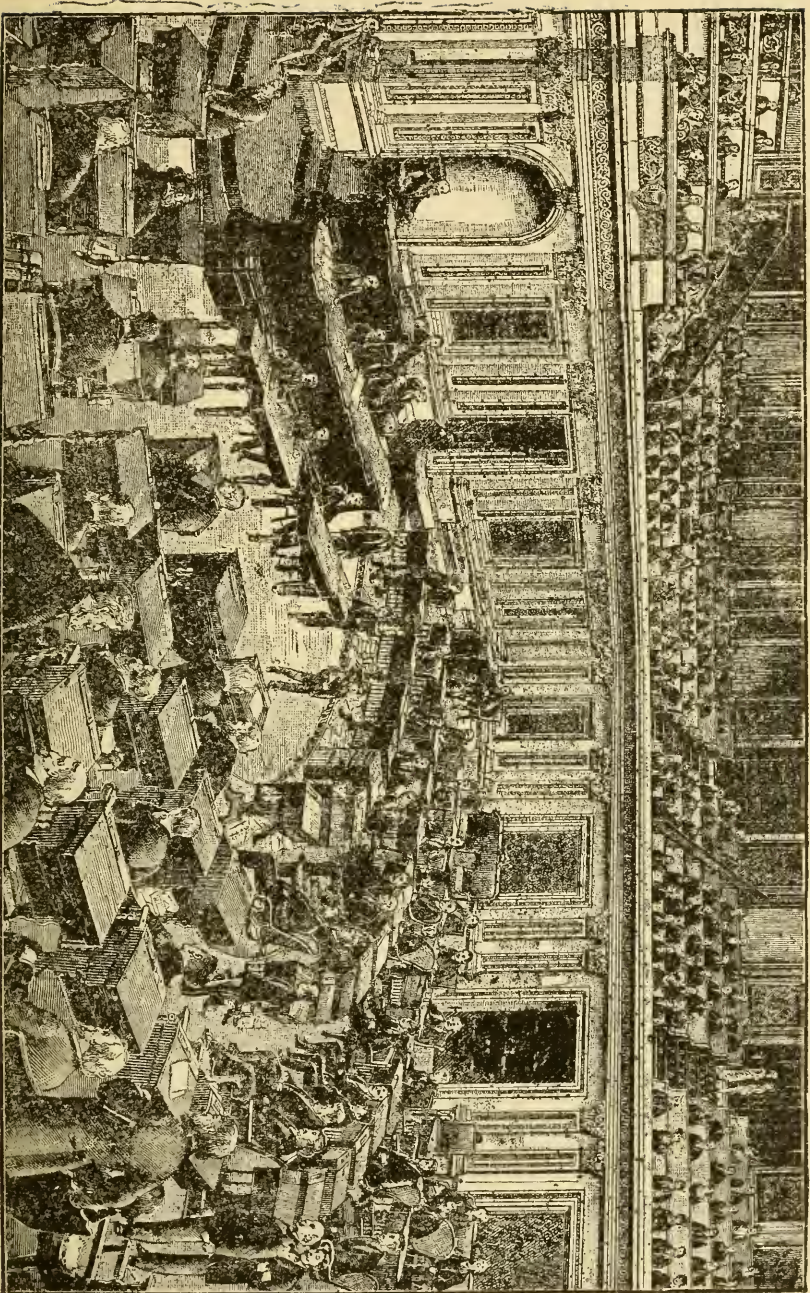
The Senate is regarded as a more dignified and honorable body than the House of Representatives. Its very name (from *senatus*, which is from *senex*, old) presumes an older and graver membership. It is further removed from the populace. It does

not need to represent the fickle will of the masses, but the higher and more deliberative wish of the States, which are its constituency. As a law-making branch of the Congress it is equal with the House, except that it cannot originate bills* for raising revenue. Revenue bills must, according to the Constitution, originate in the House of Representatives.† No bill can become a law till it has received the approval of a majority in both Houses, and been approved by the President.

The Senate has powers beyond those which are purely legislative, and is therefore stronger in this respect than the lower House. It is a part of the Executive branch for the purpose of making appointments to office. All executive nominations for office must be approved by the Senate before they are final. The Senate may reject such nominations and compel the President to send in other names. When the Senate is sitting to deliberate on the President's nominations it is said to be in Executive session. So the Senate in connection with the President constitutes the Treaty-making power of the government. When the Senate is sitting to deliberate on Treaties or other delicate matters it is said to be in "secret session." Further the Senate is the court before which impeachment cases are heard and by which they are determined. The Vice-President of the United States is the presiding officer of the Senate, but has no vote except when there is a tie. This presiding officer is called the President of the Senate. If the Vice-President should die or his seat be vacant for any cause, the Senate elects a President from its own members. As a matter of fact the Senate is never

* An act when first presented to either House and up until the time of its passage is called a "bill." After its passage it is an "act" or "law." Acts which are merely declarative of the intent of either House and binding on it, but which do not bear directly on the people at large, are called "Resolutions;" if passed by both Houses and binding on both they are called "Joint Resolutions."

† The jurisdiction of the two Houses over this point gives rise to frequent controversies. During the 2d session of 47th Congress the Senate originated, debated and passed a Tariff bill on its own account. This proceeding was objected to by the House, but as the final bill (the act of March 3, 1883) was the result of a conference of both Houses, much time was saved by the Senate action and no harm was done.



THE UNITED STATES SENATE CHAMBER.

without a President *pro tem.*, that officer being important as a possible President of the United States, in case of the death, resignation, removal or disability of both President and Vice-President. A two-third vote of all the Senators present is required to ratify a treaty or convict a person impeached.

ELECTION OF SENATORS.—The place at which United States Senators shall be chosen must be determined by the States. This place, usually the State Capitol, cannot be changed by the Congress. But the Congress may fix the time and manner of electing Senators. It has done so. When a vacancy is about to exist by reason of expiration of a senatorial term, the State Legislature chosen next preceding such vacancy must, on the second Tuesday after its meeting, proceed to elect a Senator in Congress.

Each branch of the Legislature selects, by a majority of all the *viva voce* votes cast, a candidate for Senator. The next day after the above-named second Tuesday at 12 M., both Houses meet in joint assembly. If it is found they have both nominated the same candidate, he shall be declared the Senator. If they have not, then the two Houses shall sit in joint assembly, meeting each day at 12 M., and casting at least one vote daily, till a Senator is chosen by a majority of the votes of said joint assembly, cast *viva voce*, a majority of both Houses being present.

Vacancies by death or resignation are filled in the same way by the first Legislature which meets, finding such vacancy.

The Governor of the State certifies such election, under the seal of the State and signed by his Secretary of State, to the President of the Senate of the United States. Both the Senate and House of Representatives are the final judges of the qualifications of their own members. In the first Senate one-third of the members were selected by lot for two years, another third for four, another third for six. This was to give effect to the clause in the Constitution making one-third of the Senate elective every two years.

SENATE MACHINERY.—The Senate employs for its comfortable working a Secretary of the Senate at a salary of \$6,396 ;

a Chief Clerk, \$3,000; a Librarian; and a corps of regular clerks, committee clerks, pages, pasters and folders, numbering quite one hundred.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.—Known also as “The Lower House” and as the “House.” It is equal and co-ordinate with the Senate as a branch of Congress, but has the sole power to originate revenue bills, and to move in cases of impeachment. Its bill of impeachment is like the bill of indictment found by a grand jury, and is tried before the Senate sitting as a court. Bills and resolutions pass in the House, as in the Senate, by a majority. Though the Senate and House make the Congress, a custom has grown up of designating the members of the House as M. C.’s (Members of Congress) and members of the Senate as Senators.

ELECTION OF M. C.’S.—A member of the House must be twenty-five years of age, a citizen of the United States for seven years, and an inhabitant of the State in which he is chosen. He is elected for two years, and by the qualified electors in each State. His salary like that of Senator is \$5,000 per year.*

The Congress fixes the number of members of the House after each decennial census, as required by the Constitution. Its act to this effect generally goes into operation on the third of March of the third year after the census. Thus the act for this purpose after the census of 1890 went into effect on and after March 3, 1893. The Congress enacted, Feb. 25, 1891, that, until another act after another census, the number of members of the House should be 356. This number was then divided among the States in proportion to their population. It was

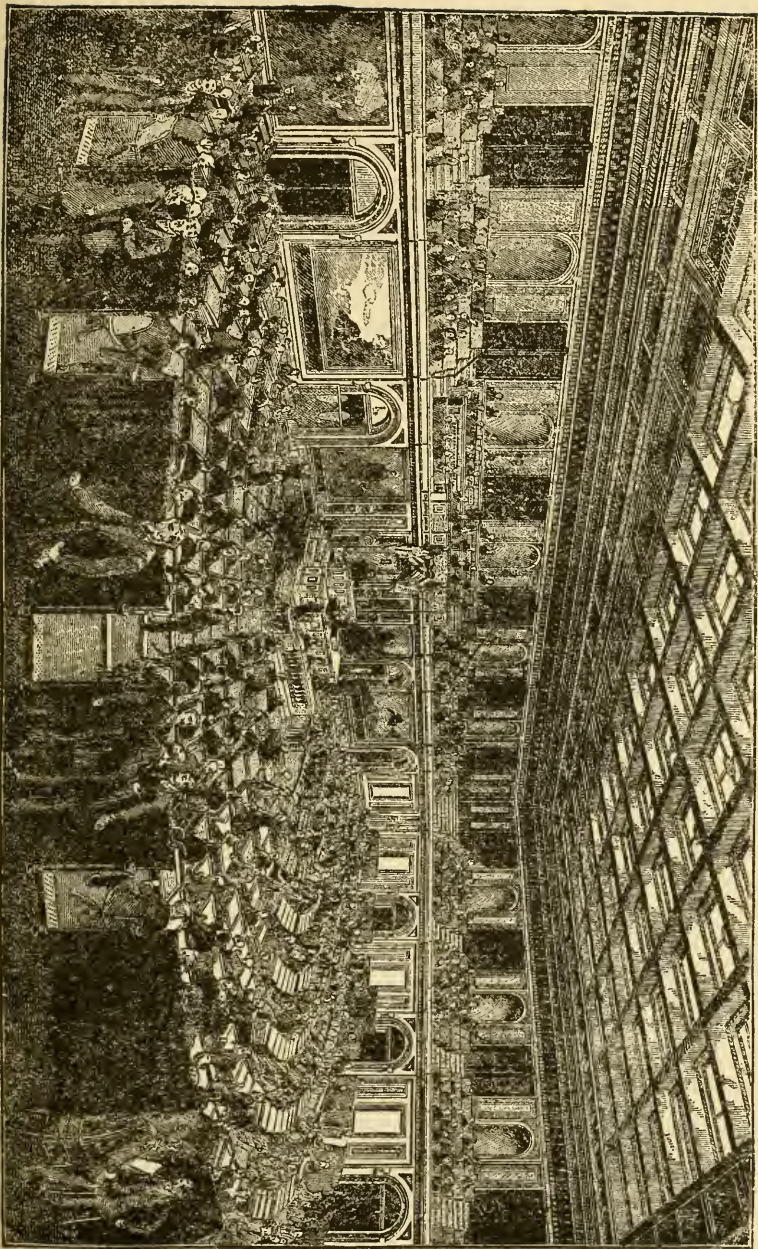
* The salary of a Congressman was \$8 per day up to 1856. From that time to 1866 it was \$3,000 per year. It remained at this figure till act of March 3, 1873, increased it to \$7,500 per year. This act increased the President’s salary from \$25,000 to \$50,000, and made a general increase of salaries among Department officers. It was very unpopular and was followed by the act of Jan. 20, 1874, reducing the salary of Congressmen to \$5,000. It made material reductions in all the raised salaries. The President’s salary remained at \$50,000. In addition to \$5,000 per year members of Congress (Senators and M. C.’s) are entitled to mileage. This has always remained at forty cents a mile, on the principle, be it charitably supposed, that they all go to the capitol by stage-coach as of yore.

found that each State was entitled to the following number of members :

MEMBERS OF HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.			
<i>As Apportioned (after March 3, 1893) Under Census of 1890.</i>			
Alabama	9	Montana	1
Arkansas	6	Nebraska	6
California	7	Nevada	1
Colorado	2	New Hampshire	2
Connecticut	4	New Jersey	8
Delaware	1	New York	34
Florida	2	North Carolina	9
Georgia	11	North Dakota	1
Idaho	1	Ohio	21
Illinois	22	Oregon	2
Indiana	13	Pennsylvania	30
Iowa	11	Rhode Island	2
Kansas	8	South Carolina	7
Kentucky	11	South Dakota	2
Louisiana	6	Tennessee	10
Maine	4	Texas	13
Maryland	6	Vermont	2
Massachusetts	13	Virginia	10
Michigan	12	Washington	2
Minnesota	7	West Virginia	4
Mississippi	7	Wisconsin	10
Missouri	15	Wyoming	1
Total			356
Quota for a Representative			174,463

This act is called the apportionment act,* though the final work of apportionment is left to the States, each of which is required to divide itself into as many Congressional districts of contiguous territory, and containing as nearly as may be the number of inhabitants ascertained to be a quota or ratio, as the Congress has assigned to each. Thus by the above table New York has thirty-four members of Congress between the years 1893 and 1903, under the census of 1890. Her Legislature must

* The first apportionment was made by the Convention which framed the Constitution. It gave to N. H. 3; Mass. 8; R. I. 1; Conn. 5; N. Y. 6; N. J. 4; Pa. 8; Del. 1; Md. 6; Va. 10; N. C. 5; S. C. 5; Ga. 3, or 65 in all. The ratio of representation was 30,000. After the census of 1790, the act of 1792 fixed the ratio at 33,000; the act of 1803 left it at 33,000; the act of 1811 at 35,000; the act of 1822 at 40,000; the act of 1832 at 47,700; the act of 1842 at 70,680. Up to this time the apportionment acts only fixed a ratio of representation. The number of members was ascertained by dividing this ratio into the total population. But the act of 1852 fixed instead the number of members of the House at 233, leaving the ratio to be ascertained by dividing 233 into the population of 1850. This made the ratio 93,423. And so the ratio after 1860 was 127,381; after 1870, 131,425; after 1880, 151,912, and after 1890, as above.



HALL OF HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

divide the State into thirty-four Congressional districts, each of which is to contain as nearly as may be 174,463 inhabitants. To get at the electoral vote of each State you must add the two Senators to the number of Representatives in the House. If a Congressional election takes place in a State before it has made its apportionment, and said State shall be entitled to one or more members of Congress than it had under the previous apportionment, the additional member or members may, for the time being, be elected on the general State ticket as "Members of Congress at Large."

The States formerly voted for Congressmen at their annual State elections, no matter when they came off. Now, under an act of Congress (March 3, 1875) prescribing a "uniform time for holding Congressional elections," they are all required to hold them on the "Tuesday next after the first Monday in November," of every second year, and all will do so as soon as they can amend their Constitutions to that effect.

ORGANIZATION OF THE HOUSE.—The chief officer of the House is called the Speaker. He is elected by the members, at the beginning of each Congress. His election is a necessary part of organization. His compensation is \$8,000, because his duties are more arduous than those of the average member, and his knowledge of parliamentary law and usages supposed to be greater. He may become President, for should there be no President, nor Vice-President, nor President of the Senate *pro tem.*, the Speaker of the House becomes Acting President.

The most important officer of the House, after the Speaker, is the Clerk of the House, salary \$5,000. Indeed, it would not be amiss to call him the most important officer of the House, for upon him devolves the duty of preparing a list of the members elected to each Congress, and only the members on this list are entitled to participate in the work of organization. If names are wrongfully omitted, the matter must be settled by regular hearing before the House, or a Committee on Elections, under the rule that each House is the judge of the qualification of its own members.

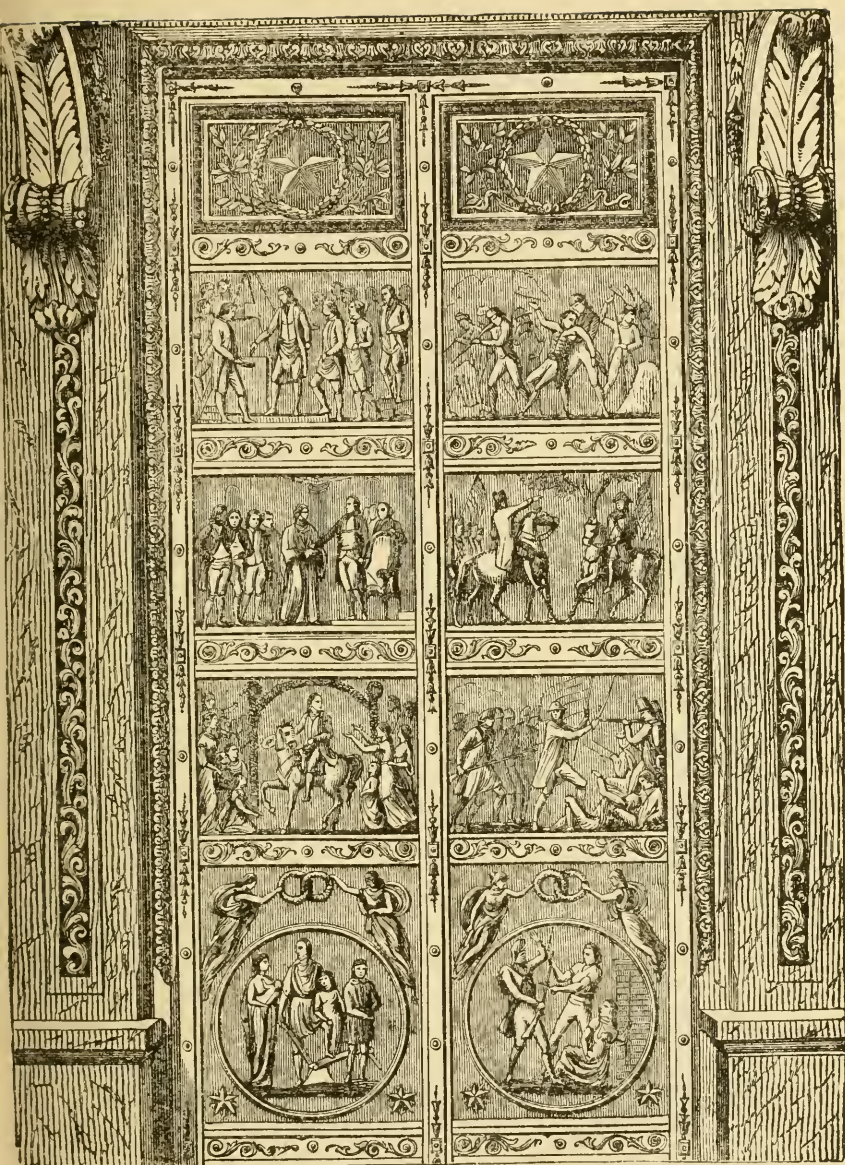
TERRITORIAL DELEGATES.—Each organized Territory is entitled to a representative in Congress (two, if the population warrants, though generally Territories become States by that time), elected by the qualified electors thereof, the same as Members of Congress. This Territorial representative is called a Delegate. He is entitled to join in debate but cannot vote. His pay is \$5,000 per year and mileage.

HOUSE MACHINERY.—The House machinery is more elaborate than that of the Senate. The Clerk of the House has a large corps of assistants, as has the Sergeant-at-Arms. The reading clerks, committee clerks, post-office clerks, library employes, door-keepers, messengers, pasters and folders, etc., number from 250 to 300.

MAKING LAWS.—Both Houses rely largely on their Committees to prepare bills and resolutions, before they are presented for discussion and final passage. These Committees are very numerous, and are organized presumably with reference to their fitness for the subjects referred to them. After the Speaker of the House is elected, his first important business is to appoint the Standing Committees of the House. The President of the Senate does the same for the Senate, at the opening of each new Congress. When a bill is introduced, it is read for the information of the members. If it is not opposed or rejected, it is said to be passed to a second reading, which may be the next or some subsequent day. On that second reading the question comes up shall it be committed to one of the above Standing Committees, the subject of the bill suggesting the proper Committee. Sometimes the nature of the bill is such as to require its reference to a special or select Committee. When bills of great moment are under discussion, the House resolves itself into a Committee of the Whole, on account of the greater freedom of debate then allowed. After the Committee to which a bill has been referred are done deliberating on it, it is reported back to the House either adversely or favorably, and with or without amendments. Then the question is on its engrossment (copying in a fair hand) for third reading. After being engrossed (if it has been so ordered), it is read a third time and the question is on its pas-

sage. If passed, it is signed by the presiding officer and sent to the other House, where it goes through the same routine. Sometimes amendments are added on its passage. If so, it is sent back to the House where it originated. If these are agreed to, it is repassed there. If not, and the bill is important, the disagreement between the two Houses is settled, if possible, in what is called a Committee of Conference; that is, a Committee composed of members from both Houses. This Committee reports to both Houses the results of its deliberations, and if in the shape of a bill, it is again on its final passage in both Houses as before. When passed by both Houses, it is sent to the President. If he approves it, he signs it, and then it is law. If he does not approve it, he sends it back to the House in which it originated, with his veto message, where the question is, "Shall it pass notwithstanding the President's veto?" Unless it is sustained by a vote of two-thirds of both Houses it cannot become a law over the veto. If so sustained it becomes law in spite of the veto. The President has ten days in which to consider a bill before he signs or vetoes it. Many bills are crowded on the President within ten days of the adjournment of Congress. Those he favors he returns with his approval in time, and so with those he does not favor, if he wishes his reasons for a veto to become public. But sometimes he does not return the bill at all in time for adjournment, and thus kills it. This is called the "pocket veto," the bill being in the President's pocket, as it were. It is not regarded as a very manly way of exercising the veto power, but must be excused sometimes to rush of business during the closing days of a session. Resolutions and Joint Resolutions follow the routine of Bills.

CONGRESSIONAL LIBRARY.—An act of April 24, 1800, appropriated \$5,000 to buy necessary books for Members of the Congress. Act of Jan. 26, 1802, organized The Library of Congress, located it in a room previously occupied by the House of Representatives, created the office of Librarian, made him appointive by the President, and limited the use of books to Members of Congress and the Departments. Up to 1814 there were only 3,000 volumes in the library. It was burned Aug. 25,



Bronze Door in the National Capitol Commemorating the Events of the Life of George Washington.

1814, with the capitol, by the British. In September, 1814, Jefferson offered his library of 6,700 volumes, as the nucleus of a new library of Congress, at cost. It was accepted, and the sum of \$23,950 paid for it. In 1818 the annual appropriation to the Library was raised to \$2,000 a year, and in 1824 to \$5,000 a year. This year it was moved to the central capitol. In 1851 it had 55,000 volumes, and again met with a loss by fire of 35,000 volumes. Starting anew, Congress rebuilt a fire-proof hall for \$75,000, and appropriated \$75,000 to buy books. By 1860 it contained 75,000 volumes, on an annual appropriation of \$7,000. This was increased to \$10,000 in 1861. In 1866 it received the 40,000 volumes of the Smithsonian Institute. In 1867 the Force library was purchased at a cost of \$100,000. It contained 60,000 books and articles.

The Law Department of the Library was constituted by act of July 14, 1832. Under an annual appropriation of \$2,000 a year it has grown from 2,011 volumes to 35,000.

By act of July 8, 1870, the granting of copyrights was centered in the office of the Librarian of Congress, where two copies of each publication entered for copyright must be deposited. This has brought an annual addition of 25,000 books, maps, and other articles, in duplicate. In January, 1880, the library contained 365,000 volumes and 120,000 pamphlets, and in 1892, 625,000 volumes and 200,000 pamphlets. The catalogue alone fills four royal octavo volumes. Measures are now being taken to erect a new building, which is much needed, the capacity of the present one being wholly inadequate. Expenditure for the Library is under control of a joint committee of both Houses of Congress. The same committee have control of the Botanical Garden, which supplies plants, seeds and flowers to Members of Congress for public distribution and personal use.

PUBLIC PRINTING OFFICE.—Until 1860 the government hired men to do its printing, and each House employed a printer. The expense got to be so enormous that Congress authorized a Government Printing Office, and appropriated \$150,000 to start it. It was placed under the management of a Superintendent of Public Printing, or the Public Printer, whose

salary is \$4,500. This officer is selected by Congress. He has power to purchase all necessary material and employ ample help. He must report to Congress each session the work done, the expense incurred, the number of hands employed, the full and exact condition of the establishment. The office is now the largest and best appointed in the world. It prints and binds all public books and papers, except where otherwise ordered. The number of these is simply enormous, and many of them of very little use. The force employed consists of six clerks, and some 1,500 hands. The cost of work done in the office must not exceed that of private printing offices in Washington.

THE EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT.

The language of the Constitution is, Art. II. Sec. 1: "The executive power shall be vested in a President of the United States of America. He shall hold his office during the term of four years, and, together with the Vice-President, chosen for the same term, be elected as follows."

Before showing how he is elected let it be said that he is sometimes called "The Executive," and "The Chief Magistrate of the Nation." The Congress (Legislative Branch) legislates, that is, makes the laws; the President (Executive Branch) executes or enforces the laws; the Supreme, Circuit and District Courts (Judicial Branch) adjudge, expound, interpret, pronounce, and, with the civic machinery at their command, also execute the laws.

PRESIDENT-MAKING.—The people do not vote directly for the President and Vice-President but for Presidential electors, whose number in each State is equal to the number of the representatives (Senators and M. C.'s) in the Congress from that State.* The President must be thirty-five years of age and a native of the United States. At first the political parties dis-

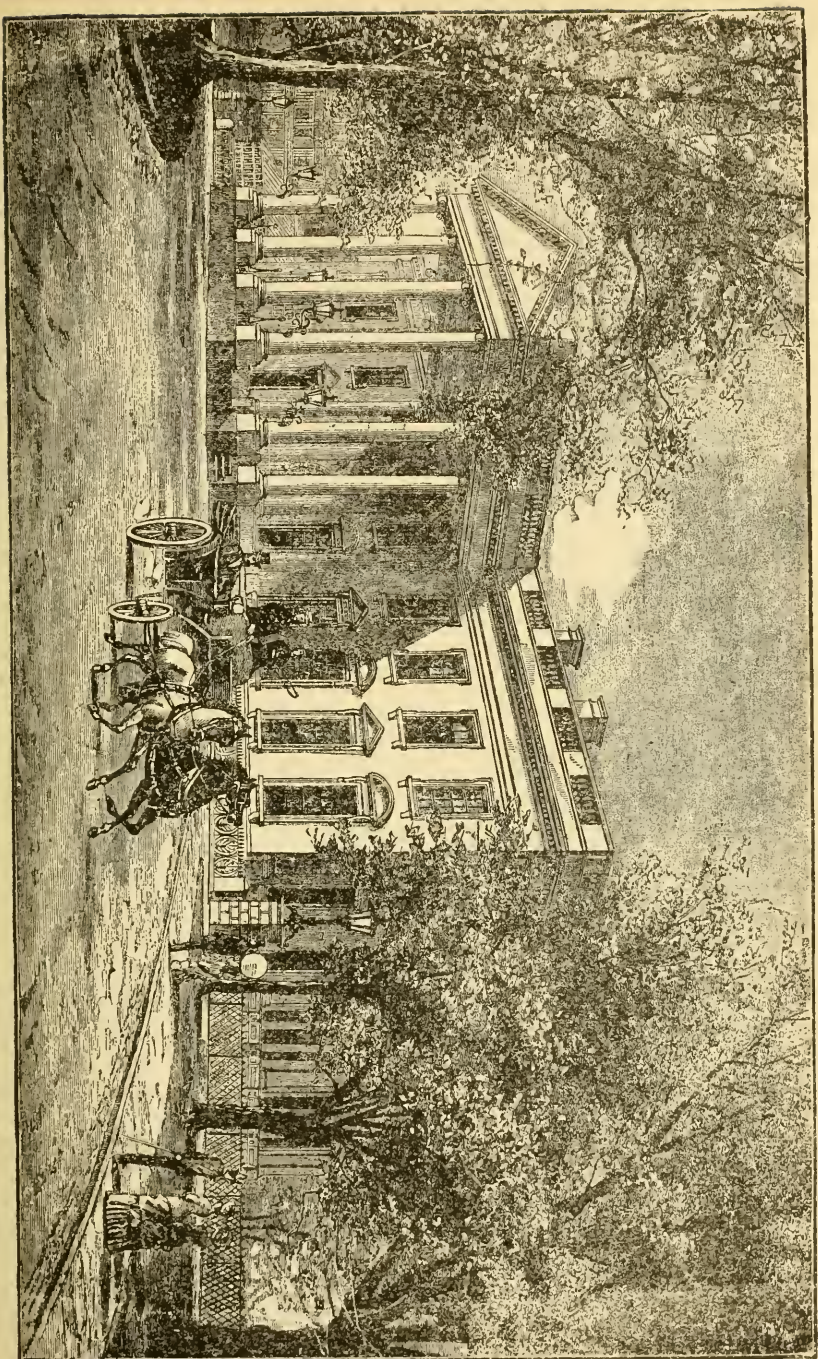
* At first the Legislatures of the respective States generally made choice of the electors. This was gradually abandoned, and by 1824 most of the States used the popular vote. In 1828 the popular vote of the States became an element of computation. South Carolina retained the method of electing electors by her Legislature till 1868. This word elector is misleading. Any qualified voter is an elector. But it is in the Constitution and besides has the sanction of long custom.

nated their candidates for President in Congressional Caucus. This method began to give way to the modern system of National Nominating Conventions with a platform of principles about 1832-36. The first four Presidential elections were conducted under Art. II., Sec. 1, Clause 3, of the Constitution, which did not require a separate nomination for Vice-President, but that each elector should vote for two persons, not from the same State, the one having the highest number of votes to be President, the one having the next highest to be Vice-President. In the election of 1800, Jefferson and Burr had each 73 votes, and the contest had to be settled in the House. At the previous election of 1796, John Adams, Federal, had 71 votes, Thomas Jefferson, Republican, 68 votes. Here was a President of one party, and a Vice-President of another. It was evident that the clause was defective, and it was amended in 1804 by the adoption of the 12th Amendment.

PRESIDENTIAL ELECTORS.—"Each State shall appoint, in such manner as the Legislature thereof may direct, a number of electors, equal to the whole number of Senators and Representatives to which the State may be entitled in the Congress; but no Senator, or Representative, or person holding an office of trust or profit under the United States shall be appointed an elector," Cons. Art. II., Sec. 1, Clause 2.

THE ELECTORAL COLLEGE.—Under the above article, and the apportionment in accordance with the Census of 1890, the Electoral Colleges of the respective States contain electors, as follows:

Alabama	11	Maryland	8
Arkansas	8	Massachusetts	15
California	9	Michigan	14
Colorado	4	Minnesota	9
Connecticut	6	Mississippi	9
Delaware	3	Missouri	17
Florida	4	Montana	3
Georgia	13	Nebraska	8
Idaho	3	Nevada	3
Illinois	24	New Hampshire	4
Indiana	15	New Jersey	10
Iowa	13	New York	36
Kansas	10	North Carolina	11
Kentucky	13	North Dakota	3
Louisiana	8	Ohio	23
Maine	6	Oregon	4



WHITE HOUSE: NORTHERN VIEW.

Pennsylvania	32	Vermont	4
Rhode Island	4	Virginia	12
South Carolina	9	Washington	4
South Dakota	4	West Virginia	6
Tennessee	12	Wisconsin	12
Texas	15	Wyoming	3
Total			44

Requiring, as between two candidates, 223 to elect.

CHOOSING OF ELECTORS.—Electors of President and Vice-President are chosen in each State on the Tuesday next after the first Monday in November, in every fourth year succeeding every election of a President or Vice-President. This is the Presidential election.

The number of electors must equal the whole number of Representatives and Senators to which the several States are by law entitled at the time when the President and Vice-President to be chosen come into office. But where no apportionment of Representatives has been made after a Census, at the time of choosing electors, the number of electors must be according to the then existing apportionment of Senators and Representatives.

Each State may by law provide for filling any vacancies in its electoral college, when such college meets to give its electoral vote.

When any State has held an election for electors and has failed to make a choice on the day fixed by law, electors may be appointed on a subsequent day in such manner as the Legislature may prescribe.

ELECTORAL COLLEGE.—Electors for each State meet and give their votes the first Wednesday in December in the year in which they are chosen, at such place in each State as its Legislature directs.

§ On the day of meeting, or before, the Governor of each State delivers to the electors three certified lists of the names of electors of such State.

The electors vote for President and Vice-President, as the Constitution directs in Art. XII. of the Amendments. They then make and sign three certificates of the votes given by them, each of which contains two distinct lists, one of the votes for President, the other of votes for Vice-President, and annex to each

of the certificates one of the lists of electors furnished them by the Governor. They seal these certificates, and certify on each that it contains the lists of all the votes of such State for President and Vice-President. One of them must be placed in the hands of a person appointed by them, to be delivered by him to the President of the Senate, in Washington, before the first Wednesday of the ensuing January. The second they forward by mail to the President of the Senate. The third they forthwith deliver to the judge of the district in which the electors assemble.

If the certificates of any State have not arrived in Washington by the first Wednesday in January, the Secretary of State sends a messenger for the list deposited with the district judge.

Congress shall be in session on the second Wednesday in February after each meeting of electors, and the certificates, or as many as have been received, shall be opened, the votes counted, and the persons to fill the offices of President and Vice-President ascertained and declared agreeably to the Constitution. See Art. XIII., Amendments.

If there is no President of the Senate at Washington when the person to whom the certificates have been entrusted arrives, he deposits them with the Secretary of State, to be turned over to the President of the Senate as soon as may be.

The four years term of President and Vice-President begins on the fourth of March next succeeding the day on which the votes of the electors have been given. As we have seen, this is always an odd year, and the election is always on an even year.

PRESIDENT'S DUTIES.—He is sworn into office, together with the Vice-President, on March 4th after his election, and usually delivers an inaugural address foreshadowing his policy. He communicates annually with the Congress by means of a formal, written message. Before Jefferson's time the Presidents delivered their annual messages in person. Jefferson established the custom of communicating by written messages, as in better accord with Republican simplicity. The President also communicates with Congress by message at any time during the session if he has anything important to say.

He received, up to 1873, \$25,000 salary ; since then his salary has been \$50,000, with the use of the White House and its furniture. He is not allowed to receive any other emolument, not even a gift, and his salary cannot be raised or lowered during his term of office. He is Commander-in-Chief of the Army and Navy, may grant pardons except in cases of impeachment, call extra sessions of Congress, and change the meeting-place of Congress in time of danger or great emergency.

He has, jointly with the Senate, the treaty-making power and the appointing power. He may be impeached and removed from office. In case of death, absence or disability the Vice-President becomes President. Around him and in the Executive office proper are his Private Secretary, Assistant Secretary, and a corps of stenographers and clerks, doorkeepers, watchmen and ushers.

But the President's chief body of assistants and advisers is made up of the members of his Cabinet.

PRESIDENT'S CABINET.—Cabinet means a small room in which select or secret councils are held by an executive or chief officer of state. The President's Cabinet is not a creation of law but of custom. The law merely creates the departments or bureaus and authorizes for each a chief, who is appointed by the President, by and with the consent of the Senate. These departments being important, and a direct means by which the President executes the laws, their heads or chiefs are supposed to act in concert with the President. To maintain this concert they must be frequently called into council or cabinet meeting. The chiefs of departments who are now recognized as officers of the Cabinet are the Secretary of State, Secretary of War, Sec. of Treasury, Sec. of Navy, Sec. of Interior, Sec. of Agriculture, Attorney-General, and Postmaster-General, eight in all. Of the function of each of these, as heads of their respective departments, we shall speak in the proper place. We now speak of them only as members of the Cabinet, or President's advisers. Their pay, not as Cabinet members, but as heads of their departments, is \$8,000 a year. As *ex officio* members of the Cabinet they are called into "Cabinet meeting" by the Presi-

dent whenever he needs their advice in shaping a policy, or information from them respecting the running of their departments, though this latter is usually laid before the Congress and country in the annual reports of the heads of departments. Whenever a head of department, who ranks as a Cabinet officer, cannot agree with the President in his policy, and is tenacious of his views, he resigns on the principle that he is no longer a proper adviser. The Senate rarely fails to confirm the nominations of the President to those department places which rank as Cabinet offices, for the reason that he is entitled to the privilege of surrounding himself with advisers who are in harmony with his executive views.

From what we have now learned of the Cabinet, it will be understood that it has been a growth. Under Washington's administration there were but three department officers who ranked as Cabinet members, viz.: Secretary of State, Secretary of Treasury and Secretary of War. Naval affairs were then under the control of the Secretary of War. The separate Navy Department was not organized till April 30, 1798, Adams' administration, when the Cabinet was augmented by the Secretary of Navy. The Postmaster-General was a subordinate of the Treasury Department till 1829. Though the office of Attorney-General was created by act of September 24, 1789, he did not rank as a full Cabinet officer till 1841-45, Tyler's administration. The Department of Interior was created March 3, 1849, last day of Polk's administration, and the Secretary of the Interior became a Cabinet officer. The Department of Agriculture was raised to the grade of a cabinet office by the 50th Congress.

VICE-PRESIDENT.—The Constitution says all executive power shall be in the President. But when it comes to speaking of his qualification and election, it mentions a Vice-President. "No person constitutionally ineligible to the office of President shall be eligible to the office of Vice-President." 12th Amendment, clause 3. The Vice-President is not endowed with much power. His salary is \$8,000. He is presiding officer of the Senate, but without a vote, except in case of a tie. In all else he is like an alternate, merely an official provision against the

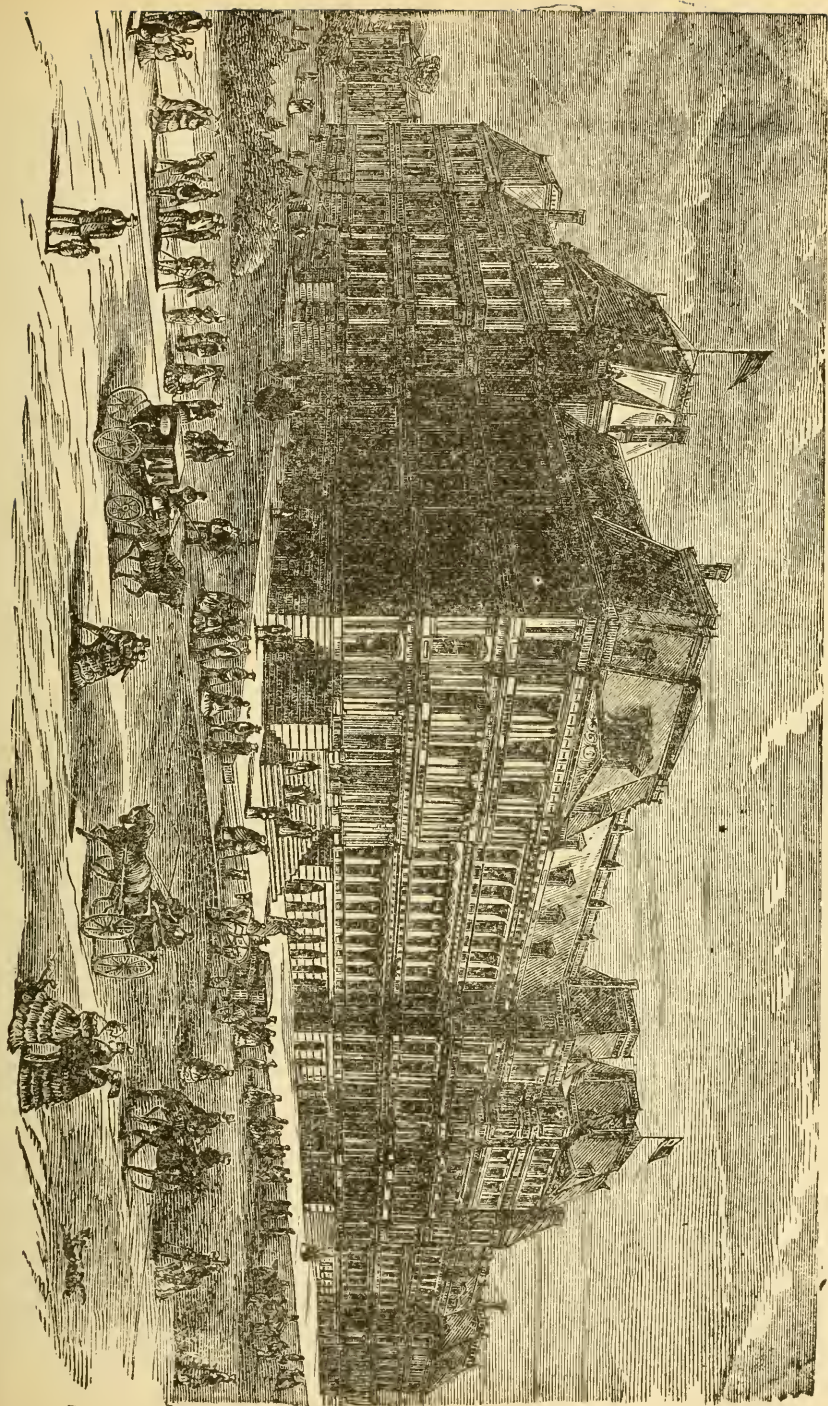
possibility of being without a President. The Vice-President becomes President in case of the death, resignation, impeachment, or disability of the latter. This has happened four times in the history of our government, when Harrison and Taylor died and Lincoln and Garfield were assassinated.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE.

CREATIVE ACTS.—There is no mention in the Constitution of this department nor any other belonging to the Executive branch of the government. They are all creations of Congress, which was endowed with power to pass all laws necessary to give effect to the Constitution. At the starting of the government, foreign relations were intricate and momentous. Therefore the act of July 27, 1789 (1st Congress, extra session), created a Department of Foreign Affairs, whose Secretary should attend to correspondence and negotiations with foreign ministers, and to such other foreign affairs as the President might order and direct. By act of September 15, 1789 (same session), the name of this department was changed to Department of State, and the chief to Secretary of State, and he was, in addition to the above duties, charged with the receipt and publication of the laws of Congress, made custodian of the great Seal, and authorized to use it on civil commissions. In 1853 the office of Assistant Secretary of State was created.

NATURE AND DUTIES.—The Department of State usually heads the list of the Executive Departments. The Secretary of State is regarded as the nearest officer to the President, and is usually selected on account of the great confidence reposed in him as a lawyer, diplomatist and safe political adviser. He is sometimes called the President's *Premier*, or Prime Minister, after the English fashion, because he ranks as *first* of his counsellors. In monarchies the class of officers we call Secretaries are called Ministers.

The Secretary of State conducts all correspondence with and issues all instructions to United States consuls and ministers; negotiates with foreign ministers and representatives on all matters they submit, under the direction of the President; fixes the



STATE, NAVY AND WAR DEPARTMENT.

great seal to all executive commissions; receives and preserves the originals of all bills, orders and resolutions of House or Senate; promulgates and publishes the laws, amendments to the Constitution, and all consular and diplomatic information; lays before Congress annually a report of commercial systems among nations, treaties, diplomacy and all information touching our relations with foreign governments; grants passports. His is indeed an arduous and responsible office. As a cabinet officer the President relies on him more than on any other, because of the delicacy, often intricacy, of the subjects which come under his consideration. Foreign relations are seldom free from serious complications, and negligence or blunder might at any moment lead to war.

MACHINERY.—The machinery for working this important department is ample and intricate. It consists of a number of bureaus, branches and divisions, each of which is designed to attend to one of the many duties of the department. Thus there is a Diplomatic Bureau, Consular Bureau, Bureau of Indexes and Archives, Bureau of Accounts, Librarian, Division of Statistics, Bureau of Law, Division of Translations, Division of Pardons, Passport Division.

DIPLOMATIC SERVICE.—The Diplomatic Bureau of the Department of State is the centre of the Diplomatic Service of the United States. This service embraces Envoys Extraordinary and Ministers Plenipotentiary. These high-sounding titles designate our most important ministers to foreign countries. They, like all our foreign ministers of whatever grade, are appointed by the President, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate. They do not, however, represent the President but the entire government. It is to be regretted that a service dedicated to diplomacy, which is supposably exact and exacting, should be so loose in its use of terms. The word Ambassador has with us none but the most general meaning. It might very properly include all that is meant by the above lengthy titles. The persons sent abroad to represent the government and who are called Envoys Extraordinary and Ministers Plenipotentiary are not only authorized to reside in the country they go to, but

are fully commissioned to act for our government there. They are offices of great dignity and responsibility, and are usually filled with men of prudence and knowledge of foreign affairs. By the Law of Nations Embassadors, Envoys, Ministers and duly accredited representatives of any kind are exempt from arrest, imprisonment and prosecution. Violation of the person, property or rights of an Embassador in any civilized country would be a cause for war on the part of the country offended.

We have now (1892) forty Embassadors abroad who take rank and receive salary according to the importance of the country they are sent to. The first rank is "Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary." Ministers of this rank are usually accompanied by one, or more, "Secretary of Legation," who acts as their Secretary and Interpreter. Sometimes special interpreters are provided. In the absence of their principals, these Secretaries are quite often the only representatives of the United States in the countries to which they are credited.

A distinction must here be drawn between a Minister, or Envoy, Extraordinary and Minister Resident. By this word "Resident" is not meant permanent residence, but only until their commissions expire. They do not go on a special mission, to return when it is ended, but are clothed with an authority and given instructions like ministers of higher rank, the only practical difference being that the countries to which they are credited are of less importance, and their salaries are consequently smaller.

There is another class of foreign officials called "Charge D'Affaires." These are endowed with a function nearly equivalent to that of Minister Resident, only instead of being accredited to the sovereigns of the countries they go to, they are accredited to their Ministers of Foreign Affairs. Generally speaking, they go to countries without intricate diplomacy.

Ministers to France, Germany, Great Britain and Russia receive \$17,500 per year and are entitled to secretaries. Ministers to Austria, Brazil, China, Italy, Japan, Mexico and Spain, receive \$12,000. Ministers to Chili, Costa Rica, Guatemala, Honduras, Nicaragua, Peru and Salvador receive \$10,000.

Ministers to Argentine, Belgium, Corea, Hawaii, Netherlands, Norway and Sweden, Turkey, Colombia, Uruguay, Paraguay and Venezuela receive \$7,500. Ministers to other countries, as Greece, Servia, Roumania, Denmark, Portugal, Switzerland, etc., are generally also Consuls General, with salaries ranging from \$5,000 to \$6,500. The salaries of Secretaries of Legation range from \$1,500 to \$2,625, according to their importance. Interpreters, especially in oriental countries, are handsomely paid.

Where the foreign states are small, contiguous, and with identical interests, one American Minister is sometimes accredited to two or more such states. Thus, our Minister to Roumania is also Minister to Greece and Servia; and our Minister to Paraguay is also Minister to Uruguay.

CONSULAR SERVICE.—The second Bureau in the State Department is the Consular Bureau. It is a large and important Bureau, and through its consuls the government finds a representation in every important city and country in the world. Like Ministers, Envoys and Secretaries of Legation, they are appointed by the President and Senate. They hear all complaints of American captains, masters, crews and passengers, and adjudicate their cases; hear protests of American merchants, also of foreigners respecting American citizens; certify to the correctness of all invoices of goods shipped to this country; gather commercial information of the country and send it to the Consular Bureau; take charge of deceased Americans, their effects and estates, and properly dispose of the same. They have no representative or diplomatic status, but are nevertheless protected under the Law of Nations, the raised flag of the country being their safeguard. They may determine all matter of wages for seamen on board American ships, receive ships' papers and see that they are correct, provide for sick or destitute seamen and send them home, dismiss crews if mutinous or disobedient, settle questions of wreck and salvage, assist in defence of American criminals on trial in their jurisdiction; and in some countries aid in adjudicating civil disputes. There is a full code of laws and instructions for their government.

They are of three grades. No. 1 embraces Consuls-General

and Consuls with fixed salaries, who are not allowed to transact any other business. No. 2 includes those with fixed salaries (lower than the first), who are allowed to transact other business. No. 3 embraces all who are paid by fees, and allowed to transact other business. Some of the third-class find a large profit from fees, some find nearly nothing. Besides those in these classes there are Commercial Agents and Consular Clerks with similar duties and powers. It will be readily seen the Consular Service embraces many hundred persons. They are appointed usually at the instance of Senators and Representatives, but many through the influence of commercial men, and for their knowledge of foreign languages and business usages.

SECRETARIES OF STATE.

Name.	Appointed.	Name.	Appointed.
Thomas Jefferson, Va. . . .	Sept. 26, 1789	John C. Calhoun, S. C. . . .	Mar. 6, 1844
Edmund Randolph, Va. . . .	Jan. 2, 1794	James Buchanan, Pa. . . .	Mar. 6, 1845
Timothy Pickering, Pa. . . .	Dec. 10, 1795	John M. Clayton, Del. . . .	Mar. 7, 1849
John Marshall, Va.	May 13, 1800	Daniel Webster, Mass. . . .	July 22, 1850
James Madison, Va.	Mar. 5, 1801	Edward Everett, Mass. . . .	Nov. 6, 1852
Robert Smith, Md.	Mar. 6, 1809	William L. Marcy, N. Y. . .	Mar. 7, 1853
James Monroe, Va.	April 2, 1811	Lewis Cass, Mich.	Mar. 6, 1857
John Quincy Adams, Mass. .	Mar. 5, 1817	Jeremiah S. Black, Pa. . . .	Dec. 17, 1860
Henry Clay, Ky.	Mar. 7, 1825	William H. Seward, N. Y. .	Mar. 5, 1861
Martin Van Buren, N. Y. . .	Mar. 6, 1829	E. W. Washburne, Ill. . . .	Mar. 5, 1869
Edward Livingston, La. . . .	May 24, 1831	Hamilton Fish, N. Y. . . .	Mar. 11, 1869
Louis McLane, Del.	May 29, 1833	William M. Evarts, N. Y. .	Mar. 12, 1877
John Forsyth, Ga.	June 27, 1834	James G. Blaine, Me. . . .	Mar. 5, 1881
Daniel Webster, Mass. . . .	Mar. 5, 1841	F. T. Frelinghuysen, N. J. .	Dec. 12, 1881
Hugh S. Legaré, S. C. . . .	May 9, 1843	Thomas F. Bayard, Del. . .	Mar. 6, 1885
Abel P. Upshur, Va.	July 24, 1843	James G. Blaine, Me. . . .	Mar. 5, 1889
John Nelson, Md.	Feb. 29, 1844	John W. Foster, Ind. . . .	June 29, 1892

TREASURY DEPARTMENT.

CREATIVE ACTS.—The Treasury of the Continental Congress was conducted under the auspices of a Committee of Congress. Under the Confederation the office of "Secretary of the Treasury" was created by act of Feb. 11, 1779. By act of June 30, 1779, it was resolved into a Board of Commissioners. By act of Feb. 7, 1781, the Board of Commissioners gave way to a Superintendent of Finance, who was given (Sept. 11, 1781) the assistance of a Comptroller, Register, Treasurer and Auditors. By act of May 28, 1784, the old Board of Commissioners was reinvested with control. This was very changeable legislation

respecting an office so important as that of the Treasury, but it was characteristic of the Confederation.

During the first session of Congress, Sept. 2, 1789, our present Treasury Department was established with a Secretary of the Treasury, Comptroller, Auditor, Treasurer, Register and Assistant Secretary. Around this nucleus has been built by repeated acts of Congress the present stupendous fabric, whose officials are more numerous than those of any other department, whose responsibilities are greater, whose existence is inseparable from that of the government, whose transactions amount to hundreds of millions of dollars a year.

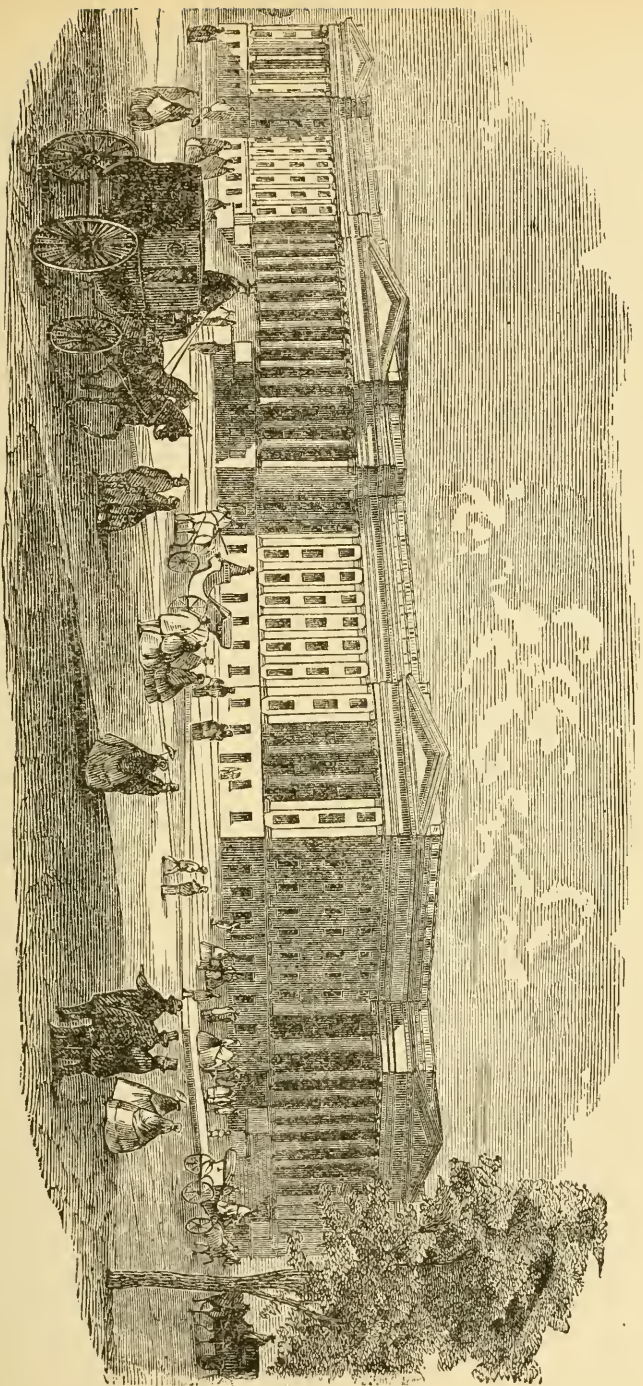
POWERS AND DUTIES.—All accounts of the United States are settled in the Treasury Department, and there all moneys due are received, and owing, paid.

The transactions of this department date from July 1 of each year. This is called the Fiscal (money) year. No officer or clerk in this department is permitted to accept any compensation over and above his salary for transacting any business in the department, nor can any employé trade in the funds of or debts of the United States.

The chief officer is the Secretary of the Treasury, salary \$8,000. He is a member of the Cabinet, and is appointed, like all department officers, by the President, by and with the consent of the Senate. He has two Assistant Secretaries at a salary of \$4,500 each. The Secretary must manage the collection of all revenue and lay plans for supporting the public credit; order and keep all public accounts; grant warrants for moneys appropriated by Congress; audit accounts of receipts and disbursements; collect all commercial statistics; report annually to Congress, or whenever called upon, his methods of management, results and recommendations.

For his assistance in the discharge of these multifarious and responsible duties he has a corps of officers, clerks and assistants which number over 3,000. These are all at work in the following subdepartments, bureaus or divisions:

FIRST ASSISTANT.—This officer supervises all the work relating to Appointments; Public Moneys; Revenue Marine;



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Stationery, Printing and Blanks; Loans and Currency; Bureau of Engraving and Printing; Bureau of the Mint.

SECOND ASSISTANT supervises all the work belonging to the Division of Customs; Special Agents; Navigation; Internal Revenue; Appropriations, Warrants and Estimates; Supervising Architect; Marine Hospital Supervision; Bureau of Statistics; Inspector-General of Steam-vessels.

CHIEF CLERK'S OFFICE has supervision of all the Treasury buildings, their furniture, repairs, mails, horses, wagons, working property.

APPOINTMENTS.—This division supervises all appointments and removals in the department, the Customs Service, Internal Revenue, and other branches of the Treasury Department; prepares the Treasury Register (Blue Book); and attends to matters of estimates, pay-rolls, etc.

WARRANTS.—The Division of Warrants, Estimates and Appropriations issues Warrants for the payment of Public Moneys; keeps Sinking Fund, Public Debt and Pacific R. R. accounts; account of Appropriations and Estimates therefor; states annual expenditures and monthly statement of debt; keeps Financial Statistics.

PUBLIC MONEYS.—This division supervises the sub-Treasuries and National Banks, and enforces the laws and regulations respecting them.

CUSTOMS.—The Division of Customs hears and determines all questions of tariff laws and regulations arising in the Customs Districts or Consular service. The Commissioner of Customs makes final revision of the accounts of Customs officers from all the ports of the country.

INTERNAL REVENUE.—This division, uniting with it that of Navigation, has charge of all questions arising in the Marine service and relating to, or growing out of, the collection of Internal Revenue. The actual work of collection belongs to the Bureau of Internal Revenue.

LOANS AND CURRENCY is a division which supervises the National loans, the redemption of bonds; preparations for printing bonds; delivery and redemption of bonds and their can-

cellation and destruction. In its records a U. S. bond can be traced from the paper-mill to the furnace.

REVENUE MARINE SERVICE is an adjunct of the Customs service. It consists of 37 fast revenue cutters for the use of Customs officers, that they may board vessels, make searches, collect duties, and enforce the laws against smuggling.

STATIONERY, PRINTING AND BLANKS.—This division purchases, prints, binds and distributes books and blanks for use in the subdivisions of the Treasury Department.

SPECIAL AGENTS.—This division supervises the work of the thirty odd special agents of the Treasury who go, armed with full authority, into the Customs Districts to note the manner of doing work, correct wrong methods, and secure uniform enforcement of the laws.

SECRET SERVICE.—This division superintends the work of detecting and punishing counterfeiters of the National bonds, coin and currency. It is supported by annual appropriations devoted to this secret, detective work.

CAPTURED PROPERTY.—This division has in charge all the records, archives and property captured or abandoned during the Rebellion. It furnishes all information to claimants or for historical and legal purposes which is sought through it.

ENGRAVING AND PRINTING.—The engraving and printing of government bonds, United States notes, securities, stamps, and whatever represents value, is in charge of this Bureau. It embraces many subdivisions, and is regarded as the completest establishment of its kind in the world.

BUREAU OF THE MINT supervises the work of all the United States Mints and Assay offices. Its chief officer is the Director of the Mint, salary \$4,500. The United States Mints are located at Philadelphia, Pa.; San Francisco, Cal.; New Orleans, La.; Carson, Nevada. The Assay offices are located at Denver, Col.; New York City; Helena, Montana; Boise City, Idaho; and Charlotte, N. C. The Assay offices do not coin money, but reduce gold and silver to ingots or bars, and stamp the fineness or quality on each bar. In addition to overseeing the workings of the respective Mints and Assay offices, the

Director of the Mint must certify to the Secretary of Treasury each year the actual value of the coins of every nation. The officers directly in charge of the different Mints are called Superintendents of Mints.

SUPERVISING ARCHITECT.—This office was created in 1853, to obviate the difficulty of erecting the large and numerous public buildings through irresponsible and unskilled commissions. Before the creation of the office there was no uniformity in public buildings, but little taste, and poor adaptation to the purposes intended. The duties of the office are to select proper sites, submit plans and estimates, and carry on the work of construction. The Supervising Architect is assisted by an able corps of clerks and draughtsmen numbering nearly 100.

STEAM-VESSEL INSPECTION.—The head of this service is the Supervising Inspector-General of Steam-Vessels. His duty is to enforce all the laws relating to the inspection of steam-vessels. There are local inspectors and officers in all the commercial cities of the country.

LIFE-SAVING SERVICE.—The Superintendent of this service has charge of all the life-saving stations on our coasts. This service in its present form dates from 1878. It is a growing and important service, and is at present conducted at an annual expense of \$500,000, with a force of some 1,400 men, mostly hardy surfmen, who lead an exposed and dangerous life at points on our coast where wrecks are most likely to occur.

STATISTICS.—The Chief of this Bureau receives, arranges and publishes the statistics of finance, coinage, immigration, population, railroads, minerals, agriculture, manufacture, and domestic and foreign commerce of the United States, sent from every authorized source.

LIGHT-HOUSES.—The Secretary of the Treasury is President of the Light-House Board. This Board is composed of nine men, chosen for their scientific knowledge. They have in charge the work of lighting the coasts of oceans and rivers. It was organized in 1852. Their labors involve the proper lighting of 5,000 miles of Atlantic coast, 1,500 of Pacific coast, 3,000 miles of lake coast, and 5,500 miles of river coast. Thus far about

12,000 light-houses or stations have been erected; 3,000 buoys, 420 day beacons, 54 fog signals, and 25 light-ships have been placed in position.

MARINE HOSPITALS.—This service is under a Supervising Surgeon-General. It was established July 16, 1798, and reorganized in 1870 and 1875. It is designed to afford protection to sick and disabled seamen, with a view to encouraging fit persons to become sailors. The terms of enlistment require a payment of forty cents a month from seamen's wages. This goes to the government. As a consideration for this the government cares for them when sick or disabled at one of its Marine Hospitals, or, where none exist, at any designated hospital. It is an important service, and has charge of as many as 20,000 invalid seamen annually.

FIRST COMPTROLLER'S Office has charge of all civil accounts except those relating to the Customs and Postal Service. The office was established September 2, 1789. The First Comptroller checks the work of the First and Fifth Auditor and the Commissioner of the Land Office.

SECOND COMPTROLLER'S Office, established March 3, 1817, revises and checks all the accounts of the Second, Third and Fourth Auditors.

BUREAU OF COMPTROLLER.—The Comptroller of the Currency has the responsible duty of enforcing all laws relating to the issue and regulation of the National Currency. He is custodian of the plates from which notes are printed, supervises the naming and starting of National banks, attends to their closing operations when they fail, reports to Congress annually concerning the entire workings of the National banking system. The office was established in February, 1863, and was rendered necessary by the National Currency system which came into existence at that time.

AUDITORS.—The accounts of the Treasury Department of whatever kind must reach final settlement under the hands of Auditors. There are six of these, and each is the head of a separate office. The numerous accounts are subdivided according to nature or subject, and each Auditor receives those which by law or custom fall under his jurisdiction.

TREASURER.—The office of United States Treasurer was established by act of September 2, 1789. The Treasurer receives and accounts for all public moneys arising from customs, internal revenue, sale of lands, or whatever source. The United States Treasury is not only the Treasury at Washington, but the sub-Treasuries located for convenience at New York, Boston, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Chicago, Cincinnati, New Orleans, San Francisco and St. Louis. It comprises also certain banks which are designated as depositories of public moneys, though these last cannot receive any moneys arising from customs. The sub-Treasuries are officered by Treasurers, who give bond and are responsible outside of the United States Treasurer at Washington. This is why they are called Independent Treasuries.

REGISTER OF TREASURY.—While the United States Treasurer is the officer who actually handles the money and is responsible for its safe-keeping, the accounts of receipts and disbursements are under the supervision of the Register. This office was created by the same act as the Treasurer.

INTERNAL REVENUE BUREAU.—The establishment of a system of Internal Revenue, made necessary by the civil war, gave rise to a Bureau devoted to the supervision of the system. Its chief is Commissioner of Internal Revenue. The Bureau was established by act of July 1, 1862. In its centre the accounts of the Collectors of Internal Revenue, who are the officers appointed to make actual collections in the Revenue Districts into which the entire country has been divided. The Bureau consists of several sub-divisions devoted to Law, Accounts, Agents, Stamps, Tobacco and Distilled Spirits.

COAST SURVEY.—Instituted Feb. 10, 1807, for mapping the coasts, rivers, and harbors of the United States, locating rocks, shoals, and shallows, and making charts of the soundings. The work is under the supervision of the Secretary of the Treasury, but is actively prosecuted by a Superintendent of Coast Survey.

BOARD OF HEALTH.—This body was created by act of March 3, 1879. It is composed of seven members. Their duty is to co-operate with similar Boards in the States, and to act in-

dependently, for the purpose of finding out how epidemics originate, and what will prevent them.

CUSTOMS SERVICE.—Custom Houses are of course only found at the points where goods from foreign ports are landed. These are called Ports of Entry. They are officered, in ports of first rank, by a Collector of the Port, who is responsible for the execution of the tariff laws and all moneys collected as duties on imported goods. He is also the custodian of the government buildings and property at the respective ports. His work is supervised and checked by a Naval Officer of the Port. He is assisted by an Appraiser of the Port, whose duty it is to ascertain the nature and true value of all goods imported. He is further assisted by Weighers who weigh goods paying a specific rate of duty, and by Gaugers who gauge all liquids on which there is a duty. The Inspectors are the officers who police the wharves and ships and see that no goods are landed except those for which the Collector has issued a permit. The Surveyor of the Port has immediate charge of the Inspectors and assigns them to duty, though he does not appoint them. The heads of the Customs Service are appointed by the President, the Deputies and Clerks by the Secretary of the Treasury. Moneys arising from customs in the respective Districts are deposited in the sub-treasuries, and thence find their way into the central treasury. All customs accounts, statistics, etc., are reported to the Secretary of the Treasury.

Of late years the Customs Service has been extended from sea-coast ports to inland cities. Thus Cincinnati, St. Louis, and other inland cities are Ports of Entry. Goods intended for Inland Ports are unloaded directly from the ship into sealed cars and carried to the Inland Port as if the ocean voyage were continued. There they are entered, appraised, and assessed with duty.

INTERNAL REVENUE SERVICE.—Like that of Customs, the active work of this service is done in the Internal Revenue Districts. The entire country was divided into some 120 Districts, to each of which was assigned a Collector, deputies, and a corps of store-keepers, gaugers, etc. This was when

(1862-1882) the Internal Revenue laws were in full vigor. Since the revenue taxes have been lowered, and the number of taxable articles reduced, many of these Districts have been consolidated, and ere long the whole system will pass away.

Customs duties and Internal Revenue taxes are the chief sources of government income. But it also receives a large income from the sale of public lands. These sales were conducted under the auspices of the Treasury Department till 1849, when they were transferred to the Department of the Interior, where we will speak of them and of the homestead law.

NATIONAL BANKS.—When the government first started, a National bank was deemed necessary to act as its financial agent. One was chartered in 1791 for twenty years. Attempts to revive the charter in 1811 failed, owing to the opposition of those who construed the Constitution narrowly. In 1816, after the war of 1812, when the country was heavily in debt and in need of a steady finance, another National bank was chartered for twenty years. This was the bank which President Jackson fought so determinedly and finally drove out of existence. All subsequent attempts to establish a similar bank or to secure a uniform currency failed till 1863, when the exigency of civil war eventuated in, first, an issue of notes (greenbacks) directly by the government; and, second, the establishment of the National banking system. The government had to use its own credit in order to exist. Could it so use it as to provide a uniform currency and at the same time relieve itself of the trouble and expense of acting as banker for the entire people? This was the problem which the National banking system was to solve. The National Banking Act is an elaborate one, but by its provisions any number of persons not less than five may start a National Bank by (1) certifying to the Comptroller of the Currency, a name; (2) a place; (3) the amount of capital stock (which cannot be less than \$50,000) and number of shares; (4) names and residences of the shareholders, and number of shares held by each; (5) that they seek the benefits of the National Banking Act; (6) the time when they intend to begin banking.

These being approved, the Comptroller grants a certificate of

incorporation, with the right to use a seal, and to engage in legitimate banking business for twenty years from the passage of the act. Every shareholder is personally liable for the debts of the bank to the amount of his stock. But as yet the bank has no bills or notes. In order to obtain these it must buy interest-bearing United States bonds to an amount not less than one-third of the paid-up stock of the bank, but the amount need not be in excess of \$50,000. These are deposited in the United States Treasury. Circulating notes, engraved and printed in the Treasury Department, are then issued to the bank, to the value of the bonds deposited, less ten per cent. If \$50,000 in bonds have been deposited, \$45,000 in circulating notes are issued in different denominations.* Should the bank fail the deposited bonds are sold, and with the proceeds the notes are redeemed. The fact that there is a margin of ten per cent. between the notes and the security for them, and the additional fact that that margin is increased by the bonds being above par, has given rise to the expression that the notes of a broken national bank are better than those of a sound one.

No National bank can loan money directly on real estate security. This is to keep them on a strictly commercial basis. The notes formerly issued were ones, twos, fives, tens, twenties, fifties, one hundreds, five hundreds, and one thousands; but since the resumption of specie payments (1879) the ones and twos have been discontinued, in order to give circulation to the silver dollars.

These banks now number 3,364 and they are situated in all parts of the country. They have almost entirely taken the place of the old State banks, and they secure to the people a uniform system of currency and banking. The note of a bank in Maine is as good in California as at home. The holder is secure, because the note is backed up by security in bonds greater by at least ten per cent. than the note itself. The notes are harder to counterfeit. The plates are beyond the control of the bank. The people have never had so uniform, stable, safe, and convenient a paper currency.

DEBT AND BONDS.—The highest indebtedness of the

Government was in 1866, when it reached \$2,778,236,173. Much of this bore interest as high as six per cent. This debt was mostly represented by bonds, which have been called in from time to time, and either paid off and cancelled or re-issued at a lower rate of interest. By 1890 the bonded indebtedness of the Government had been reduced to \$791,752,427, and the policy of rapid extinction still prevailed, though lately its wisdom has been questioned by financiers who teach that the burden of payment ought to be distributed over the generations that follow us. The rapid payment of the national debt, and the frequent reductions of interest by the process of refunding, constitute one of the most brilliant chapters in finance, and nothing has contributed more to our stability and glory.

A concluding remark must be made about the management of the Treasury Department during this period of immense receipts, expenditures and great responsibility. It has been such as to show less loss to the government than any former period. Considering the great influx of new force, the rush of business during war times, the newness and experimental character of much of its work, this is agreeably surprising, yet it may go to prove that a financial department, like a financial man, is capable of rising with an emergency, and meeting with honor the severest tests of ability and honesty. In answer to a request from the Senate the Treasury Department submitted the following table, showing the per cent. of losses in its transactions since the beginning of the government and up to June 30, 1879:

Administrations.		Received and Expended.	Total loss.	Loss on \$1,000.
Washington.....	8 Yrs.	\$112,560,504	\$250,970	\$2.22
Adams, John.....	4	90,733,612	235,412	2.59
Jefferson.....	8	219,072,736	603,468	2.75
Madison.....	8	526,764,050	2,191,660	4.16
Monroe.....	8	376,328,275	3,229,787	8.58
Adams, John Q.....	4	201,488,077	885,374	4.39
Jackson.....	8	500,081,748	3,761,112	7.52
Van Buren.....	4	285,327,949	3,343,792	11.71
Harrison and Tyler.....	4	244,590,156	1,565,903	6.40
Polk.....	4	423,913,687	1,732,851	4.08
Taylor and Fillmore.....	4	432,861,677	1,814,409	4.19
Pierce.....	4	608,257,816	2,167,982	3.56
Buchanan.....	4	697,500,871	2,659,108	3.81

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Administrations.		Received and Expended.	Total loss.	Loss on \$1,000.
Lincoln.....	4 Yrs.	\$9,386,697,144	\$7,200,984	\$0.76
Johnson.....	4	8,014,908,984	4,619,600	.57
Grant.....	8	10,842,922,583	2,622,479	.24
Hayes.....	2	3,353,629,856	2,677	.008

SECRETARIES OF THE TREASURY.

Names.	Appointed.	Names.	Appointed.
Alex. Hamilton, N. Y....	Sept. 11, 1789	James Guthrie, Ky.....	Mar. 7, 1853
Oliver Wolcott, Conn....	Feb. 2, 1795	Howell Cobb, Ga.....	Mar. 6, 1857
Samuel Dexter, Mass....	Jan. 1, 1801	Philip F. Thomas, Md....	Dec. 12, 1860
Albert Gallatin, Pa.....	May 14, 1801	John A. Dix, N. Y.....	Jan. 11, 1861
Geo. W. Campbell, Tenn..	Feb. 9, 1814	Salmon P. Chase, Ohio...	Mar. 7, 1861
Alex. J. Dallas, Pa.....	Oct. 6, 1814	Wm. P. Fessenden, Me....	July 1, 1864
Wm. H. Crawford, Ga....	Oct. 22, 1816	Hugh McCulloch, Ind....	Mar. 7, 1865
Richard Rush, Pa.....	Mar. 7, 1825	Geo. S. Boutwell, Mass...	Mar. 11, 1869
Samuel D. Ingham, Pa...	Mar. 6, 1829	Wm. A. Richardson, Mass.	Mar. 17, 1873
Louis McLane, Del.....	Aug. 2, 1831	Benj. H. Bristow, Ky....	June 4, 1874
Wm. J. Duane, Pa.....	May 29, 1833	Lot M. Morrill, Me.....	July 7, 1876
Roger B. Taney, Md....	Sept. 23, 1833	John Sherman, Ohio.....	Mar. 8, 1877
Levi Woodbury, N. H....	June 27, 1834	Wm. H. Windom, Minn....	Mar. 5, 1881
Thomas Ewing, Ohio.....	Mar. 5, 1841	Charles J. Folger, N. Y..	Oct. 27, 1881
Walter Forward, Pa.....	Sept. 13, 1841	Walter Q. Gresham, Ind..	Sept. 2, 1884
John C. Spencer, N. Y....	Mar. 3, 1843	Hugh McCulloch, N. Y..	Oct. 28, 1884
Geo. M. Bibb, Ky.....	June 15, 1844	Daniel Manning, N. Y....	Mar. 6, 1885
Robert J. Walker, Miss...	Mar. 6, 1845	Charles S. Fairchild, N. Y.	April 1, 1887
Wm. M. Meredith, Pa....	Mar. 8, 1849	William Windom, Minn...	Mar. 5, 1889
Thomas Corwin, Ohio....	July 23, 1850	Charles Foster, Ohio.....	Feb. 7, 1891

THE WAR DEPARTMENT.

As the name indicates, this Department has charge of all matters appertaining to the army. It is presided over by the Secretary of War, salary \$8,000, who is appointed by the President by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, for the term of four years unless sooner removed. He is a member of the President's Cabinet, and in a military point of view ranks next to the President.

The War Department was established by act of August 7, 1789, and therefore is as old as the government. The act says "there shall be an executive Department denominated the Department of War, and there shall be a principal officer therein to be called the Secretary for the Department of War, who shall perform such duties as shall be entrusted to or enjoined on him by the President agreeably to the Constitution, relative to land forces, ships, or warlike stores of the United States." The Department then had control of "land forces and ships." It was both a War and Navy Department, the latter not having a separate existence till some time afterwards.

SECRETARY'S DUTIES.—When it is said that the Department has charge of all matters relating to war a sharp line must be drawn between its affairs and those of the army in the field. The responsibility for campaigns, battles and manœuvres rests on the generals who represent the commander-in-chief, the President, in the field. The War Department is the civil side of army affairs. The Secretary conducts the business of the Department. In war he is one hand of the President and the army the other.

He attends to all commissions of officers, to the raising of forces, to the matter of army supplies. He has charge of all captured property, and sees to the transportation of troops, munitions, equipments and stores throughout the United States. He defines the quantity and kind of supplies and attends to their purchase through the Subsistence and Quartermaster's Departments. He procures buildings to store them in. He receives field officers' accounts of clothing, munitions, supplies of every kind, and adjusts and passes on their accounts. In connection with army officers he must see to the condition of prisoners of war, advise with the militia officers of the States, issue proposals for supplies, and report to Congress annually or whenever called upon, the transactions of his office and its condition. An important duty added since the civil war is the purchase, preparation and care of the national cemeteries, of which there are seventy-nine, containing the bodies of tens of thousands of Union soldiers, known and unknown.

His office is divided into sub-Departments, Bureaus or Divisions, each of which is presided over by a responsible head.

ADJUTANT-GENERAL.—This subdepartment is in charge of an Adjutant-General of the Army, who has army rank as Brigadier, and army pay. The business of the office is the organization and management of the armies. All orders to the military establishments and armies go out through this office. It attends to recruiting the armies, keeps all muster in and out rolls, and officers' accounts, furnishes statements to Treasury Auditors, Pension Commissioners, Paymasters, Commissaries and Quartermasters.

INSPECTOR-GENERAL.—The Inspector-General ranks as Brigadier, with army pay. His business is to keep the Secretary of War posted as to the true condition of the army, its tents, arms, clothing, quarters, accoutrements, drill, discipline, and entire condition.

SIGNAL OFFICE.—This useful office, a comparatively modern one, is part civic and part military. It has charge, under the instructions of the Secretary of War, of a School of Instruction at Fort Whipple, Va., where war manœuvres, the construction and working of rapid field telegraphy, the erection and management of army signals, and the control of all instruments of field observation, are taught.

It has also charge of the Army Signal Corps, which is a modern army essential, in time of active service, for safe and speedy operations. It is also useful in time of peace for the assistance it renders in conducting the Sea Coast Service, with its signal codes and quick telegraphy.

To this office belongs also the well-known, popular, and now indispensable Weather Bureau, over which the familiar "Clerk of the Weather" presides. This Bureau conducts its business through Signal Stations erected at all exposed points on ocean, lake and river coast, at prominent points of observation in cities and on mountains and plains, with which it is connected by telegraph. It is the duty of the officers in charge of these stations to telegraph, at least once a day, to the Central Bureau in Washington the state of the barometer and thermometer, the velocity of wind and its direction, the nature of the storm or calm that exists; in short, such a full condition of the weather as will enable a forecast to be made inland or for the sea, for the general use of sailors, merchants, farmers and others likely to be affected by it. When the conditions on coasts are dangerous, storm signals are erected, and mariners either heed them or sail at their peril. The active operations of the Weather Bureau date from 1868-69.

QUARTERMASTER.—This Department purchases and distributes to the army all military stores and supplies, such as clothing, fuel, forage, camp and garrison equipage (the furnishing of rations belongs to the Subsistence Department), and fur-

nishes means of transportation for the army and its stores. It is presided over by the Quartermaster-General, who ranks as Brigadier, with army pay. While the duties of the central office at Washington are important and responsible, its main responsibility is in the camps and garrisons in time of peace, and in the field in time of war. It reaches these remote points by means of Quartermasters. These subordinate officers are the agents of the Quartermaster-General. They represent the movable quality of the office. They are at all the military posts during peace. In time of war their number has to be increased, and they are found in all the armies and sections of armies superintending the matter of transportation and supplies, holding the officers to strict account for whatever is furnished, and in turn accounting themselves to their chief for what they receive and distribute.

COMMISSARY DEPARTMENT.—This office is presided over by the Commissary-General, who ranks as Brigadier, with army pay. It is not unlike the Quartermaster-General's office, except that it has sole charge of the supply of army rations. It buys all rations and furnishes them to the officers and men of the army at cost price. It carries its work down to the military posts and to the camps in the field by means of subordinates called Commissaries, who, like Quartermasters, are more numerous in time of war than in peace, and who must be promptly on hand with food whenever it is needed.

PAYMASTER.—This Department is presided over by a Paymaster-General, who ranks as Brigadier with army pay. The title suggests the duty, which is to pay the army and keep all the pay rolls and accounts connected with the operation. The field and post work of the office is carried on by means of Paymasters in fact, who are assigned to duty at the respective posts and in the divisions of the army in time of active service.

MEDICAL DEPARTMENT.—The chief officer of this Department is the Surgeon-General, who ranks as Brigadier with army pay. He is chosen for his scientific knowledge. The Department has in charge the matter of army hospitals and hospital supplies, the care of sick and wounded soldiers, the furnishing of artificial limbs, eyes and other appliances for the maimed, re-

ports on hospital diseases, treatments and operations, the control of the Medical Museum, which, by the way, is now one of the best appointed and most interesting of its kind in the world.

ORDNANCE OFFICE.—The officer in charge of this Department is called the Chief of Ordnance. He ranks as Brigadier with army pay. This office attends to procuring and supplying to the army all cannon, gun-carriages, and all ammunition and equipments for the same, whether for use in garrison, field or siege service. It is the heavy gun department of the war branch. It operates through Ordnance Stations, situated in different portions of the country, where ordnance is kept for convenience of use and for preservation, and which are called *Arsenals*. There are now twenty-two of these Ordnance Stations or *Arsenals* in the country. In this list of *Arsenals* are included the Armory at Springfield, Mass., where small arms and ammunition are made and stored. There was a large Armory at Harper's Ferry, which was destroyed during the civil war.

CHIEF ENGINEER.—The responsible officer is a Chief of Engineers, who ranks as Brigadier, with army pay. The duties of this office are various. The Chief of Engineers commands the Corps of Engineers whose duty is to attend to locating, building and caring for fortifications, coast and inland; designing, building and handling pontoon bridges; designating and carrying out river and harbor improvements; making surveys for military purposes. The Chief of Engineers is also Commissioner of Public Buildings and Grounds in Washington. He is Superintendent of the Washington Aqueduct, which supplies the capital with water, and from the Engineer Corps are selected three of the seven members of the Mississippi River Commission, which has charge of the public improvements along that stream.

SECRETARIES OF WAR.

Names.	Appointed.	Names.	Appointed.
Henry Knox, Mass.....	Sept. 12, 1789	John Armstrong, N. Y....	Jan. 13, 1813
Timothy Pickering, Pa....	Jan. 2, 1795	James Monroe, Va.....	Sept. 27, 1814
James McHenry, Md.....	Jan. 27, 1796	Wm. H. Crawford, Ga....	Aug. 1, 1815
James Marshall, Va.....	May 7, 1800	Geo. Graham (<i>ad in.</i>), Va..	April 7, 1817
Samuel Dexter, Mass.....	May 13, 1800	John C. Calhoun, S. C....	Oct. 8, 1817
Roger Griswold, Conn....	Feb. 3, 1801	James Barbour, Va.....	Mar. 7, 1825
Henry Dearborn, Mass....	Mar. 5, 1801	Peter B. Porter, N. Y....	May 26, 1828
William Eustis, Mass.....	Mar. 7, 1809	John H. Eaton, Tenn....	Mar. 9, 1829

SECRETARIES OF WAR—*Continued.*

Names.	Appointed.	Names.	Appointed
Louis Cass, Mich.	Aug. 1, 1831	Edwin M. Stanton, Pa.	Jan. 15, 1862
Benj. F. Butler, N. Y.	Mar. 3, 1837	U. S. Grant (<i>ad in.</i>), Ill.	Aug. 12, 1867
Joel R. Poinsett, S. C.	Mar. 7, 1837	Edwin M. Stanton, Pa.	Jan. 14, 1868
John Bell, Tenn.	Mar. 5, 1841	L. Thomas (<i>ad in.</i>), Md.	Feb. 21, 1868
John McLean, O.	Sept. 13, 1841	John M. Schofield, Ill.	May 28, 1868
John C. Spencer, N. Y.	Oct. 12, 1841	John A. Rawlins, Ill.	Mar. 11, 1869
James M. Porter, Pa.	Mar. 8, 1843	William T. Sherman, O.	Sept. 9, 1869
William Wilkins, Pa.	Feb. 15, 1844	William W. Belknap, Iowa.	Oct. 25, 1869
William L. Marcy, N. Y.	Mar. 6, 1845	Alphonso Taft, O.	Mar. 8, 1876
George W. Crawford, Ga.	Mar. 8, 1849	James D. Cameron, Pa.	May 22, 1876
Winfield Scott (<i>ad in.</i>), Va.	July 23, 1850	Geo. W. McCrary, Iowa.	Mar. 12, 1877
Charles M. Conrad, La.	Aug. 15, 1850	Alexander Ramsey, Minn.	Dec. 10, 1879
Jefferson Davis, Miss.	Mar. 5, 1853	Robert T. Lincoln, Ill.	Mar. 5, 1881
John B. Floyd, Va.	Mar. 6, 1857	Wm. C. Endicott, Mass.	Mar. 6, 1885
Joseph Holt, Ky.	Jan. 18, 1861	Redfield Proctor, Vt.	Mar. 5, 1889
Simon Cameron, Pa.	Mar. 5, 1861	Stephen B. Elkins, W. Va.	Dec. 17, 1891

THE ARMY.—The army of the United States is in one sense an organization separate from the War Department, in another connected with it. Its field administrations are separate, yet in all things appertaining to its supplies, enlistments, accounts, the two are inseparable. The question of a standing army in this country—that is, an army in time of peace—has always been a troublesome one, and the policy has been to keep it reduced to the lowest standard possible. This policy results from a wholesome dread of such large standing armies as enable European monarchs to keep their thrones, and which are a constant menace to the peace of nations, as well as a great source of expense to the supporting governments. But our experience has shown the necessity of at least a small standing army for the purpose of executing the laws in exposed places, as on the border, and suppressing disturbances wherever they may arise. The moral effect of an army, as an arm of the executive, is also very great. Power is far more imposing and effective when backed by a vigor which lawlessness regards it folly to dispute, or before which it quails; and power is never so impotent and ridiculous as when attempts to exercise it are foiled by the mob. The dignity and efficacy of executive authority require, as things go, an army of some shape and proportion; and a navy too. The economic argument in favor of an army is also very great. Besides assuring peace and protection it is the nucleus of that larger army which is made up of volunteers and called into service when

emergency requires. It is a constant training school for officers and men, so that the country is never without a sufficient amount of military discipline to meet the needs of larger called armies, when the condition is one of active war.

The army of the United States is called the Regular army in contradistinction to that added to it in time of war, called the Volunteer army. It is also thus distinguished from the militia of the several States, and the militia system, which is a mixed government and State system.

The present army is not in excess of 25,000 men, and, by act of June 18, 1878, cannot exceed 30,000. Enlistments are for five years. There are twenty-five regiments of infantry, ten of cavalry and five of artillery, and a force of 1,000 Indian scouts. An infantry regiment is composed of ten companies, of fifty men each, which the President may increase to 100.

A regiment of cavalry consists of twelve troops, and each troop of 78 men. A regiment of artillery consists of twelve batteries, and each battery of 120 men. These figures are the maximum of each. They are in excess of the actual number in each regiment and company.

The higher officers of the army are a General and Lieutenant-General, which two are honorary, conferred only at times on account of distinguished service, and expire with the death or resignation of their incumbent. The salary of the General is \$13,500, that of Lieutenant-General \$11,000. The regular officers are Major-Generals, salary \$7,500; Brigadier-Generals, salary \$5,500; Colonels, salary \$3,500; Captains, salary \$1,800; and Lieutenants, \$1,600.

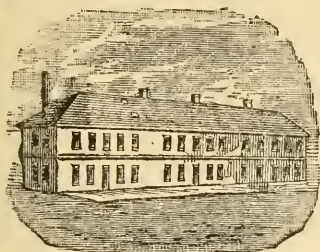
Then there are with the army representatives or duplicates of each of the departments we have seen in connection with the Department of War, as Adjutant-General's Department, Quartermaster's Department, Inspector-General's Department, Engineer Corps, Ordnance Department, Medical Department, Pay Department, Signal Officer, Bureau of Military Justice, Chaplains, bands, etc., all of which have their place and add to the comfort and efficiency of the force. The army is governed by a code prescribed by Congress called Articles of War. They are 128

in number; and are read at the time of enlistment and every six months afterwards.

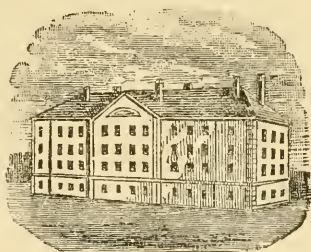
A charitable provision in our army system is, first, gradually increasing pay for the minor officers as they add to their years of service, and second, three-fourth pay to all commissioned officers when they are placed on the retired list. Officers pass to the retired list by law after thirty-two years of service or on arriving at the age of sixty-two, but may be retired for honorable cause and by proper authority at any time.

MILITARY ACADEMY.—This government school for the education of men in the science and art of war is situated at West Point on the Hudson. It was authorized by act of Congress in 1802, and then instituted in a modest way. It has since grown to be a large and useful institution, ranking with the best of its kind in the world. Its chief officer is a superintendent, who ranks as Colonel. It has a large corps of professors devoted to teaching tactics, engineering, philosophy, mathematics, history, geography, ethics, chemistry, mineralogy, geology, drawing, modern languages, gymnastics, music, etc.; the idea being to provide not only men skilled in whatever appertains to army affairs, but educated gentlemen also.

Each Congressional district and Territory in the United States is entitled to have one cadet or scholar at the Military Academy. The District of Columbia is entitled to one, and the United States to ten, called cadets at large. The President selects the cadets at large. The Secretary of War selects those from the Congressional districts, at the request of the representative thereof in Congress. Candidates must be between seventeen and twenty-two years old, at least five feet in height, physically perfect, and must be proficient in the elementary branches. They are paid \$540 a year, which is regarded as sufficient to maintain them. They graduate with the rank of lieutenant in the army, and are standing candidates for an active place with that rank. The academy is visited annually by a commission appointed by the President and composed of members of Congress and military officers, who report to the Secretary of War for the use of Congress.



MESS HALL.



NORTH BARRACKS.

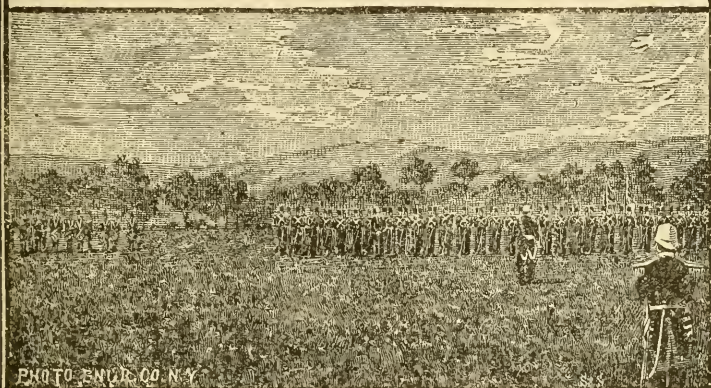
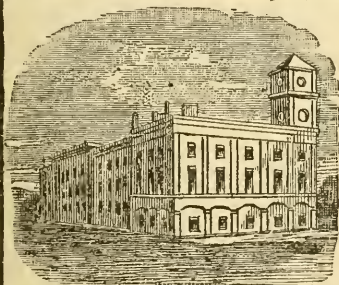
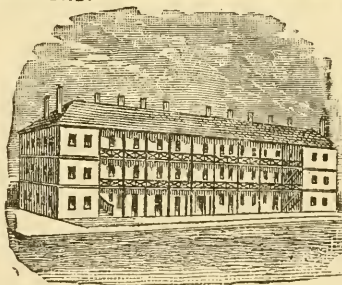


PHOTO. ENIGR. CO. N. Y.

PARADE GROUND.



ACADEMY BUILDING



BARRACKS.

VIEWS AT MILITARY ACADEMY, WEST POINT.

NAVY DEPARTMENT.

The Navy Department was at first connected with the War Department. It was erected into a separate department by act of April 30, 1798, and went into operation in June, 1798. Its chief officer is the Secretary of the Navy, salary \$8,000, appointed by the President by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, for four years, unless sooner removed. He ranks as a member of the cabinet. Like all the other departments, this is divided into a number of Bureaus or Divisions, for its more effective working. The name of the department suggests that it is devoted to the naval affairs of the country. The question of a navy has always been an interesting one, and parties have often divided on the propriety of keeping a naval establishment in time of peace, likewise over the policy of strengthening it in time of emergency. It must be said that in time of war, when our destinies were all in the keeping of our vessels of war and our hardy sailors, that the American Navy has been a source of safety and credit, and has given proof that we can conduct ocean warfare with all the brilliancy and effect of those who boast of more formidable ships and thoroughly trained mariners.

SECRETARY'S DUTIES.—He must provide all naval stores and construct, arm, equip and employ vessels of war. All captures of ships, standards and guns must be reported to him and pass into his custody. He prepares and publishes all charts, maps, sailing directions and nautical books, bearing on navigation, which he deems necessary. He reports annually to Congress the state of the navy and submits estimates for appropriations. He accounts for all disbursements on behalf of the navy. He establishes coal stations in different parts of the world, disposes of old ships and worn-out equipments, acts as trustee of the Navy Pension Fund and Privateer Fund; in short does all that appertains to efficient management of naval affairs.

YARDS AND DOCKS.—This Bureau has charge of the Navy Yards and Naval Stations, their construction and main-

tenance, and the supply of timber therefor. There are several Navy Yards and Stations in the country, located at what are supposed to be available points, as at Portsmouth, N. H.; Brooklyn, N. Y.; Philadelphia, Pa.; Boston, Mass.; Washington, D. C.; Norfolk, Va.; Pensacola, Fla.; Mare Island, Cal.; New London, Conn. (N. Station); Port Royal, S. C. (store ships). They were erected for the purpose of building ships of war, but that work has been discontinued at many of them. They are convenient stations and repair-shops, and no longer a reliance for the speedy construction of large and effective war-ships, owing to the cost of properly maintaining them, and the spasmodic demand for their services. The Chief of the Bureau of Yards and Docks ranks as a Captain in the navy.

EQUIPMENT AND RECRUITING.—The Chief of this Bureau ranks as Commodore in the navy. It is the recruiting office of the navy, and attends to the equipment of vessels of war with sails, rigging, anchors, fuel, etc.

NAVIGATION.—The Chief of this Bureau ranks as Commodore. He has a chief clerk and four assistants. The Naval Observatory and Hydrographic Office are in the care of this Bureau, which in addition supplies vessels of war with flags, charts, signals, chronometers, barometers, glasses, etc.

The Naval Observatory just mentioned is the counterpart, in America, of the Greenwich Observatory in England, and arose from the same necessity; to wit, that for accurate astronomical observations and safe computations for the purposes of navigation. The Observatory employs a Superintendent, who ranks as Rear Admiral, and ten assistant professors who rank as naval officers of different grades. It is a finely equipped institution and employs some of the best astronomical observers and calculators in the country. As to astronomical observations its work is the same as that of the numerous collegiate and private observatories throughout the country, but aside from that, its energies are devoted to the tabulation of results, and the turning of discoveries, corrections, and calculations to practical scientific account.

Scarcely less important is the Hydrographic Office, where the

results of surveys, soundings and coast, lake and river observations are engraved, printed and published in map, chart or book form and given out for the use of naval vessels and those of the merchant marine. Its Chief ranks as Captain in the navy. The Nautical Almanac is published from this office.

BUREAU OF ORDNANCE.—The Chief of this Bureau ranks as Commodore in the navy. He has charge of the manufacture of naval ordnance, ammunition, armament for vessels, of arsenals and magazines, the torpedo service and stations, all experiments for testing guns, torpedoes and other naval weapons.

CONSTRUCTION AND REPAIRS.—The Chief of this Bureau ranks as Commodore. He controls all dry-docks, and designs, builds and fits out vessels of war.

STEAM-ENGINEERING.—The Chief ranks as Commodore. He controls the designing, manufacturing and adjusting of all the steam-engines and steam-machinery of war vessels.

PROVISION AND CLOTHING.—The Chief of this Bureau ranks as Commodore. The office supervises the purchase and supply of food and clothing for the navy.

MEDICINE AND SURGERY.—The Chief ranks as Commodore. The Bureau supplies medicines, instruments and medical stores to vessels of war and marine hospitals and accounts for the same.

The Navy, like the Army, has given rise to a set of charitable and educational institutions which are objects of pride on the part of the Department and of great utility. The first of these is the

NAVAL ASYLUM located at Philadelphia. It is a home for old or disabled naval officers, seamen and marines. It operates outside of and distinct from the pension system. Navy pensioners may commute their pensions for places in the Asylum. The applicant must be unable to work and must have served twenty years in the navy. If admitted, the Asylum is his home till death, on condition that he obeys its rules, which are quite rigid. For good conduct one dollar a month is awarded to each sojourner. The institution is presided over by a governor, with navy rank and pay.

NAVAL HOSPITALS.—These are institutions for the temporary treatment of sick and disabled seamen. They are supported by an annual appropriation. There are eighteen Naval Hospitals in the country, located at leading ports or wherever there are naval stations, and one at Yokohama in Japan.

NAVAL ACADEMY.—This Academy, a national institution, is as much a part of the Navy Department as the Military Academy is a part of the War Department. It is located at Annapolis, Md. Its Superintendent always ranks high among naval officers. He is assisted by other officers of the navy and by a corps of professors, who teach seamanship, gunnery, mathematics, engineering, astronomy and navigation, chemistry, physics, modern languages, history, drawing, and whatever will fill out the education of a naval officer, a private engineer or retired gentleman. The pupils come from the Congressional districts and Territories, one from each, with one for the District of Columbia, and ten at large. The President appoints those at large. The Secretary of the Navy, deferring to the recommendation of the member of Congress from a district or delegate from a Territory, appoints those from the districts. Applicants are examined by the Superintendent of the Academy in June and September of each year. In order to pass they must be physically sound, of good moral character, not under fourteen nor over eighteen, and up to the standard in the elementary English branches. If admitted, candidates become cadet-midshipmen, and are not only pupils but inmates of the Academy for a term of six years, to which they must bind themselves to add two years of active service if not discharged. They are paid \$500 a year from time of admission. After their eight years of service and schooling they graduate as Midshipmen in the navy.

There is also a course of studies in, or rather a department of, the Academy devoted to Naval Engineering. It is a four-year course at the Academy and two in a vessel at sea. The pupil in this course is a cadet-engineer. When he graduates he is entitled to a commission as Assistant Engineer in the navy, when there is a vacancy.

U. S. NAVY.—The highest rank in the navy is Admiral, salary, \$13,000; the next, Vice-Admiral, salary, \$9,000. These, like General and Lieutenant-General in the army, are honorary and temporary, and expire with those on whom they were specially conferred. The highest real or working rank is Rear-Admiral, salary, \$6,000. Then comes, in order, Commodore, salary, \$5,000; Captain, \$4,500; Commander, \$3,500; Lieutenant-Commander, \$2,800; Lieutenant, \$2,400; Master, \$1,800; Ensign, \$1,200; Midshipmen, \$1,000. All these salaries are actual duty salaries at sea. They are considerably less for shore duty. The salary of the officers, from Lieutenant-Commander down, increases after a service of five years from date of commission. Pensions and retiracy from service on pay are on the same general plan as prevails in the army. Enlistments in the navy are for not less than three nor more than five years. Minors from fifteen to eighteen may be enlisted till they are twenty-one, with the consent of parents. The total force of officers and men in the navy, in time of peace, or as the laws now stand, cannot exceed 8,250. The navy is governed by a code of sixty articles prescribed by Congress.

MARINE CORPS.—This very useful arm of the service is a nondescript. It is a body of enlisted men, not exceeding 2,500 in number, who are officered and disciplined according to army rules and tactics, who do regular military duty at United States arsenals and naval stations, but who may be detailed for active service on board war vessels. They have proved excellent for policing and garrison purposes, and the complement of them assigned to ships during actual war have enabled victorious vessels to hold captured places permanently without the constant menace of heavy guns.

THE NEW NAVY.—The close of the war of the Rebellion found the United States in possession of a strong navy. But it was one which had been hastily improvised for coast and river purposes. It might have been strong for defensive operations in case of foreign attack, but it would have been exceedingly weak for offensive operations. Many of the vessels were merely merchantmen transformed into men-of-war; others were clumsily

constructed for special kinds of service; a few were protected with armor plates; very few, indeed, embraced those qualities of speed, strength and modern equipment requisite for ocean warfare.

Therefore the navy, like the army, speedily resolved itself into the elements whence it sprang, and there was little of it left. It may be said that the navy of the United States was weaker, from 1866 to 1880, than at any period in our history. Even if this be not true as to the number and rank of war vessels, it was certainly true in a relative sense, for that period had witnessed a wonderful growth in the navies of European countries. Wooden ships had given way to iron ships, and smaller ships to those of huge proportions. The day of the unprotected vessel had passed, and armor of great thickness and power of resistance had come into general use. A rate of speed had been attained which would place any ordinary vessel at the mercy of these ocean monsters. Guns of formidable calibre found their place upon deck or in impenetrable turrets, and their range and weight of missile were something fearful to contemplate. In comparison with these mighty, swift and ominous structures, the war ships of the United States were as cockle-shells.

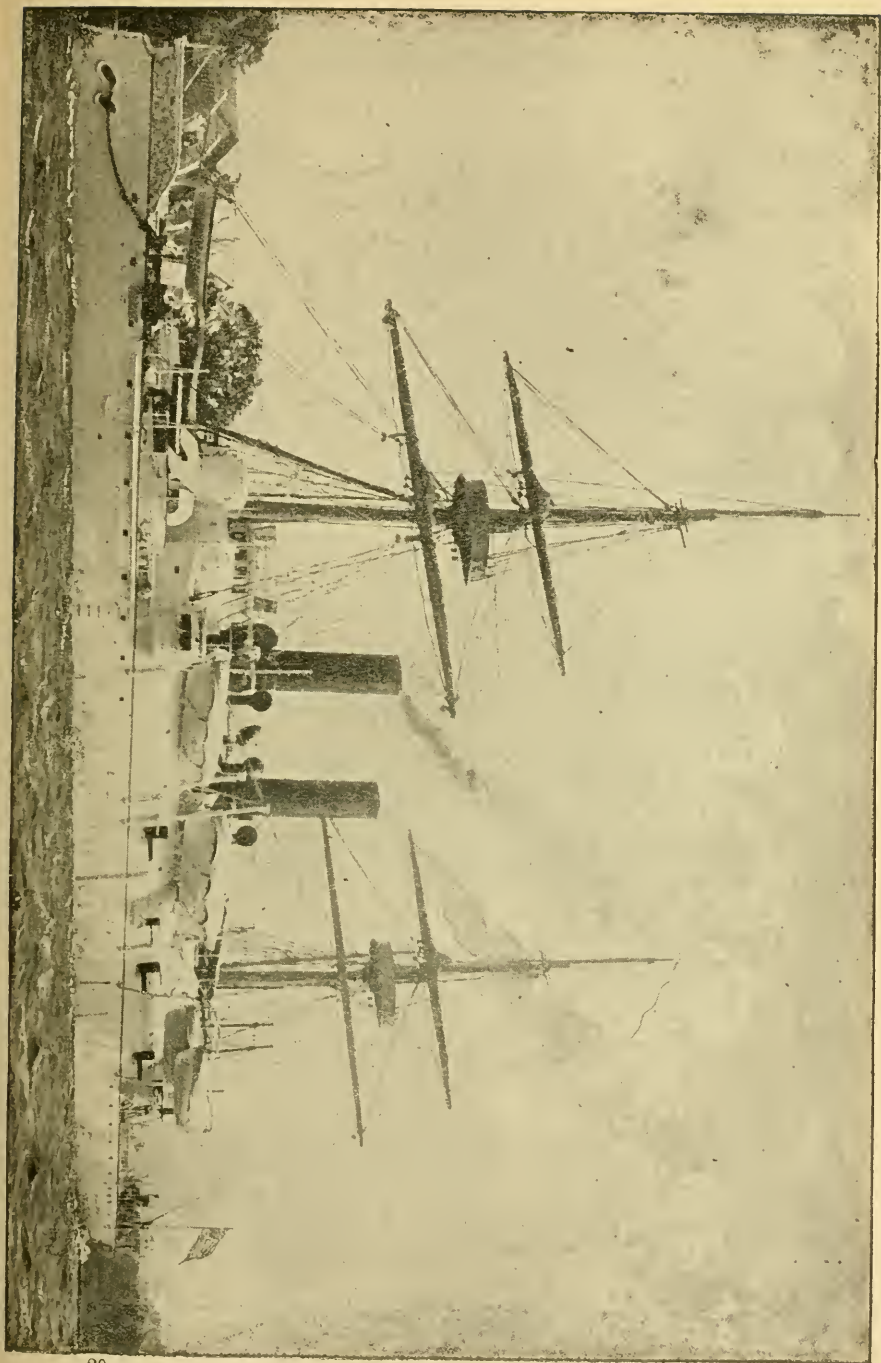
For years there was a decided sentiment against a revived American navy, both through lack of national pride and for economic reasons. But by 1880 there came a change of sentiment. It was seen that in case of war with a foreign nation, possessing a modernly constructed navy this country would be placed at a great disadvantage. With the revival of the commercial idea, the need of better ocean protection than our ancient hulks could afford became apparent. In all cases of foreign complications it was manifest that those countries which supported their positions and arguments upon the decks, or in the presence, of their formidable battle ships, always got the best of us in diplomacy. Our national pride suffered through lack of ships to bear our flag, and expand our importance, among other nations. The advantages of a naval school, or cult, were fading out; our officers were becoming idlers, and the stuff of which heroic seamen are made was wasting.

The messages of Presidents Garfield and Arthur rang with arguments, requests and admonitions respecting a new naval policy. To the imperative need of modern vessels they added the logic of opportunity, there being a large surplus in the Treasury available for the construction of desirable vessels, if Congress would so order it.

In 1881 William H. Hunt, then Secretary of the Navy, secured the appointment of a naval advisory board whose duty it was to report upon the necessity for replacing the old worn-out and unseaworthy crafts with ships of more modern design.

Rear-Admiral John Rodgers was president of the board which assembled in June, 1881. It determined, first, the number of vessels which should now be built; second, their class, size and displacements; third, the material and form of construction; fourth, the nature and size of the engines and machinery required for each; fifth, the ordnance and armament necessary for each; sixth, the appropriate equipment and rigging for each; seventh, the internal arrangements of each, and such other details as might seem to be necessary and proper; eighth, the probable cost of the whole of each vessel when complete and ready for service. The board submitted a report in November following, upon which was based the construction of the first batch of steel cruisers.

The board recommended that seventy vessels of all classes be built as rapidly as possible. A storm of adverse criticism was the result, and Secretary Chandler, succeeding Secretary Hunt, was forced to convene a second board. The recommendation of this advisory board included the building of the four steel vessels which are now in commission—the Chicago, Boston, Atlanta, and Dolphin. The acts which authorized the building of these ships, the nucleus of the new navy, bear date of August 5, 1882, and March 3, 1883. The contracts were taken for all four of the vessels by John Roach & Sons in July, 1883. The appropriations for these four vessels had been obtained with difficulty owing to the opposition of Southern and Western members. The designs of the vessels, the material and the workmen, were to be American.



Just here it is well to know something of the plan and style of the new navy. Study had been made of the modern naval systems of other powers and of our own needs. It was decided that the new American navy should embrace three general groups of vessels: First, those which came under the head of "Ocean Cruisers;" second, "Battle Ships;" third, "Coast Defenders." To these were added a fourth system of smaller vessels, such as torpedo boats, rams, etc.

The "Cruiser" is, as its name implies, a swiftly moving, powerfully armed vessel, with immense coal capacity for long voyages.

The "Battle Ship" is equally swift and strong, and may be effective for ocean warfare or coast defence.

The "Coast Defender" is also large, very strong, powerfully armed, and of lighter draft than the foregoing.

But the Secretaries of War, in their reports, group the naval vessels as follows:

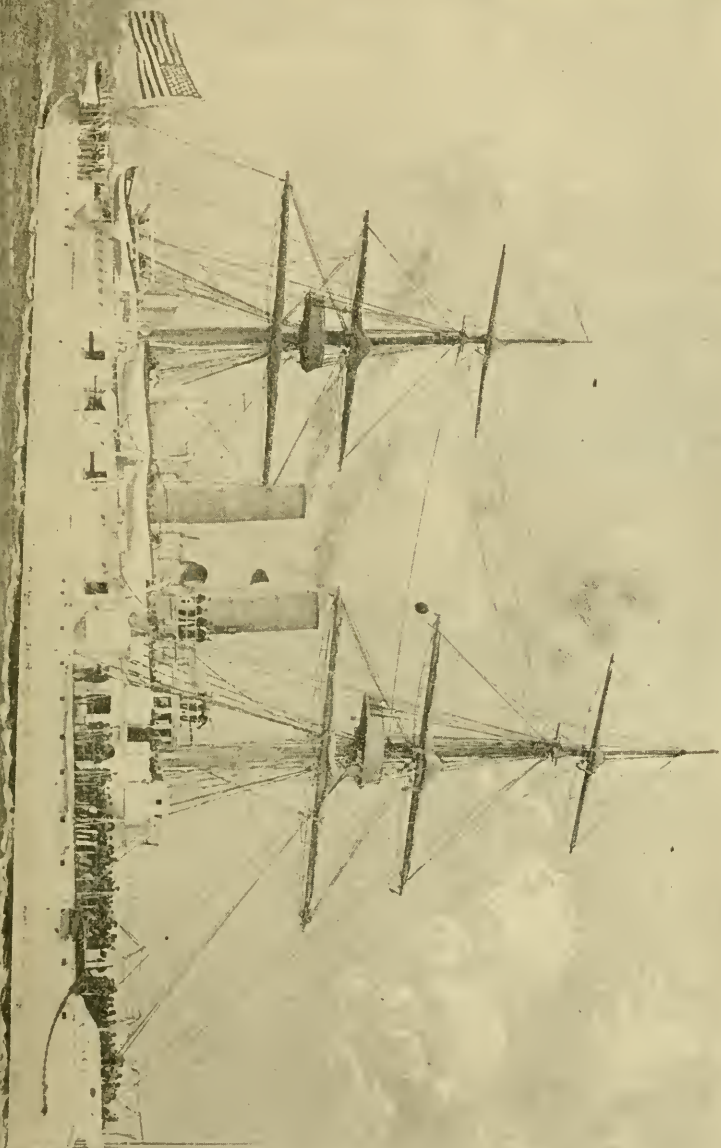
- (1) Armored vessels.
- (2) Single turret monitors (iron).
- (3) Unarmored steel vessels.
- (4) Iron and wooden steam vessels.
- (5) Vessels unfit for service (of whatever material).

Three of the four ships, ordered and contracted for in 1882, were of the type of unarmored but protected steel cruisers. They were named the *Chicago*, *Boston*, *Atlanta* and *Dolphin*. The keels of all were laid in 1883.

The *Chicago* was 325 feet long, 48 feet across the beam, with a draft of 19 feet, and a displacement of 4500 tons. She had a twin screw, compound-overhead beam, 5084 horse-power, main and secondary batteries of guns, and steamed 15.33 knots an hour.

The *Boston* was 270 feet long, 42 feet breadth of beam, 17 feet draft, 3189 tons displacement, 4030 horse-power, twin-screwed, 15.6 knots velocity per hour, and had main and secondary batteries of powerful guns.

The *Atlanta* was 270 feet long, 42 feet breadth of beam, 17 feet draft, and in all other respects the counterpart of the *Boston*.



ATLANTA

The *Dolphin* was a swift dispatch boat, protected and heavily armed, 240 feet long, 32 feet across the beam, 14 feet draft, 1485 tons displacement, with a single screw, and a velocity of 15.5 knots per hour.

The construction of these vessels proved to be a commitment to the policy of a new navy. When the Cleveland administration came into power in 1884, the policy seemed to be threatened for a time by his Secretary of the Navy, Whitney, who took exception to American designs and methods, and sent abroad for models. But after becoming satisfied that American designs and engineers were the equal, if not the superior, of the English, he entered heartily into the ship-building policies of his predecessors, Hunt and Chandler.

This policy was actively continued by Secretary of Navy Tracy under the Harrison administration. New types were found and introduced, or old ones remoulded as their imperfections appeared. Greater speed and coal capacity were sought and found. The power to protect and attack was combined more closely than before in the battle ships. Numerous contracts for these improved vessels were made with competent builders, and, as each year now witnessed the launching of one or more completed structure, the growth of the new navy was more rapid than at any time in our history. From 1883 to 1892 the following vessels passed into commission, and became a part of the modern American navy:

Name.	Keel laid.	Length.	Breadth.	Displace- ment.	Contract price.
Chicago.....	1883	315	48	4,500	\$889,000
Boston.....	1883	270 $\frac{1}{4}$	42	3,189	619,000
Atlanta.....	1883	270 $\frac{1}{4}$	42	3,189	617,000
Dolphin.....	1883	240	32	1,485	315,000
Yorktown.....	1887	230	26	1,700	455,000
Vesuvius.....	1887	246 $\frac{1}{4}$	246 5-12	900	350,000
Baltimore.....	1887	315	48 $\frac{1}{2}$	4,413	1,325,000
Petrel.....	1887	175	31	890	247,000
Charleston.....	1887	300	46	3,730	1,017,000
Philadelphia.....	1888	315	48 $\frac{1}{2}$	4,324	1,350,000
San Francisco.....	1888	310	49 $\frac{1}{2}$	4,083	1,428,000
Newark.....	1887	310	49 $\frac{1}{2}$	4,083	1,248,000
Cushing.....	1889	139	14 5-6	116	82,750
Concord.....	1887	230	36	1,700	490,000
Bennington.....	1888	230	36	1,700	490,000
Miantonomah.....	1874	290	60	3,900	.....
Stiletto.....		88 $\frac{1}{2}$	11	70	25,000



DOLPHIN.



MIANTONOMOH.

Following the types of vessels for the New American Navy already completed or under contract, as laid down by the Secretary of the Navy, the following is the showing:—

ARMORED VESSELS.

Puritan—Coast defense monitor; two steel barbette turrets; length 289 ft. 6 in.; draft 18 ft.; displacement 6,060 tons; horse power 3,700; twin screw; speed 12.4 knots; main and secondary batteries; 14 inch armor.

Miantonomoh—Coast defense monitor; two compound armor turrets; length 259 ft. 6 in.; draft 14 ft. 6 in.; displacement 3,990 tons; horse power 1,426; twin screw; speed 10.5 knots; main and secondary batteries; 7 inch armor.

Amphitrite—Coast defense monitor; two steel barbette turrets; length 259 ft. 6 in.; draft 14 ft. 6 in.; displacement 3,990 tons; horse power 1,600; twin screw; speed 12 knots; main and secondary batteries; 9 in. armor.

Monadnock—Uniform with *Amphitrite*, except horse power which is 3,000.

Terror—Same as *Amphitrite*.

Texas—Steel armored battle ship; two turrets; length 301 ft. 4 in.; draft 22 ft. 6 in.; displacement 6,300 tons; horse power 8,600; twin screw; speed 17 knots; main and secondary batteries; 12 in. armor; cost \$2,500,000.

Maine—Steel armored cruiser; two steel barbette turrets; length 318 ft.; displacement 6,448 tons; horse power 9,000; twin screw; speed 17 knots; armor 12 in.; cost \$2,500,000.

Monterey—Steel coast defender; two steel barbette turrets; length 256 ft.; displacement 4,138 tons; horse power 5,400; with screw; speed 16 knots; 12 in. armor; cost \$1,628,950.

New York—Steel armored cruiser; two steel barbette turrets; length 380 ft. 6½ in.; displacement 8,150 tons; horse power 16,500; twin screws; speed 20 knots; main and secondary batteries; armor 4, 7 and 10 in.; cost \$2,985,000.

Cruiser No. 1—A steel harbor defense ram; length 250 ft. 9 in.; displacement 2,183 tons; horse power 4,800; twin screw; speed 17 knots; main and secondary batteries; cost \$930,000.

Massachusetts—Steel coast line battle ship; two barbette

turrets; length 348 ft.; displacement 10,200 tons; horse power 9,000; twin screws; speed 15 knots; main and secondary batteries; armor 18 in.; cost \$3,020,000.

Indiana—Uniform with *Massachusetts*.

Oregon—Uniform with *Massachusetts* and *Indiana*.

SINGLE TURRET MONITORS (IRON).

This class of vessels was an outcrop of the war of the Rebellion. They run from 200 to 225 feet in length, have a draft of from 11 to 13 feet: a displacement of 1,800 to 2,100 tons; a horse power of 340; single screws; a velocity of from 5 to 6 knots; main batteries in single turrets; cost \$408,000 to \$635,000. They are, without exception, laid up in ordinary, as of no use, except during actual hostilities. They are the *Ajax*, *Comanche*, *Canonicus*, *Catskill*, *Jason*, *Lehigh*, *Mahopac*, *Manhattan*, *Montauk*, *Nahant*, *Nantucket*, *Passaic*, and *Wyandotte*.

UNARMORED STEEL VESSELS.

The word *unarmored* must not prove misleading. The steel vessels are, in a certain sense, a protection to themselves. Yet they are, or nearly all, effectually and specially protected by thick plates at vital points. This class embraces the largest number of new vessels in the American navy, the most modern vessels, the largest and most powerful, the most efficient for offensive and defensive purposes. "The Cruisers," for the most part fall into this class. Being the newest and most advanced class, many of the vessels are still under process of construction. Their completion will give the American navy a proud position among the navies of the world.

To this class belong the *Chicago*, *Boston*, *Atlanta* and *Dolphin*, already mentioned. This class embraces four different styles of craft. The first is the "Protected Cruiser" vessel. They range all the way from 257 to 412 feet in length, Cruisers No. 12 and 13 being the longest; in speed from 17 to 21 knots, Cruisers No. 12 and 13 being the swiftest; in displacement from 2,000 to 7,350 tons, Cruisers No. 12 and 13 being the largest; in horse power from 5,400 to 21,000, Cruisers No. 12 and 13 being 21,000, and none of the others exceeding 13,500; they are all twin screws;

and all have main and secondary batteries, of the most powerful guns. They are the *Newark*, whose cost of hull and machinery is \$1,248,000; *Charleston*, \$1,017,000; *Baltimore*, \$1,325,000; *San Francisco*, \$1,428,000; *Philadelphia*, \$1,325,000; *Cruiser No. 6*, \$1,796,000; *Cincinnati*, \$1,100,000; *Raleigh*, \$1,100,000; *Cruiser No. 9*, \$612,500; *Cruiser No. 10*, \$612,500; *Cruiser No. 11*, \$674,000; *Cruiser No. 12*, \$2,725,000; *Cruiser No. 13*, \$2,690,000.

To the class of "Unarmored Steel Vessels" belong also the formidable "Gunboats," ranging in length from 176 to 230 feet; with displacements of from 800 to 1,700 tons; tonnages of from 1,000 to 3,436; twin screws, and speed of from 11 to 17 knots. These are the *Yorktown*, *Concord*, *Bennington*, *Petrel*, No. 5 and No. 6.

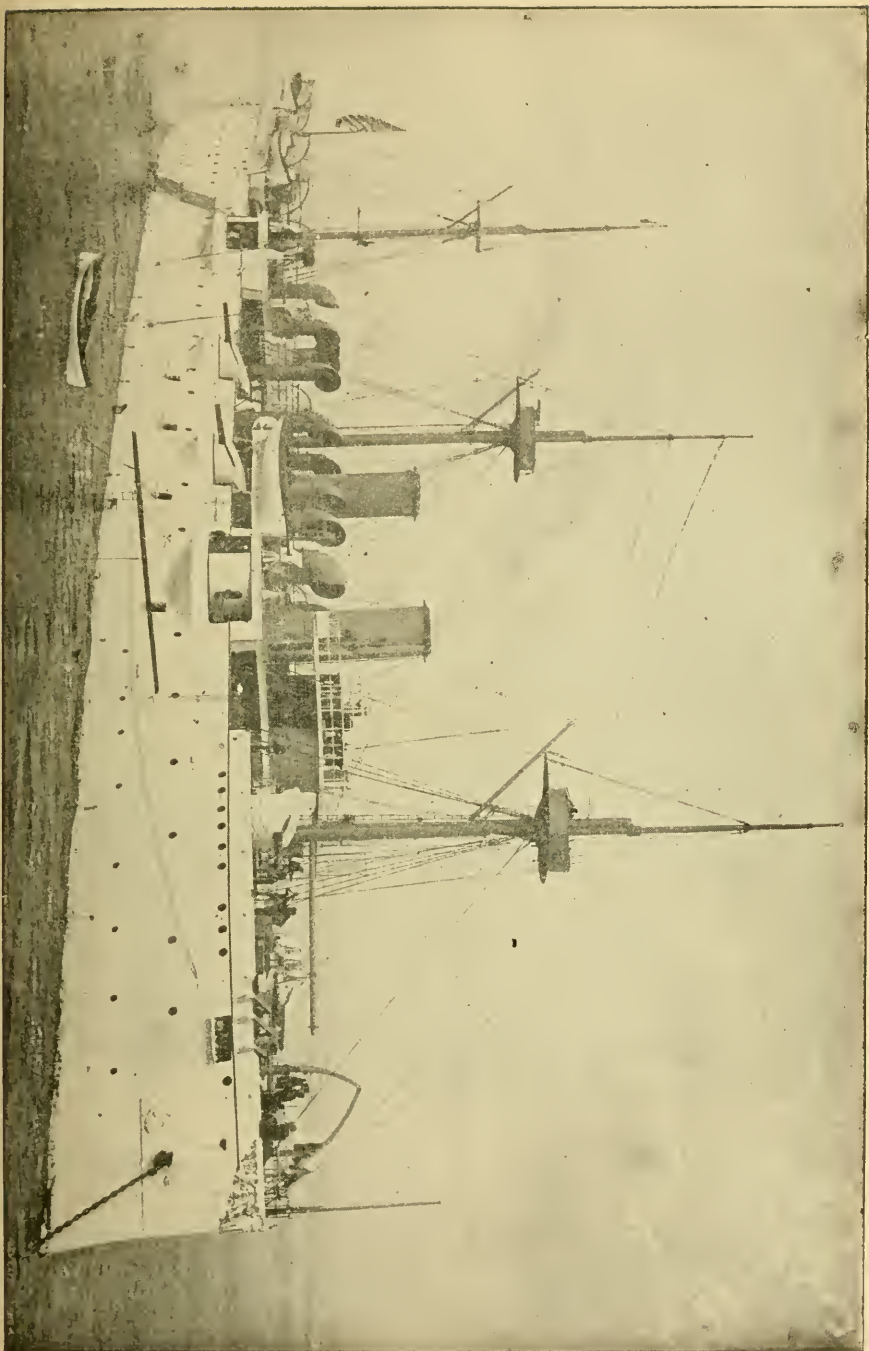
There is also a "Special Class" of unarmored steel vessels, embracing the "Pacific Cruiser" for naval cadets, the *Vesuvius*, a dynamite cruiser, of peculiar construction, *Dynamite Cruiser No. 2*, and a *Torpedo Cruiser*, all formidable for defensive operations.

In addition there are "Torpedo Boats," of small build, and for special attack. They are the *Stiletto*, *Cushing* and *Torpedo Boat No. 2*.

The next class of vessels as laid down by the Secretary of the Navy is that of

IRON AND WOODEN STEAM VESSELS.

This class embraces the ships of the old navy. The keels of some were laid as far back as 1858. Many of them have been overhauled and adapted for modern purposes. Several of them have seen hard and honored service, and their names are historic. Formidable as they were in their time, they are now engaged in a service which is tame, and which would be considered safe, in case of war. They represent the output of the national navy yards, when it was thought that the government could build better and cheaper than the plants under private control. This class embraces Barks, Schooners, Barkentines, and Ships. The "Iron vessels" of this class are the Barks *Ranger* and *Alert*;



PHILADELPHIA.

the Barkentine *Michigan*; the Schooners *Monocacy*, *Palos*, *Pinta* and *Alarm*.

Of the "wooden vessels" of this class are the Ships *Lancaster*, *Pensacola*, *Richmond*, *Swatara*, *Iroquois*; the Barks *Omaha*, *Marion*, *Mohican*, *Kearsarge*, *Adams*, *Alliance*, *Essex*, *Enterprise*, *Nipsic*, *Yantic* and *Thetis*; the Schooners *Talapoosa* and *Dispatch*.

None of this class have a speed of over 11 knots an hour, but all are strongly armed. The largest of all has a displacement of 3,000 tons and the smallest 420 tons.

There are still enough of wooden sailing vessels in our navy to make a class known as

WOODEN SAILING VESSELS.

This class is being sold off year by year, and is fast becoming extinct. Those still in existence are the *Constellation*, used as a practice ship at the Naval Academy, Annapolis; the *Monongahela*, *Portsmouth* and *Jamestown*, used as a training squadron; and the *Saratoga* and *St. Mary's*, used as nautical school ships.

The class of

STEEL, IRON AND WOODEN STEAM TUGS

embraces fourteen vessels of small dimensions, and adapted for special purposes.

Then there is a class of antiquated and unfit vessels, designated as

VESSELS UNFIT FOR SEA SERVICE.

This class represents the expiring navy, in the sense of absolute inutility. Two of them, the *Intrepid* and *Speedwell*, are iron steamers; four, the *Hartford*, *Franklin*, *Wabash* and *Minnesota*, are wooden steamers; six, the *Constitution*, *Independence*, *St. Louis*, *Dale*, *New Hampshire* and *Vermont*, are sailing vessels.

The policy of the government as to the "new navy" was clearly outlined in the Report of Secretary B. F. Tracy for 1891. Whether this policy shall continue remains to be seen; but certainly his outline of it should have great weight with those disposed to interfere with it, and with all who are of a thinking turn. It is more as an historic summary of a situation than as

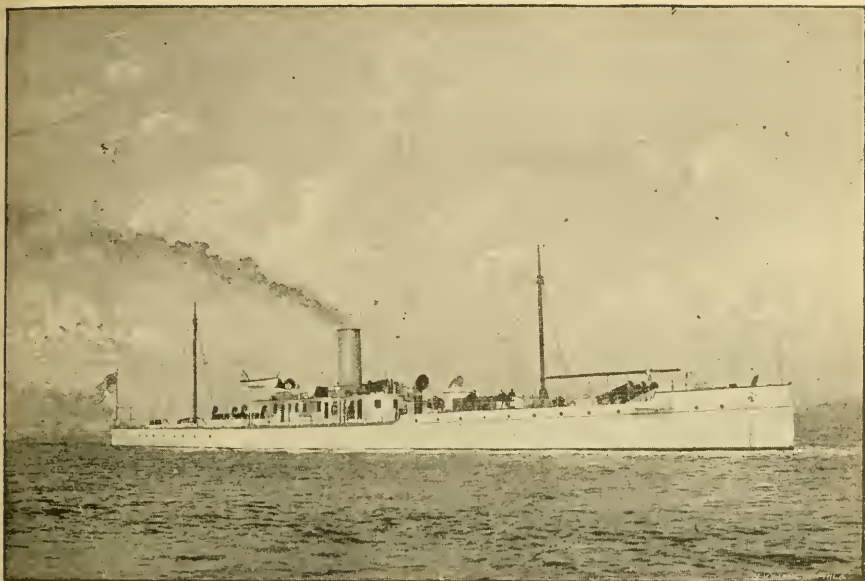


an argument, in support of official views, that it finds a place here. He says:

"The old wooden ships of the navy have now practically passed out of existence. They no longer count even as a nominal factor in naval defense. The sole reliance of the United States to-day for the protection of its exposed seaboard is the new fleet. This has advanced slowly, but its development has been sure. It is a novel branch of industry, but there have been no failures thus far, and the outlook for the ships still in progress is satisfactory. It may fairly be claimed for the work of reconstruction in the future that it will not fall behind the measure of success attained up to the present time.

"The course of events during the past year has shown anew the necessity of continuing the development of the navy. The demands upon it have been constant, and they are constantly growing. The rapid extension of commercial relations has doubled the importance of our interests, especially in the Pacific. It was said a few years ago by a keen foreign observer: 'Some day or other there will be a great rivalry of three or four nations in the Pacific for the commerce of those seas, and the country which has cultivated its strength with a view to that contingency will carry off a chief part of the prize.' The rivalry has already begun, and the signs are evident on every hand of sharp competition.

"It is apparent that the mercantile competitors of this country are to-day enlarging their fields of activity with a more aggressive energy than ever before. No one can fail to observe the indications of a systematic effort to take advantage of the disturbed conditions now prevailing in many of the smaller States. In this movement naval ascendancy plays a large part. The consequences are not far to seek. The establishment of complete commercial supremacy by a European power in any State of the Western Hemisphere means the exclusion of American influence and the virtual destruction, as far as that State is concerned, of independent existence. With the great maritime powers it is only a step from commercial control to territorial control.



VESUVIUS.



CUSHING.

"If that most important agency in the commercial development of the United States, the Nicaragua Canal, were completed, the strategic situation would be largely modified. At the present time the two seaboard are so remote that each requires its separate system of naval defense. Each has its vulnerable points, and each has neighbors that are well prepared for offensive movements. There is a circle of insular fortresses facing our Atlantic seaboard, the sole object of whose existence is to maintain naval outposts at our doors. There are States in the Pacific, and not large States either, whose fleets are more powerful than any force that we could readily bring to meet them. To protect either seaboard, even when our present authorized fleet is completed, will involve stripping the other at a critical moment.

"I believe that public opinion in the United States desires to see this country provided with an efficient naval protection. The press, which represents the best intelligence of the country, speaks on the subject with clearness and emphasis. It believes, and the country believes with it, that this protection is an obligation upon the national government. It does not believe that cities like San Francisco, Seattle and Tacoma should be open to the attacks of a third-rate power, whose ships, by a sudden movement, may enforce contributions that would pay in advance the expense of a war. If any one believes that such rapidity of movement is impossible, let him recall the circumstances under which the *Esmeralda* appeared in April last, without warning, close to the Californian coast, sending on the *Itata* to San Diego. As little does public opinion believe that the commercial seaports of the Gulf and the Atlantic should be unprotected from attack by any nation whose fortified harbors and fully-equipped naval dockyards are within forty-eight hours' steaming.

"But it is not the seacoast States alone that have a direct interest in naval efficiency. The prosperity of the whole interior depends upon the uninterrupted supply of the demands of a foreign market. If, when war comes, we are not in a position to protect the transportation of our food products, the foreign market will be closed. By the blockade of such great outlets as Galveston, New Orleans, and Mobile in the Gulf, and the Ches-

apeake and Delaware and New York on the Atlantic, the great industry of the interior will be paralyzed.

"It was well said by a former Secretary of the Navy, Hon. J. C. Dobbin, of North Carolina, as long ago as 1854:

"'But who are interested in the navy? It is not merely the citizen whose lot is cast along the coast, the wealthy merchant in our cities, the speculator in floating merchandise, but merchants, mechanics, planters, our countrymen all along the coast, up our rivers, beyond our mountains. The agricultural interest is as much benefited and protected by the navy as any other. Every planter in every section is not more truly protected by the inclosure around his farm than by our "wooden walls" which float around our coast.'

"But it is repeatedly said that the United States should avoid war. This is a proposition to which every right-minded citizen must assent. No principle is more firmly established in our national policy, and the Federal officer who would involve this country in a causeless war would be a traitor to his trust. But war does not require the agreement of both parties; it may come upon us without our consent, and even against our will. If a hostile fleet should attack San Francisco to-morrow, war would exist as a fact, although it had not been declared by legislative enactment.

"Even if it were impossible to involve this country in war without its consent, there are situations in which that consent would be given by a unanimous popular voice. There are outrages which cannot go unredressed; there are injuries to which no nation can afford to submit. Against such injuries the surest preventive is a strong national defense. To refer again to the words of the statesman whom I have just quoted:

"'Weakness invites aggression, and never inspires respect; while acknowledged strength and visible preparation command consideration, and are the true safeguards of peace.'

"There are elements of danger at all times for American interests, and at any moment these elements may be rendered tenfold more active by a European war.

"Our situation as a commercial neutral between these mighty

contestants, to some of whom our exports of beef and pork and grain and cotton will be a necessity, while to others they will become a main object of attack, is one for which we must make an adequate provision beforehand. The disastrous consequences of our position in 1805-1812, as an unarmed neutral between two unscrupulous belligerents, are well known. The direct losses alone, to say nothing of the indirect injuries, sustained by our merchants during that period amounted to a sum that would have built a navy sufficient to have swept the ships of either one of our aggressors from the ocean. As was stated by the President of the United States more than fifty years ago :

“ ‘The history of the late wars in Europe furnishes a complete demonstration that no system of conduct, however correct in principle, can protect neutral powers from injury from any party ; that a defenseless position and a distinguished love of peace are the surest invitations to war ; and that there is no way to avoid it other than by being always prepared and willing, for a just cause, to meet it.’

“After considering carefully the additions that have been hitherto made to the Navy, and its future necessities, the Department has reached the conclusion that there should be no departure from the policy pursued up to this time of building large armored vessels. Ships of the type of the *Indiana*, now under construction, are undoubtedly the most powerful element of protection that this country can possess.

“The main batteries of these ships, which form their most characteristic feature, throw at a single discharge a weight of projectiles of 6,800 pounds, or over 3 tons, with a total energy of 210,000 foot tons ; and the energy of the projectile from the 13-inch gun is sufficient to perforate 22 inches of steel at a distance of 1 mile. Their secondary batteries, comprising sixteen 6-pounders and four 1-pounders, discharge 330 projectiles per minute. In addition to her guns, each ship will have torpedo tubes so arranged as to give an all-round fire for the discharge of 18-inch torpedoes, each of which is charged with 250 pounds of a powerful explosive.

“It is only by the possession of ships of this type that the

defensive strength of the United States can really be measured. We may have many medium-sized cruisers of 4,500 tons or below, which perform useful service in time of peace in carrying the flag about the world, which give practical training to officers and men, and which perform important auxiliary service in war. But when opposed to armored ships these vessels cannot be counted as an element of force. If it is conceded that we require a navy strong enough to resist an attack of any state possessing two modern sea-going armored vessels—and there are many such states that in every other respect are far behind this country—we must have a sufficient number of ships of this type ready to meet them on either coast. Three such ships, the number that we have provided for up to the present time, are not enough to fulfil even this moderate requirement.

“The success which has attended the development of the plans of the three ships of this type, now in process of construction, and the favorable recognition which the designs have universally received, both in this country and in Europe, justify the Department in urging that naval construction should continue upon substantially the same line. The efficiency of the type is beyond question. The cost of the ships, although considerable, is not great for the service they render. It would certainly be poor economy to build in their place second-class armored vessels of the type of the *Maine* and the *Texas*, for example, which, though excellent ships for their size, are not large enough to accomplish the true object of a heavily armored vessel.

“The Department also recommends the early construction of a large armored cruiser, similar in general design to the *New York*. This magnificent vessel, whose functions cover a far wider range than those of an ordinary cruiser, presents an extraordinary combination of great coal endurance, high speed and efficient armor protection. When to this combination is added a main battery of six 8-inch rifles, and twelve heavy rapid fire guns, she becomes one of the most formidable vessels in our own or any other navy, and one that can be brought into use for any kind of service. With the exception of the three ships of the *Indiana*

class, she is the most important element of defensive strength which this country now possesses.

"The tendency of naval construction all over the world, at the present time, in the matter of cruisers, is toward the construction of large vessels. This is caused by the necessity of uniting in a single vessel a battery composed of high-power guns of at least 8-inch calibre, associated with numerous rapid-fire guns; protection in the form of either vertical side armor or a protective deck, or both (as in the *New York*), sufficiently heavy at least to withstand the attack of the rapid fire battery of an adversary; high speed; and, finally, great coal endurance.

"Russia leads the way with the huge armored cruiser *Ruric*, of 11,000 tons displacement. England is now completing the *Blake* and the *Blenheim*, of 9,000 tons, and nine cruisers of the *Edgar* class, of 7,500 tons. France is building the *Dupuy de Lome*, of 6,300 tons. Germany has in course of construction the vessel known as cruiser 'H,' of 6,000 tons, and it is reported that seven more of this latter type are contemplated. Finally, Spain has ordered six armored cruisers, the first three of 6,900 tons, now approaching completion, while the fourth has been increased to 9,200 tons, and the remaining two will probably be of similar displacement. While comparisons between these vessels would be invidious, it may be stated broadly that in none of these instances has the displacement fallen appreciably below 8,000 tons without a departure to a greater or less extent, from the high standard of requirements laid down.

"Passing from the class of vessels represented by the *New York*, in which the highest efficiency of the cruiser type is reached—in fact, which may be considered the best all-round vessel of any type—it appears that the construction of smaller cruisers or gunboats, of 3,000 tons displacement and less, carrying a heavy battery, but few or no rapid-fire guns, with a light protective deck, moderate speed and small coal endurance, has ceased entirely. In the few vessels of this size that are being designed at present a battery composed entirely of rapid-fire guns of from 4 to 6 inch calibre is the essential feature, and this is combined with high speed. Whether an adequate coal endurance

can be obtained in vessels of this size is not fully settled, and it is clear that they can have but little protection. Until this type is more fully developed and further information is gained as to its efficiency, the Department would not recommend an advance in this direction.

"There is, however, a class of small vessels capable of performing successfully many of the duties now required of gunboats, which are known as torpedo cruisers. The characteristics of the torpedo cruiser are well defined: Small size (about 800 to 1,000 tons), light draft, a speed of 22 knots, adequate coal capacity, rapid-fire guns, and a powerful torpedo armament. It combines the ability to keep the sea of the gunboat, with the speed and formidable armament of the first-class torpedo boat. It has many functions. Acting independently it is a seagoing torpedo boat, a commerce destroyer, or a blockade runner, and can destroy an enemy's torpedo boats, and in blockades its presence is indispensable. In action its duty is to destroy an enemy's torpedo boats, to serve as the support of a torpedo boat flotilla, and to act as a torpedo boat itself. This is the type of vessel that the Department would propose to build should Congress adopt its recommendation to increase the limit of cost in the vessel authorized by the act of June 30, 1890; and such a vessel would be a valuable addition to the naval force."

But the new American Navy must not be judged alone by its appearance on water in the shape of swift cruisers, formidable battle ships and dangerous torpedo boats. There has been a revival all around, and in no respect has the change been more startling than in the progress respecting ordnance, projectiles, powder, and ship manœuvring. The old-fashioned muzzle-loading cannon has given place to the steel gun. In January, 1892, was shipped across the continent in a specially constructed car a steel gun for the coast defence vessel *Monterey*. The gun weighed 101,300 pounds. It was 36.8 feet long and 5 feet through. Its chamber was 6 ft. 2 in. deep and 14 ft. 6 in. in diameter. It required 430 pounds of powder to fire its 860 pound projectile, a velocity of 1,941 feet per second. The

great gun of the *Kearsarge* which sunk the *Alabama*, in 1864, weighed 15,750 pounds, and carried a projectile weighing 140 pounds.

The same improvement is noticeable when machinery is considered. For many years in war ships no other than the horizontal engines for screw vessels was used, on account of the necessity for the most complete protection involved, and on this account the efficiency of the machinery arrangement was considerably reduced. Within a comparatively few years, however, ingenuity and skill have triumphed over this difficulty, it having been found possible to sufficiently protect the cylinders of vertical engines from danger by projectiles, and this type of engine has in all such cases invariably been thus fitted. The advantages gained by the use of the vertical engine instead of the horizontal are very considerable, the engine working far more smoothly, wearing more evenly, and all parts being much more accessible for inspection.

But the greatest revolution in all the range of modern warfare has been in the armor plate for battle ships and cruisers, and the use of gunpowder, known as smokeless powder, for small arms. In armor plates, the protecting belts or zones of steel which shield the most vulnerable and valuable portion of a battle ship, the nickel steel plates manufactured in the United States have come to be recognized as the most perfect. On Nov. 14, 1891, there was a test of steel armor at the Indian Head grounds.

It was then fully shown that the nickel steel plates, or, as they are technically known, the high carbon nickel steel untreated, sustained the shock of contact the best and were therefore the best suited for protected cruisers and ships of the line. The peculiarity of this class of modern armor plate is that it presents pretty much the same features that a slab of soft putty would when struck by a marble from a slingshot in a boy's hands.

The use of cellulose in warships as a protection against the inflow of water through shot holes in the hull has become general, as a rule, throughout the world. The United States Govern-

ment has adopted it as a valuable auxiliary to the system of armor plating.

Cellulose, as is generally known, is made from the husks of cocoanuts, and has the property of rapidly absorbing water and therewith swelling to fill up a hole which may be made through it. Its discovery, like many others of equal moment, was accidental. It came about while a French officer was engaged at target practice on a Pacific island, the target being a hillock thickly covered with cocoanut husks.

The cruiser of to-day is a floating fort and palace combined. Its ward-rooms and cabins are luxuriously appointed. The vessel throughout is lighted by electricity, heated by steam, and carries search-lights of 25,000-candle power. Experiments are being made with a view to introducing telephones on board the vessels of the new navy. Plumbing, ventilation, sanitary appliances of every kind have been introduced.

The seamen of the new navy are not, however, the sailors the men of the navy in the past were. The modern warships are almost totally mastless and sailless creations. The masts are not used alone for the few sails, but coigns of vantage on which are bullet-proof shelters, in which are located the machine guns, those death-dealing deck-rakers which play havoc with the crew of an enemy. The Gatling gun is in use on our war vessels for fighting from aloft. These pieces, which can discharge, when required, 1200 shots a minute, are intended to disable or kill the enemy's crew. Rapid-fire guns are not of this class. They are used to defend battle ships from the rapidly-moving torpedo boats. A rapid-fire armor penetrating gun is a necessity, and the development of this arm of warfare has progressed so far that the largest of these pieces is six inches in calibre, is fired with thirty-eight pounds of powder, a projectile weighing 100 pounds and at the rate of six aimed shots a minute.

The duties of a seaman in the new navy is a great contrast to the life led by old salts when our navy was not sixth on the list of navies of the world. The grog allowance, keel-hauling, flogging plain and flogging around the fleet, the sweat-room and such brutalities and barbarities have disappeared. Punishment

consists of imprisonment, bread and water diet, extra utiesd, cutting off shore leave, etc.

But a little while before one of the most eminent of Great Britain's naval designers, Mr. J. H. Biles, a member of the Council of the Institute of Naval Architects of England, wrote as follows:

"The American war ships are quite equal to the best of England.

"No. 12 cruiser is, however, the most important of the cruisers. She is called a commerce destroyer, and is popularly known as the *Pirate*. The building of such a ship, which we have nothing to cope with, certainly is an indication of what America is capable of, both in conception and construction; and I have thought it of sufficient interest to lay it before the institute for consideration and discussion.

"The armament of the three battle ships seems to be more powerful than that of any European battle ships. They are distinctly superior, in most respects, to any European vessels of the same displacement."

The time is past when American citizens need to bow their heads, or blush with shame, because the navy of the United States was sneeringly alluded to as a flotilla of wooden tubs. It is to-day a splendid squadron, capable of meeting and defeating—cruiser for cruiser, gunboat for gunboat—the finest and costliest of the floating forts of any nation in the world.

The new navy is only in its infancy. Speculation as to what it will be, the position it will occupy among the navies of the world twenty-five years hence, is most interesting to those who have been observers of the progress of the United States in this direction during the past eleven years.

SECRETARIES OF NAVY.

Name.	Appointed.	Name.	Appointed.
George Cabot, Mass.	May 3, 1798	Smith Thompson, N. Y. . . .	Nov. 9, 1818
Benjamin Stoddert, Mass. .	May 21, 1798	John Rogers, Mass.	Sept. 1, 1823
Robert Smith, Md.	July 15, 1801	Samuel L. Southard, N. J. .	Sept. 16, 1823
J. Crowninshield, Mass. . .	May 3, 1805	John Branch, N. C.	Mar. 9, 1829
Paul Hamilton, S. C.	Mar. 7, 1809	Levi Woodbury, N. H. . . .	May 23, 1831
William Jones, Pa.	Jan. 12, 1813	Mahlon Dickerson, N. J. . .	June 30, 1834
B.W. Crowninshield, Mass. .	Dec. 19, 1814	James K. Paulding, N. Y. .	June 25, 1836

SECRETARIES OF NAVY—*Continued.*

Name.	Appointed.	Name.	Appointed.
George E. Badger, N. C.	Mar. 5, 1841	Isaac Toucey, Conn.	Mar. 6, 1857
A. P. Upshur, Va.	Sept. 13, 1841	Gideon Welles, Conn.	Mar. 5, 1861
David Henshaw, Mass.	July 24, 1843	Adolph E. Borie, Pa.	Mar. 5, 1869
Thomas W. Gilmer, Va.	Feb. 15, 1844	George M. Robeson, N. J.	June 25, 1869
John Y. Mason, Va.	Mar. 14, 1844	Rich. W. Thompson, Ind.	Mar. 12, 1877
George Bancroft, Mass.	Mar. 10, 1845	Nathan Goff, Jr., W. Va.	Jan. 6, 1881
John Y. Mason, Va.	Sept. 9, 1846	W. H. Hunt, La.	Mar. 5, 1881
William B. Preston, Va.	Mar. 8, 1849	Wm. E. Chandler, N. H.	April 1, 1882
William A. Graham, N. C.	July 22, 1850	Wm. C. Whitney, N. Y.	Mar. 6, 1885
John P. Kennedy, Md.	July 22, 1852	Benj. F. Tracy, N. Y.	Mar. 5, 1889
James C. Dobbin, N. C.	Mar. 7, 1853		

INTERIOR DEPARTMENT.

This office did not exist till authorized by act of March 3, 1849. It became necessary by reason of the great growth of some of the Bureaus and Divisions of the other Departments, especially those of Public Lands and Patents, and because the time had come for a grouping of them under a head more significant of their real character. We are not sure that the title "Interior Department" is the happiest which could have been chosen, but it savors of home and gives one to understand that the business of the office relates to affairs quite within our own boundaries. It has not only drawn something from other offices, but has been the office most called upon to meet the great and growing demands of the country, whenever a Department was needed to take control of a newly created service.

The office has for its head a Secretary of Interior, appointed by the President by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, for the term of four years unless sooner removed. His salary is \$8,000, and he is a Member of the Cabinet.

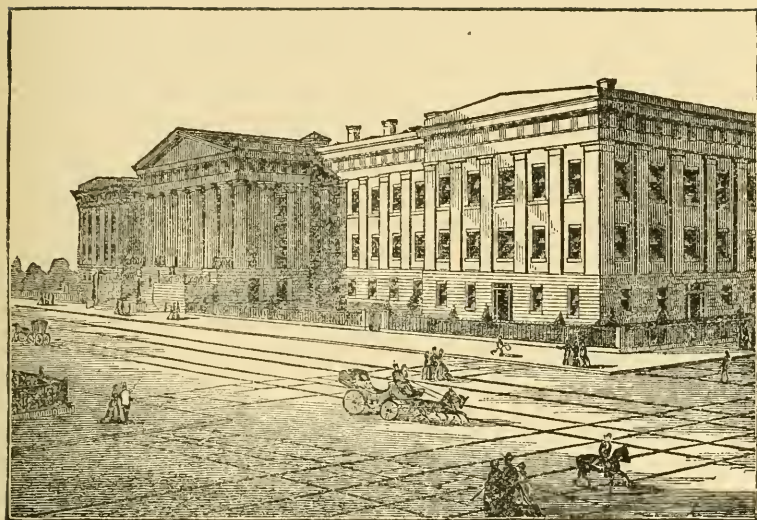
SECRETARY'S DUTIES.—He attends to all business relating to Public lands and mines, Indians, bounty lands, patents, custody and distribution of publications, education, census, Territories, government asylums. He reports annually, or whenever called upon, to Congress respecting the workings of his office. He prepares the Federal Blue Book or Biennial Register of all the government employés, keeps the return office in which are filed the contracts made in the Departments of War, Navy, and Interior, controls the Yellowstone Park, and publishes at the

close of each session of Congress 11,000 copies of the laws just passed. Like all the other Departments, this is divided into Bureaus and Divisions devoted to certain duties, that the entire work of the Department may be carried on in an orderly manner. Perhaps the most important is the

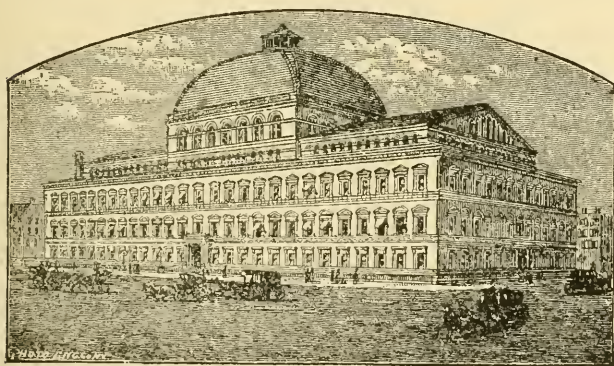
GENERAL LAND OFFICE.—This was a part of the Treasury Department until the creation of the Interior Department. Quite early, the matter of disposing of the Public lands became important, and a Land office was created by act of April 25, 1812. This question of selling public lands and disposing of the proceeds was for over half a century actively political, and not until the passage of the Homestead laws, beginning in 1862, did a satisfactory method of dealing with them exist.

The duties of the General Land Office are attended to by a Commissioner, who acts under the Secretary of the Interior. These duties relate to the surveying and plotting of public lands, their sale, and the issuing of patents for those sold. There are local Land offices, numbering sixteen, in all the States and Territories containing public lands for sale. These are presided over by U. S. Surveyors-General. The Surveyor-General employs surveyors, draughtsmen, and clerks who are engaged in the active work of field surveys. This work of surveying, plotting, dividing, and giving metes and bounds to public lands is always going on. At first townships are formed, six miles square, with true east and west and north and south boundaries, and the four corners are located and marked. Then each township is cut in sections one mile square, or 640 acres each, and these are subdivided into quarter sections of 160 acres each. They are all numbered and booked, and are known, referred to, sold, and patented according to their number and range.

The actual selling of the lands is done through still another set of offices more numerous than those of the Surveyors, and located at all available points. They are known as Land offices too, but they are Registers' and Receivers' offices, being presided over each by a Register and Receiver. His business is to make final disposition of the lands to the actual applicant or settler,



DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR.



PENSION OFFICE.

give him title and possession, collect the fees and purchase-money, and account to the government.

PUBLIC LANDS.—These formerly existed in every State outside of the original thirteen, but they now exist only in the Territories, and to a greater or less extent in Alabama, Arkansas, Louisiana, Mississippi, Missouri, Michigan, Minnesota, Kansas, Nebraska, Iowa, Wisconsin, Florida, California, Nevada, Oregon and Colorado. The public lands are being disposed of very rapidly. Figures respecting surveys and sales are almost dizzying. The sales for 1883 amounted to 16,830,000 acres, the largest on record. In 1873 they only amounted to 3,793,000 acres, but they always fall off during hard times.

PUBLIC LAND SYSTEM.—It may be said in general that public lands are of two classes, one rating at \$1.25 per acre, the other at \$2.50 per acre. There are four ways of getting possession: 1st, under the Homestead act; 2d, under the Pre-emption laws; 3d, under the Timber Culture act; 4th, under the Military bounty act. The Homestead act provides that any head of a family, or person over 21 years, a citizen or one who has declared his intentions, may enter a homestead of 160 acres, or alternate 80 acres, of surveyed land. He must pay the entry fees, from \$7 to \$22, take possession and be an actual settler for five years, pay the government price, and get the title. Under the pre-emption laws the same class of persons may enter any unsurveyed, offered, or unoffered lands, and by payment of fees, and proof of actual settlement, hold a section of the same against sale to any one else. He must make final proofs and payments as under the Homestead act, in order to complete his title. Title to a section of land may be acquired by a soldier who holds a bounty land-warrant, said land-warrant being good payment for the land as far as it goes. But the government has never issued many of such land-warrants. Title may be secured under the Timber Culture acts of 1873-78, by any actual settler who cultivates for two years five acres of trees. Such an one gets 80 acres; and 160 acres if he cultivate ten acres of trees. His patent will be issued free at the end of three years, on proof of what he has done. The design is to encourage timber culture

on farm land. Of course nothing in these acts prevents a cash purchaser at the public auction of these lands from acquiring patented title.

These acts all refer to the sale of Agricultural lands. The Mineral lands are located and disposed of under another set of regulations, which miners and mining companies alone are interested in, though all are open to the ordinary private citizen. After 1860 the policy of giving government aid to Railroads, chiefly those through to the Pacific, in the shape of large grants of public lands, became popular for a time, but is so no longer. The public lands yet unsold amount to many million acres.

PENSION OFFICE.—This important branch of the Department of the Interior is presided over by the Commissioner of Pensions. Our pension system began with the government and was conducted by the Secretary of War until 1833. Then a Pension Office was created which remained with the War Department till the establishment of the Interior Department in 1849. Our government has always been liberal in its payment of pensions to soldiers and their families. Not a year has elapsed since the starting of the government that a good round sum has not been paid in the shape of pensions. The average up to 1815 would be about \$100,000 yearly. From that time on till 1865 the average would be fully \$2,000,000 annually. Since then the figures have assumed enormous proportions, owing to the fact that the civil war greatly increased the list of pensioners, and the further fact that Congress has exceeded all former liberality by dating the payment of pensions back to the time of injury or deprivation, instead of beginning it with the date on which the pension is granted. Our pension system does not reach the Civil Service as in England, if we except the retiracy of Judges of the United States Courts, who may, since 1869, retire at seventy with full salary for life, if they have served ten years continuously. The total cost of the system has grown enormously under the various pension acts.

COMMISSIONER'S DUTIES.—He must hear through his examiners, surgeons, etc., all applicants for pensions, grant pension papers to the meritorious, investigate frauds, issue bounty

land-warrants, and do all that this elaborate and expensive system requires of him.

In paying pensions he is assisted by Pension Agents, located at offices throughout the country called Pension Agencies. There are now seventeen of these, located at Boston, Chicago, Columbus, Concord, Des Moines, Detroit, Indianapolis, Knoxville, Louisville, Milwaukee, New York, Philadelphia, Pittsburg, St. Louis, San Francisco, Syracuse, Washington, D. C.

The manner of applying for pensions is carefully guarded by formalities, oaths, examinations, etc., as it must necessarily be, owing to the great number of applicants and the inducement to raise fictitious cases. The rate of pension paid is regulated by the character of the disability and the rank of the pensioner. Widows of soldiers killed in service are entitled, and orphans under sixteen. In addition to pension each soldier is entitled to periodical allowance for an artificial limb or eye, if compelled to use such.

INDIAN BUREAU.—A Bureau of Indian Affairs was established as early as 1832, and became connected with the Interior Department in 1849. Its chief officer is a Commissioner of Indian Affairs. The active work of the Bureau is done among the Indians at Agencies, and by Agents, of which there are some seventy, situated so as to accommodate the respective tribes.

The government has from time to time made treaties with different tribes, allotted reservations to others, and entered upon a variety of contracts, possible and impossible, according to the whim of the natives, many of which are but little better than agreements to support whole tribes in idleness. The fulfillment of these compacts makes what are called our Indian relations. These it is the business of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to superintend. The fact that such superintendence never served to ameliorate the condition of the Indian gave rise to a Board of Indian Commissioners, composed of intelligent and charitably disposed men, appointed by the President, and who serve without pay, whose duty it is to supervise all moneys appropriated for Indians, and inspect food and clothing purchased for their use.

The necessity for such commission is a confession that the government either had not conducted or could not conduct its Indian affairs properly: both of which were doubtless true, in the absence of a clearly defined Indian policy, which no more exists to-day than when the Cavalier and Puritan landed.

PATENT OFFICE.—This interesting office is under the immediate supervision of a Commissioner of Patents.

The name of the office suggests its use. The first act relating to patents was that of April 10, 1790. It authorized the granting of patents by the Secretary of State, after consultation with the Secretary of War and Attorney-General, though either could act on his own responsibility. The present office and something like the present system was created by act of March 3, 1849, in connection with the Interior Department. But it was not until the act of July 8, 1870, that the existing system took full shape and vigor.

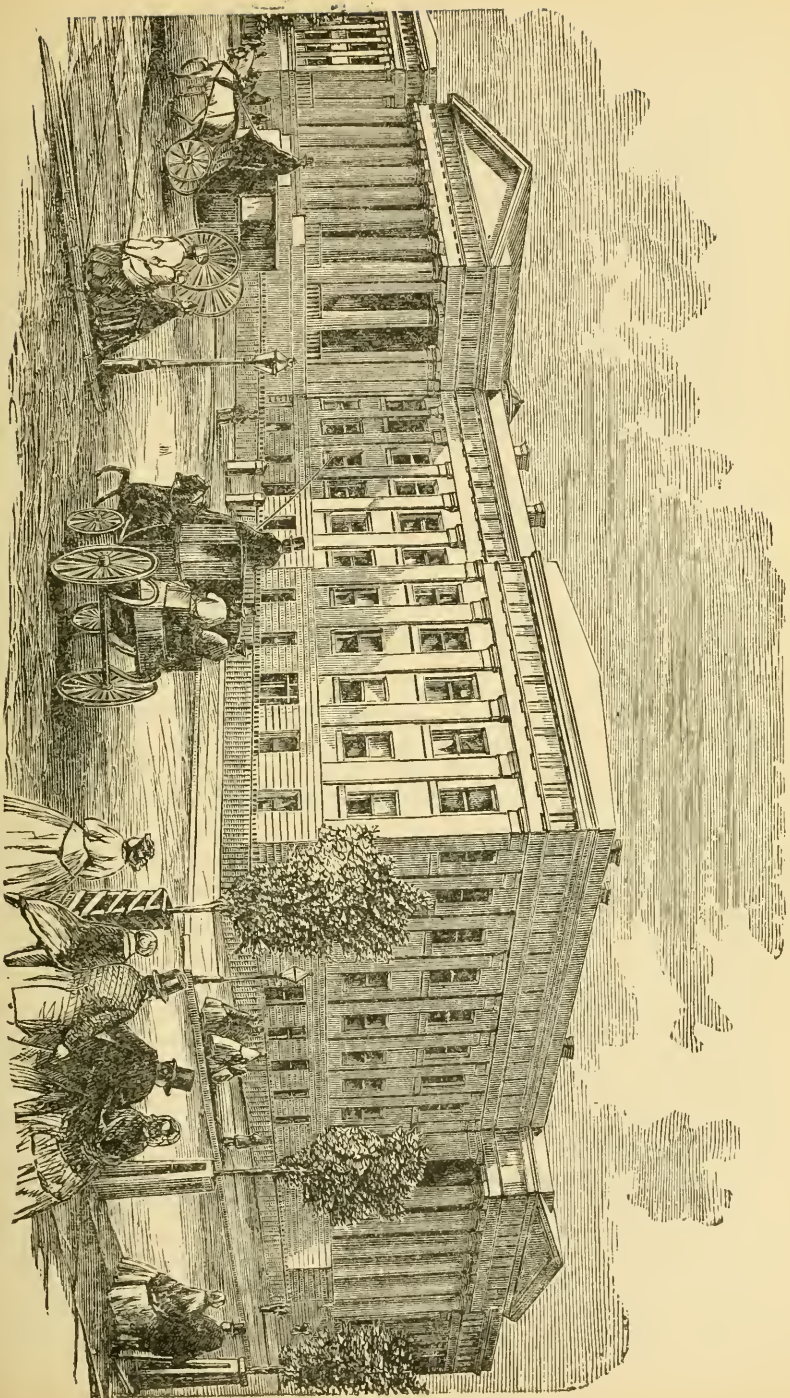
The model-rooms of the Patent Office were begun in 1836. They were greatly enlarged, and quite well filled with models, when the fire of Sept. 24, 1877, destroyed some 87,000 of them, besides other interesting historic relics. They have been again enlarged and are rapidly filling up with evidences of American genius and skill.

Patents are granted only after full designs or models have been presented and examined by experts, and something found therein "new and useful, not known or used by others in this country, and not patented or described in print in this or any other country." A patent for an original invention runs for seventeen years. A patent for a design may run from three and a half years to fourteen years.

CENSUS OFFICE.—The Secretary of the Interior is charged with the duty of taking each decennial census, through and by means of a Superintendent of Census. The active work of enumeration is done by means of Supervisors of districts, specially appointed. These send out enumerators into all the subdivisions of a district, who gather the facts and figures from the people, and return them in a given time. When they reach the Central Office at Washington they are tabulated and

printed in the form of Census Reports. The work of census-taking is important, and it is to be regretted that it has never reached, in this country, the perfection it has in some others. This may seem strange in view of the fact that the United States was the first nation to provide in its fundamental law for a periodical count of its people. The first census under the Constitution was taken in 1790. They have been taken every ten years since, and the results duly published. The early censuses contained but little more than an enumeration of the people. The omission of statistics and facts relating to the industries of the country caused a general overhauling of the census methods in 1849. By act of March 3 of that year a Census Board was created, composed of the Secretary of State, Postmaster-General and Attorney-General, to prepare a plan for the census of 1850. This resulted in an act of May 23, 1850, creating a Census Office in the Department of the Interior, with a Superintendent, as above noted. Since then the census inquiries have been framed so as to cover not only population, but age, nationality, physical and mental condition, social matters, churches, schools, industrial establishments, farms, products of every kind, and whatever will contribute to knowledge of our wealth, progress and actual status as a people. One hundred inquiries could be addressed to the citizen by the census enumerator, but no more. The three censuses taken under the act of 1850 were great advances on those taken before, and their results form a set of volumes which are indispensable to historians, statisticians and students of social problems. Still the act was defective, and the machinery under it clumsy and uncertain. An attempt was made to remedy it by the census act of 1880. It is not yet time to say whether the attempt has been a success or a failure. It has certainly not resulted in a prompter receipt, tabulation and publication of the returns, though those already perfected show a completeness and utility beyond all others.

BUREAU OF EDUCATION.—This Bureau was created by act of March 2, 1867, and attached to the Department of the Interior. Its Chief is a Commissioner of Education. The business of the Bureau is to collect, publish and disseminate



THE PATENT OFFICE, WASHINGTON, D. C.

among the people such information touching schools and school systems as will enable them to keep pace with modern improvements in school organization and management, and meet the national desire to overcome illiteracy wherever it exists. The Bureau was a noble conception, and its work bears on vital points, for our Republic is ever confronting the dangers that lurk in illiteracy.

RAILROAD ACCOUNTS.—The Bureau was established in 1878, and connected with the Interior Department. It was made necessary by the new policy of the government extending aid to the Pacific and other railroads. The aid to build these long, through and necessary lines was either by guarantee of their bonds or by gift of public lands. In either event the government felt that it should exercise a control over the management of such roads to the extent of auditing their accounts and seeing that all acts of Congress in their interest were respected. This is the duty of the Bureau of Railroad Accounts, whose chief is called Auditor.

CAPITOL ARCHITECT.—This officer has control of the Capitol repairs and Capitol grounds.

GEOLOGICAL SURVEY.—Under the head of Public Lands we saw they were divided into Agricultural and Mineral Lands. This division requires a knowledge of their geological structure and underground resource. For this purpose the Geological Survey was established in 1879. Its chief is called Director of the Geological Survey. The annual appropriations for carrying on this work of examining and classifying public lands according to their mineral substances and worth average \$100,000.

OTHER ADJUNCTS.—The Secretary of the Interior was in 1877 authorized to appoint a Commission of Entomologists to inquire into the visitation of the Rocky Mountain Locusts and devise means for suppressing their annual invasions. He appoints by law a Recorder of Deeds and Register of Wills for the District of Columbia. With his Department is connected the management of the Government Hospital for the Insane. This noble institution, erected at a cost of \$500,000, and containing nearly 1,000 inmates, is designed for the care and treatment

of the insane of the Army and Navy and the indigent insane of the District of Columbia. It was founded in 1855 and stands on a conspicuous bluff south of the Anacostia River, in full view of the Capitol. So also it has the management of the Columbia Institution for the Instruction of the Deaf and Dumb, established in 1857, located at Washington, and designed for the free education of the deaf and dumb of the District of Columbia, and the paid education of pupils from all the States and Territories. The Freedmen's Hospital and Columbia Hospital for Women are also under the general superintendence of the Interior Department.

SECRETARIES OF THE INTERIOR.

Name.	Appointed.	Name.	Appointed.
Thomas H. Ewing, Ohio...	Mar. 8, 1849	Columbus Delano, Ohio...	Nov. 1, 1870
Alex. H. H. Stuart, Va....	Sept. 12, 1850	Zachariah Chandler, Mich.	Oct. 19, 1875
Robert McClelland, Mich..	Mar. 7, 1853	Carl Schurz, Mo.....	Mar. 12, 1877
Jacob Thompson, Miss....	Mar. 6, 1857	S. J. Kirkwood, Iowa...	Mar. 5, 1881
Caleb P. Smith, Ind.....	Mar. 5, 1861	Henry M. Teller, Col....	April 6, 1882
John P. Usher, Ind.....	Jan. 8, 1863	Lucius Q. C. Lamar, Miss.	Mar. 6, 1885
James Harlan, Iowa.....	May 15, 1865	Wm. F. Vilas, Wis.....	Dec. 5, 1887
O. H. Browning, Ill.....	July 27, 1866	John W. Noble, Mo.....	Mar. 5, 1889
Jacob D. Cox, Ohio.....	Mar. 5, 1869		

THE POST-OFFICE DEPARTMENT.

The government comes down closer to the people through the Post-Office Department than any other. It intimately concerns all of us and exists for our accommodation in the matter of correspondence with friends and business folk at home and abroad. The Constitution, Art. I., Sec. 8, authorizes the establishment of Post-offices and Post-roads. This is not peculiar to our government. All civilized powers assume to do the same thing for their people, and nearly all in the same way, so much so at least that what is known as a Postal Union has become possible, whereby different countries agree to recognize our stamps on letters and engage to carry them through their mails, we doing the same toward their stamps and with their letters. This wonderful triumph of political civilization brings the people of all countries in the Postal Union as closely together as if they were of one country.

The earliest Post-Office System in our country arose under act of Sept. 22, 1789. It was a crude affair, run in connection

with the Treasury Department, though presided over by an officer called the Postmaster-General, as to-day. There were then 75 post-offices in the country, and the routes extended over 1,875 miles. It cost the country in 1790, \$32,140, and the receipts were \$37,935. Now there are in round numbers 63,000 post-offices, a routeage of 428,000 miles, an annual revenue of \$53,000,000, and an expenditure somewhat in excess of this revenue. Mail facilities are enjoyed by the people in even remote places. It has always been the policy of the government to favor this method of intercommunication not more for purposes of business than to foster exchange of thought and a truly educational spirit. It has never been a part of this policy to make money out of the system. The cost has therefore, as a rule, been in excess of the profit, measured in strict dollars and cents. As the profit approximated the cost, there has been a reduction of rates of postage. Many are yet alive who remember the old letter rate of six cents and over, and very many who remember the five-cent rate. Then came the uniform rate of three cents for every two ounces, and in 1883 the two-cent rate. It is very probable that a one-cent rate will prevail before the end of the century, for the system proves that cheapness of rate is more than met by increased amount of matter mailed, especially in populous communities.

A great stride was made in our postal system by act of May 8, 1794. But in 1829 the grand step was taken which made it a separate system. Then the Post-Office Department was detached from the Treasury Department, and the Postmaster-General made responsible for its management. He became a member of the Cabinet, and a direct adviser with the President.

DUTIES OF POSTMASTER.—The general duties of the Postmaster-General are to conduct the multiform and intricate accounts of the postal service; originate and distribute books, blanks and forms; establish and discontinue post-offices; appoint postmasters; negotiate postal treaties with foreign countries; report to Congress annually the condition of his office; execute all laws relating to the postal service. He has more appointments than any other Department official, and his responsibility

never ceases till it reaches down into the very bosom of the masses.

POST-OFFICES.—The machinery of the Department is largely outside of it, and it works in every city, hamlet and far corner of the land. The postal routes are established by law. They are not always wisely laid down at first, but time and the drift of settlement generally cure all defects. The Department, following the routes, establishes post-offices, appoints postmasters and places the people in contact with the service. All this is fully in the hands of the Department. Postmasters receiving over \$1,000 salary must have their nominations confirmed by the Senate, and as a rule they are appointed by the President. All minor appointments are made by the Postmaster-General directly. Postmasters are graded, and paid accordingly.

OTHER FEATURES.—The postal system has been very growthy, and prolific of many new features, all tending to make it more convenient and safe. The sending of money in small sums by mail was a constant invitation to robbery and led to many losses. The attempt to secure greater safety by means of a registry of letters did not amount to much. Then the money order feature was introduced, by which money can be sent with entire safety. Sums up to \$50 can thus be sent from one Money Order Office, payable at another. There are now 9,400 of these offices, and the amount transmitted through them annually aggregates several millions. They are the poor man's bank, through which he can send drafts to any part of this country and to many foreign countries. The propriety of a postal-saving bank has often been mooted. But we are not yet quite far enough on for such an advantageous feature.

The Postal Note feature was authorized in 1883. A deposit of less than \$5 at any Money Order Office will entitle one to a note for the amount of his deposit less a fee of three cents, which he can use as money for 90 days, and which will be redeemed at any Money Order Office on demand. It is a handy note for transmission by letter.

The Letter Carrier feature is a modern one. It exists, or may exist, in any city with a population of 20,000, or in which the

post-office yields \$20,000 a year. In such cities carriers gather and deliver the mail matter, to the great convenience of business men.

The Railway Service is also a new feature. By law all navigable waters of the United States, all canals and railroads, are established postal routes, and the mails were carried thereon in the ordinary pouches, the distribution being made at some central office. The Railway Service introduced on the Rail routes a Postal car or cars, officered by mail agents whose duty it is to collect and distribute all the mail matter on that route. It is a post-office on wheels, and a very complete and popular institution.

POSTMASTERS-GENERAL.

Name.	Appointed.	Name.	Appointed.
Samuel Osgood, Mass. . . .	Sept. 26, 1789	Joseph Holt, Ky.	Mar. 14, 1859
Timothy Pickering, Pa. . .	Aug. 12, 1791	Horatio King, Me.	Feb. 12, 1861
Joseph Habersham, Ga. . .	Feb. 25, 1795	Montgomery Blair, Md. .	Mar. 5, 1861
Gideon Granger, Conn. . .	Nov. 28, 1801	William Dennison, Ohio. .	Sept. 24, 1864
Return J. Meigs, Jr., Ohio.	Mar. 17, 1804	Alex. W. Randall, Wis. . .	July 25, 1866
John McLean, Ohio.	June 26, 1823	John A. J. Cresswell, Md..	Mar. 5, 1869
William T. Barry, Ky. . . .	Mar. 9, 1829	Marshall Jewell, Conn. . .	Aug. 24, 1874
Amos Kendall, Ky.	May 1, 1835	James N. Tyner, Ind.	July 12, 1876
John M. Niles, Conn.	May 25, 1840	David McK. Fey, Tenn. . .	Mar. 12, 1877
Francis Granger, N. Y. . . .	Mar. 6, 1841	Horace Maynard, Tenn. . .	June 2, 1880
Charles A. Wickliffe, Ky. .	Sept. 13, 1841	Thomas L. James, N. Y. . .	Mar. 5, 1881
Cave Johnson, Tenn.	Mar. 6, 1845	Timothy O. Howe, Wis. . .	Dec. 20, 1881
Jacob Collamer, Ver.	Mar. 8, 1849	Walter Q. Gresham, Ind. .	April 3, 1883
Nathan K. Hall, N. Y. . . .	July 23, 1850	Frank Hatton, Ohio.	Oct. 14, 1884
Samuel D. Hubbard, Conn.	Aug. 31, 1852	Wm. F. Vilas, Wis.	Mar. 6, 1885
James Campbell, Pa.	Mar. 5, 1853	D. M. Dickinson, Mich. . .	Dec. 5, 1887
Aaron V. Brown, Tenn. . .	Mar. 6, 1857	John Wanamaker, Pa. . . .	Mar. 5, 1889

DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE.

The presiding officer of this Department is the Attorney-General, who is appointed by the President, and is a member of the Cabinet. His salary is \$8,000.

The act of 1789 authorizing an Attorney-General empowered him to "conduct all suits for the United States in the Supreme Court, give his advice and opinion on questions of law when requested by the President or heads of Departments."

By act of 1861 he has charge of Attorneys and Marshals in all the Judicial Districts in the United States and Territories. He is not only legal adviser of the President and heads of Departments, but must examine all titles to lands for public build-

ings, forts, navy yards, etc.; report to Congress the condition of his office; distribute U. S. statutes to the lower courts; designate the places of confinement for criminals under U. S. laws. He is a useful and invaluable official in the executive branch of the government, and ought to be well informed in both the law and practice of the U. S. Courts. The position is highly honorable and has been held by some of the brightest legal minds of the country.

ATTORNEYS-GENERAL.

Name.	Appointed.	Name.	Appointed.
Edmund Randolph, Va....	Sept. 26, 1789	Isaac Toucey, Conn.....	June 21, 1848
William Bradford, Pa....	Jan. 27, 1794	Reverdy Johnson, Md....	Mar. 8, 1849
Charles Lee, Va.....	Dec. 10, 1795	Jno. J. Crittenden, Ky....	July 22, 1850
Theophilus Parsons, Mass..	Feb. 20, 1801	Caleb Cushing, Mass....	Mar. 7, 1853
Levi Lincoln, Mass.....	Mar. 5, 1801	Jeremiah S. Black, Pa....	Mar. 6, 1857
Robert Smith, Md.....	Mar. 3, 1805	Edwin M. Stanton, Pa....	Dec. 20, 1860
John Breckinridge, Ky....	Aug. 7, 1805	Edward Bates, Mo.	Mar. 5, 1861
Cæsar A. Rodney, Pa....	Jan. 28, 1807	T. J. Coffee (<i>ad. in.</i>), Pa...	June 22, 1863
William Pinkney, Md....	Dec. 11, 1811	James Speed, Ky.....	Dec. 2, 1864
Richard Rush, Pa.....	Feb. 10, 1814	Henry Stanbery, O.....	Jan. 23, 1866
William Wirt, Va.....	Nov. 13, 1817	William M. Evarts, N. Y..	July 15, 1868
John M. Berrien, Ga.....	Mar. 9, 1829	E. Rockwood Hoar, Mass.	Mar. 5, 1869
Roger B. Taney, Md....	July 20, 1831	Amos T. Akerman, Ga....	June 23, 1870
Benj. F. Butler, N. Y....	Nov. 15, 1833	Geo. H. Williams, Oregon.	Dec. 14, 1871
Felix Grundy, Tenn.....	July 5, 1838	Edwards Pierrepont, N. Y.	April 26, 1875
Henry D. Gilpin, Pa.....	Jan. 11, 1840	Alphonso Taft, Ohio.....	May 22, 1876
John J. Crittenden, Ky....	Mar. 5, 1841	Charles Devens, Mass. .	Mar. 12, 1877
Hugh S. Legaré, S. C....	Sept. 13, 1841	Wayne McVeagh, Pa....	Mar. 5, 1881
John Nelson, Md.....	July 1, 1843	Benj. H. Brewster, Pa....	Dec. 19, 1881
John Y. Mason, Va.....	Mar. 6, 1845	Augustus H. Garland, Ark.	Mar. 6, 1885
Nathan Clifford, Me.....	Oct. 17, 1846	W. H. Miller, Ind....	Mar. 5, 1889

DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE.

The officer in charge is the Secretary of Agriculture. The Agricultural Bureau was created in 1862, and only lately erected into a separate Department. Its chief is not a Cabinet officer. The Department is designed to be the centre toward which shall be attracted information respecting agriculture and whence it shall flow to all the people. It is further a Department of experiments with agricultural products and industries and a source of supply for new and rare seeds and plants. The Secretary is expected to correspond with scientists in all countries, collect statistics bearing on agricultural subjects, publish such works as will best spread the information he gathers, investigate diseases of domestic animals, inquire into the nature

and prevention of injury to crops by insects, worms, birds and all enemies of plants and grains. Much is hoped of this youthful Department. The propagating garden and museum attached to it are already interesting.

JUDICIAL DEPARTMENT.

USES OF THE JUDICIARY.—The third co-ordinate department of the national government is the Judicial Department, or The Judiciary. The existence of such a Department, or branch of the government, with functions independent of and separate from the legislative and executive branches, yet co-ordinate with them, is indispensable to the safety of a free government. Wherever there is no judiciary to interpret, pronounce and execute laws, two things must happen. 1st. Either the government will perish through sheer weakness and confusion, or, 2d, the judicial power will be absorbed by the other two branches to the utter extinction of civil and political liberty. Montesquieu has wisely said: "There is no liberty if the judiciary be not separated from the legislative and executive power." And Judge Story says: "In the national government the judicial power is equally as important as in the States. The want of it was a vital defect in the Confederation. Without it the laws of the Union would be perpetually in danger of being controverted by the laws of the States. The national government would be reduced to a servile dependence on the latter for the due execution of its powers, and we should have reacted over again the same solemn mockery which began in the neglect and ended in the ruin of the Confederation. Power without adequate means to enforce it is like a body in a suspended state of animation. For all practical purposes it is as if its faculties were extinguished. A single State might under such circumstances, at its mere pleasure, suspend the whole operations of the Union."

The two grand uses of the Judiciary are (1) to execute the powers of the government. In this it co-operates directly with the Executive branch, while it acts independently of it. (2) It secures uniform and certain operation of those powers and of the laws made under them. In this it co-operates with the Legis-

lative branch, helping it here and checking it there, making its edicts certain in results, and assuring the people against the oppression of unconstitutional enactments.

SUPREME COURT.—"The judicial power of the United States shall be vested in one Supreme Court and in such inferior courts as the Congress may from time to time ordain and establish. The judges of both the Supreme and inferior courts shall hold their offices during good behavior, and shall at stated times receive for their services a compensation which shall not be diminished during their continuance in office."—Art. III., Con.

Thus the establishment of a Supreme Court is imperative. The establishment of inferior courts is left to the discretion of Congress. Congress has acted promptly in both instances. Among its first acts was one looking to the formation of the Supreme Court, and subsequent acts passed in obedience to the demands of legal business have contributed to the formation of our present imposing judicial system.

The Supreme Court of the United States is the highest tribunal, or court of last resort, in the nation. Its decisions settle finally the law of the land. It has both original and appellate jurisdiction. Its original jurisdiction extends to civil causes in which a State is a party, which involve public ministers and matters affecting the marine. Its appellate jurisdiction is general; that is, it must hear all appeals from the Circuit and District Courts.

It consists of a Chief Justice and eight Associate Justices. The former receives \$10,500, and the latter receive \$10,000 a year. They are appointed by the President, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate. Their appointment is for life or good behavior, though by a recent enactment they may retire at seventy years of age and still draw their pay, provided they have held their commissions for ten years.* They are thus removed as far as possible from party influences.

The number of Judges of the Supreme Court has not always

* Under this act three Justices have already withdrawn, viz., Noah H. Swayne, Ohio; William Strong, Pa.; and Ward Hunt, N. Y., their salary of \$10,000 being continued.

remained the same. At its first session in 1790 it consisted of a Chief Justice and five Associates. The Associates were increased to six in 1807, to eight in 1837, to nine in 1863. In 1865 they were decreased to eight, and in 1867 to seven, but were increased to eight in 1870.

The Supreme Court must hold one regular term a year, commencing on the second Monday in October, and such special terms as is necessary. Its regular sessions are always at the Capitol.

CHIEF JUSTICES OF UNITED STATES SUPREME COURT.

Term of service.	Term of service.
John Jay, N. Y. 1789-95	Roger B. Taney, Md. 1836-64
John Rutledge, S. C. 1795-95	Salmon P. Chase, O. 1864-73
Oliver Ellsworth, Conn. 1796-1800	Morrison R. Waite, O. 1873-88
John Marshall, Va. 1801-35	Melville W. Fuller, Ill. 1888-..

ASSOCIATE JUSTICES OF UNITED STATES SUPREME COURT.

Term of service.	Term of service.
John Rutledge, S. C. 1789-91	John McKinley, Ala. 1837-52
William Cushing, Mass. 1789-1810	Peter V. Daniel, Va. 1841-60
James Wilson, Pa. 1789-98	Samuel Nelson, N. Y. 1845-72
John Blair, Va. 1789-96	Levi Woodbury, N. H. 1845-51
Robert H. Harrison, Md. 1789-90	Robert C. Grier, Pa. 1846-69
James Iredell, N. C. 1790-99	Benjamin R. Curtis, Mass. 1851-57
Thomas Johnson, Md. 1791-93	John A. Campbell, Ala. 1853-61
William Patterson, N. J. 1793-1806	Nathan Clifford, Me. 1858-81
Samuel Chase, Md. 1796-1811	Noah H. Swayne, O. 1861-81
Bushrod Washington, Va. 1798-1829	Samuel F. Miller, Iowa. 1862-90
Alfred Moore, N. C. 1799-1804	David Davis, Ill. 1862-77
William Johnson, S. C. 1804-31	Stephen J. Field, Cal. 1863-..
Brockholst Livingston, N. Y. 1806-23	William M. Strong, Pa. 1870-80
Thomas Todd, Ky. 1807-26	Joseph P. Bradley, N. J. 1870-92
Joseph Story, Mass. 1811-45	Ward Hunt, N. Y. 1872-82
Gabriel Duval, Md. 1811-36	John M. Harlan, Ky. 1877-..
Smith Thompson, N. Y. 1823-43	William B. Woods, Ga. 1880-87
Robert Trimble, Ky. 1826-28	Stanley Matthews, O. 1881-89
John McLean, O. 1829-61	Horace Gray, Mass. 1881-..
Henry Baldwin, Pa. 1830-46	Samuel Blatchford, N. Y. 1882-..
James M. Wayne, Ga. 1835-67	Lucius Q. C. Lamar, Miss. 1888-..
Philip P. Barbour, Va. 1836-41	David J. Brewer, Kan. 1889-..
John Catron, Tenn. 1837-65	George Shiras, Jr., Pa. 1892-..

CIRCUIT COURTS.—An important part of the U. S. Judiciary, and second to the Supreme Court, are the Circuit Courts. There are nine of these Courts now, or rather nine Judicial Circuits or Districts,* say one for each Judge of the Supreme Court.

* Care must be taken not to confound the Circuit with the District. There are nine Circuit Districts, each composed of a number of minor Districts, no one of which can be smaller than a State.



CHIEF JUSTICE JOHN MARSHALL.



CHIEF JUSTICE ROGER B. TANEY.

In order to facilitate the work of the Supreme Court, the entire country is thus divided into these nine Judicial Circuits or Districts, and a Judge of the Supreme Court is assigned to each District, which he is expected to visit at least once in two years. He is thus said to make his circuit; whence the name, Circuit Court. The Chief Justice of the Supreme Court takes his circuit with the rest. The Circuit for the respective Judges is determined by allotment. Though this Supreme Court Judge is really the presiding officer in each Circuit Court, it is easy to see that such Court must be closed a great part of the time if its operation depended on his presence. The Supreme Court judges are busy most of the year with their session at the Capital. Even when on a circuit made up of several States, they must with difficulty hold a court in each State, which they are required to do. There is, therefore, appointed for each of the Circuits a permanent Circuit Judge, who holds the Sessions of the Circuit Courts, and who is visited by the allotted Supreme Court Judge, and assisted by him when he appears. Each of these Circuit Judges receives a salary of \$6,000 a year. They are appointed by the President by and with the advice and consent of the Senate.

These Circuit Courts being minor courts are not courts of final resort. They are, however, appellate courts for many purposes, appeals being taken to them from the District Courts, as we shall see. They have original jurisdiction of a class of causes denied to the District Courts, but for the most part have concurrent jurisdiction with the latter. The Circuits are numbered from one to nine, and are sometimes familiarly spoken of as Justice So-and-So's Circuit, after the name of the Justice allotted to it.

The First Judicial Circuit embraces the districts of Maine, New Hampshire, Massachusetts, and Rhode Island.

The Second Judicial Circuit embraces the districts of Vermont, Connecticut, and New York.

The Third Judicial Circuit embraces the districts of New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Delaware.

The Fourth Judicial Circuit embraces the districts of Maryland, West Virginia, Virginia, North and South Carolina.

The Fifth Judicial Circuit embraces the districts of Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, and Texas.

The Sixth Judicial Circuit embraces the districts of Ohio, Michigan, Kentucky, and Tennessee.

The Seventh Judicial Circuit embraces the districts of Indiana, Illinois, and Wisconsin.

The Eighth Judicial Circuit embraces the districts of Minnesota, Iowa, Missouri, Kansas, Arkansas, Colorado, and Nebraska.

The Ninth Judicial Circuit embraces the districts of California, Oregon, and Nevada.

CIRCUIT COURT OF APPEALS.—This court is a new one, established by the 51st Congress. It hears appeals from the Circuit and District Courts in cases of a certain grade. It has a Judge of its own, but its President Judge is the Judge of the Circuit in which said Court exists.

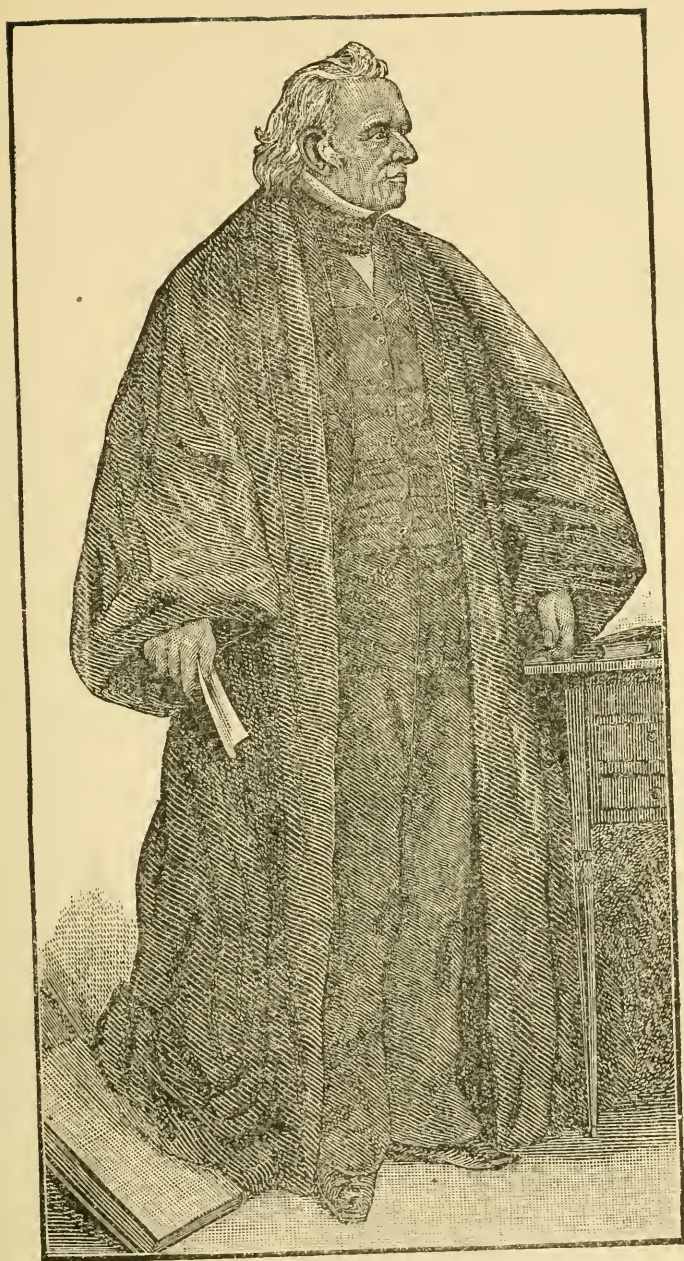
DISTRICT COURTS.—In order to further facilitate judicial work and give greater convenience to the people, the National Judiciary is again divided into a lower grade of Courts, called District Courts. Perhaps it would be better to say the country is divided into a number of judicial districts, in each of which is a District Court presided over by a District Judge. Twenty-two of the States are each a Judicial District. The others are divided into two and three Judicial Districts, according to population and the amount of business transacted. The salaries of the District Judges range from \$5,000 to \$3,500. They are a more popular court than the Circuit Court, because closer to the people, and as we have seen, their jurisdiction is nearly the same; *the* same, in fact, where there is no Circuit Court; and indeed, a District Judge, or two of them sitting together, may hold a Circuit Court. There are now fifty-nine Judicial Districts (there must be at least one in each State), and the same number of District Courts and Judges, District Attorneys, District Clerks and Marshals. All of these officers are appointed by the President and Senate, except the clerks, who are chosen by the courts. The District Attorneys prosecute all delinquents for crimes under United States laws, and all civil causes in which the government is con-

cerned. The U. S. Marshal has a function analogous to that of the County Sheriff.

COURT OF CLAIMS.—This Court was created as late as 1855, and given enlarged power and increased force in 1863. It may be properly classed as a part of the Judicial System of the United States, for appeals are had from it to the Supreme Court, where the amount involved exceeds \$3,000. It was created as a relief to both Congress and the Courts, and has jurisdiction of a class of cases founded on laws of Congress, contracts with the United States, or on claims against the government, where the amount rather than the fact is in dispute, and where final relief is to be had through an appropriation by the Congress. It has proved a convenient court, because it works more expeditiously than a Congressional investigation, and lifts a great number of cases above partisan level. It tries cases for and against the United States, and in general all matters referred to it by Congress. Its decisions when favorable to the claimant are reported to Congress, and the necessary appropriation follows. Its powers and rules of procedure are now akin to those of other courts, but proceedings therein are begun by petition, as if the application were made direct to Congress. Its officers are a Chief Justice and four Judges, whose salaries are \$4,500 each.

SUPREME COURT, D. C.—This important court is a necessary part of the Judiciary of the United States, the District of Columbia being under a government provided by Congress. It is composed of a Chief Justice and four associates, the former at a salary of \$4,500, the latter at \$4,000 each. It possesses the same jurisdiction as a Circuit Court. Any one of its Justices may hold a special term, and when doing so his court ranks as a District Court of the United States. It is also a Criminal Court for the trial of offences in the District.

DISTRICT ATTORNEYS—The Attorney-General of the United States, appointed by the President, and ranking as a Member of the Cabinet, is, in common speech, the District Attorney for the Supreme Court. He is the prosecuting officer of that court. So the District Attorneys, appointed in the same way as the Attorney-General, but in and for their respective dis-



JUDGE JOSEPH STORY IN JUDICIAL ROBE.

tricts, are the prosecuting attorneys of the District Courts. As a general thing there is a District Attorney for each District Court, though in one or two States which contain two or more Districts there is only one District Attorney. He is the attorney for the United States, just as the District Attorney in any county of a State is the attorney for the Commonwealth. His duty is to prosecute in his District all crimes cognizable under the laws of the United States, and all civil actions in which the government is concerned.

U. S. MARSHALS.—As already indicated these officers are attached to every District Court, and their function is similar to an ordinary County Sheriff. They serve the processes of the court, and execute its judgments and decrees. They are equally the officers of the Circuit Courts.

JURIES.—The machinery of the Judiciary would be very imperfect without mention of the two kinds of juries in use. They are required by the Constitution, see Art. V. of the amendments. The Grand Jury is organized, like that in the judicial districts of the States, and has the same powers and duties. It is that part of the judicial system which first inquires into a charge of crime brought against a citizen, and no indictment for such crime can be presented to the court unless a majority of said jury certify that there are good reasons for believing that the charge is well founded. It is the body of citizens which stands between a criminal and all petty, spiteful and ill-founded charges, and protects him from the annoyance and expense of trials without probable cause. When the Grand Jury is called by a Circuit Court it must inquire into all the crimes against the laws of the United States in that Circuit; when called by a District Court, its inquiries extend only to the District.

The Petit (small) jury has the same uses and powers as in the County Courts. It is called by a Judge of the District or Circuit Court, on subpœna, is composed of a panel of forty-eight men, from which the usual twelve are selected for the trial of a cause. A Grand Jury acts only in criminal cases; both civil and criminal cases are tried before a Petit Jury. The finding of a Grand Jury is called a *presentment* or *indictment*—a presentment when it

acts from knowledge within itself, an indictment when it acts on knowledge derived from the District Attorney, or other person. The finding of a Petit Jury is called a *verdict*. The Grand Jury deliberates alone, the Petit Jury hears the evidence as presented in court, the pleas of the attorneys and the charge of the judges before it retires to deliberate. These remarks apply to Grand and Petit Juries in United States as well as State Courts.

ADMIRALTY COURTS—In remote times, when judicial systems were narrow, there arose a set of courts separate from those of common law, called Admiralty and Maritime Courts. They have separate existence yet in many countries, but here Admiralty and Maritime causes are heard in the District Courts of the United States, which are thus said to have Admiralty and Maritime jurisdiction. There would be little use in keeping up this distinction but for the fact that the laws of Admiralty, which are laws respecting ships of war and warlike operations at sea, and Maritime laws, which are those respecting vessels engaged in commerce, are different from those relating to land affairs, and are a code in themselves, thus requiring, if not a separate set of courts and judges, at least a class of attorneys specially learned in Admiralty and Maritime matters. Cases within Admiralty and Maritime jurisdiction are not necessarily limited to those arising on the sea, but embrace those arising on the lakes and navigable rivers of the country.

GOVERNMENT OF THE TERRITORIES.

Congress provides a government for the Territories. Its form has become stereotyped, and it is in general a miniature of that enjoyed by the States. It recognizes the usual division of power into three branches, Executive, Legislative and Judicial.

The Executive power is in a Governor, appointed by the President by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, for four years. His powers are akin to those of the State Governors. He must reside in his Territory, is commander of the militia, may grant pardons and reprieves, commission officers, and in general must execute the laws. He has a Secretary, appointed for four years, who may act as Governor in case of a

vacancy. The salary of a Governor is \$2,600 and of a Secretary \$1,800.

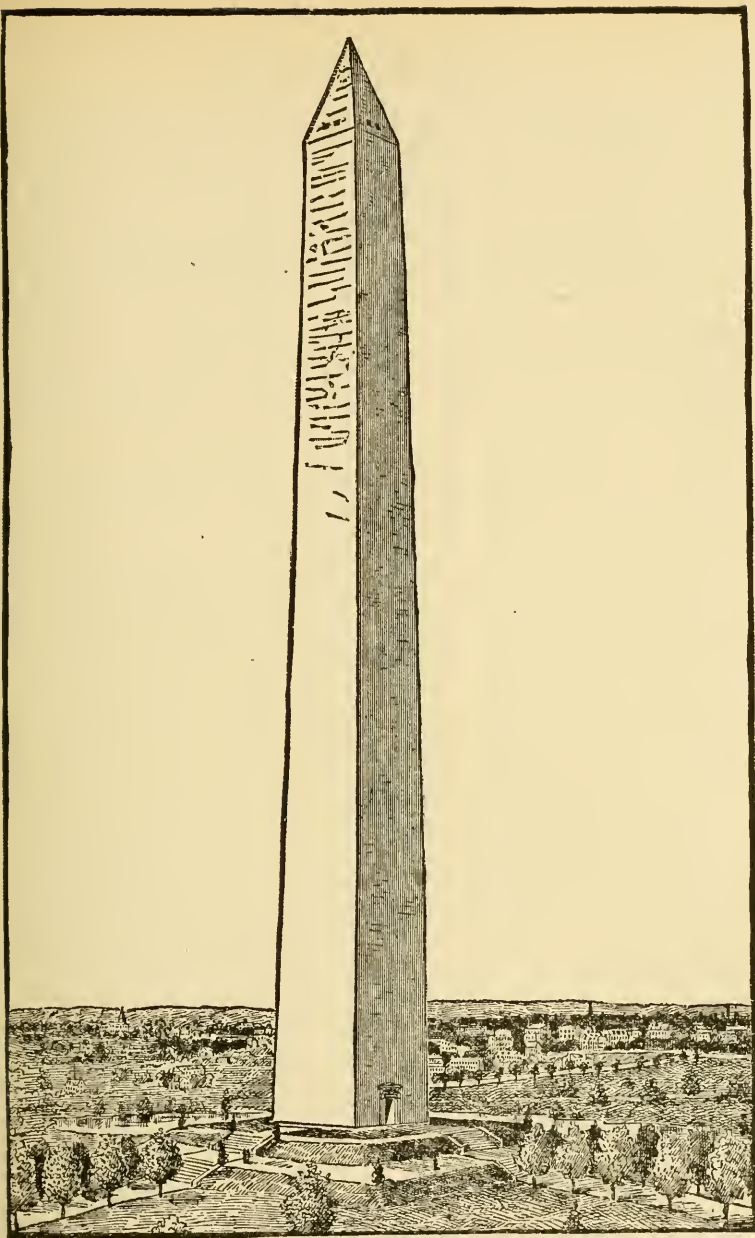
The Legislative power is vested in a Legislative Assembly, composed of a Council and House of Representatives. The former is limited to twelve members and the latter to twenty-four. They are elected by the qualified voters of the Territory for two years. Sessions of the Assemblies are biennial, and limited to sixty days. Laws passed by both Houses and signed by the Governor are sent to Congress and if approved are operative, if not, null and void.* The Legislative power of a Territory is necessarily limited to subjects permitted by Congress. Every Territory has the right to send a Delegate to the House of Representatives of the United States, with power to speak but not to vote.

The Judicial power of a Territory is in a Supreme Court, District Courts, Probate Courts and Justices of the Peace. Probates and Justices of the Peace are provided for by the Territory itself. The Supreme Court is composed of three judges (Dakota has four) appointed by the President and Senate. They hold one term annually. Then each Territory is divided into three Judicial districts, one for each Judge of the Supreme Court. The judge assigned to a district must hold court therein as often as the laws prescribe, and he must reside in his district after assignment. There is a United States Marshal and a District Attorney in each Territory, and each court is entitled to a clerk and minor officers. The salary of Territorial judges is \$3,000.

All of the above is true of the Territories proper, but not of the Indian Country nor the District of Columbia.

The government of the Indian Country is hardly describable. It is of course a dependency of the United States, but the design is that it shall be as independent as possible. The tribes have been assigned land, and left to regulate their internal affairs according to their own laws and customs, of course with the hope that as they grow civilized they will become full-fledged

* Dakota, Idaho, Montana and Wyoming need not send their laws to Congress for approval.



citizens, with institutions which will readily take the laws and customs of the nation. Crimes against the Indians by whites, and against whites by the Indians of this Territory, are taken cognizance of by the United States Courts in some of the adjoining districts. The government would protect the Indian Country against invasion, and the inhabitants thereof against such tumult as they could not control, but the theory connected with this magnificent reservation is that the inhabitants shall be let alone to work out their social, political, industrial and moral problems in their own way, or with such help as they choose to invite.

The District of Columbia is governed by a Commission of three persons appointed by the President and Senate, one of whom must be an officer of the Engineer Corps, above the rank of Captain. He receives no additional pay. The other two, appointed for three years, from civil life, receive each \$5,000 a year. They have no powers except those conferred by Congress, and they are simply the Agents of Congress to suggest laws and execute those which are enacted. They control streets, bridges, aqueducts, sewers, appoint the trustees of public schools, regulate the maintenance of prisons, hospitals and reformatory institutions, and do all that usually belongs to a corps of municipal regulators. They estimate for all municipal expenditures, and if their estimates are approved by the Secretary of the Treasury and by Congress, the Congress appropriates one-half of the amount and leaves the Commissioners to provide the balance by taxation of the property in the district. As we have passed along in our history of government machinery we have struck other offices connected with the District of Columbia, appointed by the President, giving to it a diversified but very complete government.

TRIUMPHS OF INDUSTRY.

IT is not alone in her plan of government and her towering political institutions, nor yet in the simple vastness of her areas, that the United States stands so exceptionally forth among the nations of earth. However exaltingly conceived or inimitably operated, a government must find its mainstay of prosperity, perpetuity, and ultimate resource in its industries.

While we have thus far, in this volume, sought to know our origin and our principles of government, we really cannot know ourselves entirely till we have considered what may be called our material side. There is much in that side to stimulate inquiry, enlarge the understanding, cherish admiration, and contribute to national pride. Indeed in mapping progress, providing comparisons, and measuring up results, the true grandeur of the nation appears quite as vividly on its material as on its political side. We need not compute back four hundred years, but one hundred years, to find those substantial, material beginnings which have brought the nation to a first-place in population, wealth, credit, agriculture, manufacture and commerce.

It took France one hundred and sixty years to double her population, and Great Britain seventy years. The United States has doubled hers more than once in a single generation. While France gained five and England ten millions, the United States gained thirty-seven millions. More English-speaking people exist in the United States to-day than in England and all her colonies. In 1850 the aggregate wealth of Great Britain was nearly four times that of the United States. By 1880 the wealth of the United States had passed that of Great Britain, and by 1890 had far exceeded it. This wealth not only represented the resources of agriculture, in which no nation begins to compete

with us, but the wealth of manufactures in which we are equally without a rival. Great Britain manufactures for the whole world, the United States for scarcely more than itself, yet the manufactures of the former are not two-thirds of those of the Western Republic.

One hundred years ago there was not a dollar in a Savings Bank in America. There were no Savings Banks to put money into. In 1884, 3,071,495 people had money in Saving Banks. They had \$356 apiece salted down, an aggregate of \$1,095,172,-147. In 1890 4,258,623 depositors had \$358 each in Savings Banks, or a total of \$1,524,844,506, enough to buy up the proudest nations of Europe, and pay their debts besides.

In its place on open ocean, the Great Republic of the West stands second only to Great Britain in carrying power. And when we come to internal commerce, no nation appears as a rival. In railway freight alone we pay more than Great Britain, France and Italy combined. The tonnage of all the merchant ships of Great Britain does not equal that of the Pennsylvania Railroad.

In armies the Great Republic is weak, except in that herculean strength which needs but a bugle call to make it the most formidable in the world, and invincible against the world. Soon the power of ocean will bow to the mighty structures which represent American genius and skill. An American naval marine dawns whose speed and strength shall excel all others, and the time cannot be remote when her merchant marine will excite the same envy throughout the world, and be as large a source of profit as that which her unparalleled "Clipper" ships represented.

Measured by intellectual activity, the country is equally a marvel. Her schools, colleges, libraries and newspapers are unequalled in number and quality. But most of all has she surpassed other nations in the application of science to her social life and in her industries. The bulk of practical inventions that have contributed to the progress of the world for an entire century have been American. The first successful steamboat was American, as was the first steamship that crossed the ocean.

The cotton-gin, mowing and reaping machine, and sewing machine were American inventions. From the date that Franklin "stole the lightning from the clouds," to the present, the United States has been in the van of electrical discovery. Her telegraphs by land and under ocean, pioneered by Morse, were the first; so were her telephones and her electric lights.

If the fifty years of America that are to be counted from 1892 repeat the fifty years that ended with 1892, the flag will be the emblem of 200,000,000 freemen, whose wealth will be three hundred thousand million dollars. This population and wealth will rival those of the entire continent of Europe.

The social history of mankind, the science of ethnology, climatology, economy, any and all of the sources looked to for study of national development, may well find in America their most wondrous subject. Why is this nation so exceptional in all its industrial aspects? How does it come that on a continent, unknown four hundred years ago, and practically undeveloped one hundred years ago, there should have been such a determined surge to the front, such a splendor of material achievement?

Without pretending to be exhaustive or exact in analysis of causes, three at least will not be denied. And the first is that already treated in this volume, and to be treated, to wit, the influence of political institutions founded on free citizenship. In this aspect America is but manhood let loose, energy free to indulge its hopes, industry at unrestricted play with its opportunities, genius not only untrammelled but invited and encouraged. There is no caste to tie down with its hard lines, no condition to dissuade, demoralize and disgust. The lowliest of to-day may be the highest of to-morrow; the highest may become the lowliest. Yet all are equal in the respect that what is before is open, and it needs but the laws of industry and the rules of prudence, to assure the best results of citizenship.

ETHNOLOGY.—The second great factor in American achievement is the character of the population. The country has all along been fortunate in receiving an assortment of the sturdy elements of the old world, in which the Anglo-Saxon

spirit predominated. The freedom here enjoyed, the delight of escape from caste, the inducement to labor, to embark in enterprise, to acquire fortune, served to blend different nationalities and cults, and to make a composite people, as unique in genius, originality and power as the English language they speak.

TOPOGRAPHY.—The third great cause for our phenomenal material growth is found in that series of considerations which may be grouped under the head of topography, climatology, etc. The topography of the United States is peculiar, and it affords a prime reason for the swift advancement of population over great areas, as well as for the perfect amalgamation of the different races represented. The Alps divide Europe centrally, making opposing water-sheds and contributing to different climates, productions, interests and nationalities. The Himalayas do the same for Asia. In North America the mountains are coast ranges, whose longest slopes are toward a great central and alluvial basin, coursed by majestic rivers mostly navigable. This invites to the unification of peoples and languages, and contributes to that wonderful spirit of intercourse and endeavor which has characterized our growth.

WATERS.—The waters of the United States are momentous factors of development. The smaller streams and rivers are numerous, and especially in coast sections, and where non-navigable, they are productive of immense horse-power for industrial purposes. The mighty streams which traverse the central valley are mostly navigable, and are natural means of commercial intercommunication, bringing peoples and their products together and affording outlets for wealth. The steamer which starts at Pittsburg may sail two thousand miles along the Ohio and Mississippi, and land its unbroken cargo at New Orleans. The chain of Great Lakes, "Inland Seas," to the north have no counterpart in the world. They assure commercial communication to many great cities and to millions of people, and serve to blend interests and inspire to enterprises equally with the great rivers of the Continent, or even with the salt ocean.

CLIMATE.—The climate of the United States is that of the temperate zone, yet its variety is greater than that of any single

country. It may be that of Moscow in the north, or that of Calcutta in the south. But all of its arctic features shade off gently into those of the semi-tropics, thereby conducing to that delightful average of geniality which bids earth gush forth in plenty and bespeaks permanent habitation for a highly civilized and enterprising community. Again our climate is pleasantly varied by those influences which operate from the east and west. The mountain ranges, with their cool snow-capped or wooded heights, gently temper the heat of the valleys, while the rain fall they produce, or the streams they send forth, carry along the influence which moisture always exerts on the climate of prairie sections. Then, too, our climate is favorably affected by the oceans which wash our coasts. The Gulf Stream modifies very perceptibly the rigors of the Atlantic slopes, while the benign influence of the Pacific gives almost an Italian balm to the slopes of the coast ranges, and even throws its isothermal lines a thousand miles inland at certain points. Hardly any factor has proved so inviting to health and energy, and so conducive to industrial prosperity, as our climate.

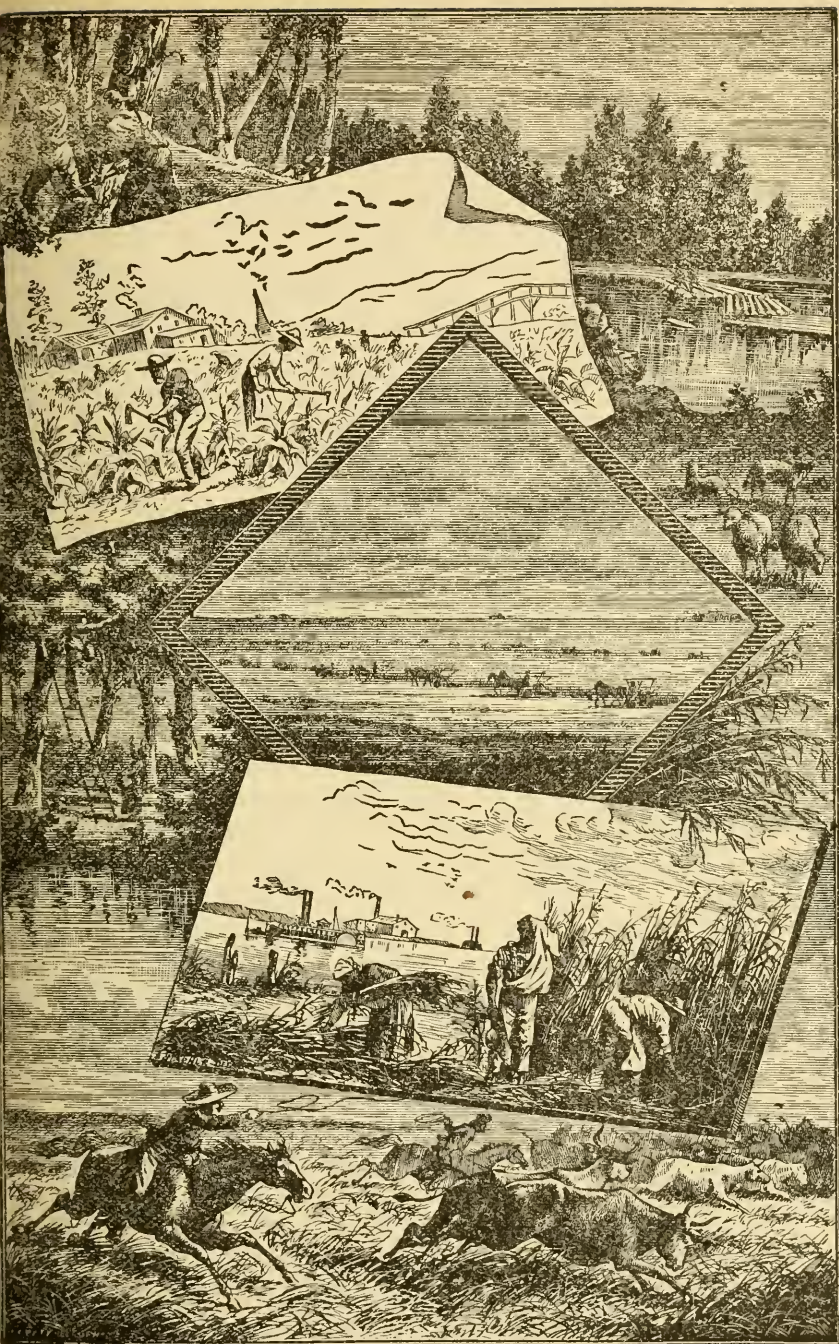
VEGETATION.—As a result of topography and climate, and as a means of affecting the latter, the vegetation of the United States has operated as a factor of development. The pine, spruce and hemlock sections of the north have invited to limitless enterprise and have contributed wonderfully to the wealth and comfort of the people. The same may be said of the central sections, where abound the harder woods, as oak, elm, ash, maple, chestnut, walnut, hickory,—all essential to the arts, industries and comforts of a thrifty and enlightened people. So also of the evergreen sections of the south, with their inexhaustible yields of live oak and pitch pines. The extreme west and north-west yield a vegetation as gigantic and rich as any of the sections above mentioned.

POPULATION.—Hardly anything is more phenomenal in the development of this country than its rapid and constant growth of population. The steady stream which has poured from Southern Europe into the Latin countries of North and South America for the four hundred years since discovery has

not furnished to all their great states and vast domains a population equal to that of the United States alone. From the date of the discovery of America up till 1790, but 3,929,214 people had found an abode in the areas now occupied by the United States. Then our institutions became settled and the rapid and permanent growth began. It has been kept up at the rate of over thirty per cent. increase for every decennial period, or, in other words, at a rate of from five to seven times that of Great Britain, France or Russia. In 1890 the total population was 62,622,250, thus giving to the United States the rank of fourth nation in the world, as to number of people. Of this increase, about 12,000,000 has been due to immigration, the rest to births on our soil. The immigration represents nearly every country of the old world. Until lately the countries of northern and central Europe sent the bulk of immigrants, and they were of an acceptable class, but since Italy and Hungary have begun to contribute so largely of their surplus populations, the grade of the immigrant has been lowered to such an extent as to suggest the propriety of placing limitations on the further introduction of foreign elements of population.

OCCUPATIONS.—In no country in the world is the scripture more respected, "By the sweat of thy brow shalt thou earn thy bread." It is a busy, heaving, sweltering community; perhaps indiscreetly so. Thousands annually pay the penalty of fret, fury and overwork. They pass away and serve as a warning, yet thousands of others follow, just as though this species of suicide were a contagion.

In the olden time pursuit was limited, and chiefly agricultural. Manufactures and mining were discouraged by the mother country. Even the right to manufacture a horseshoe nail was interdicted by act of parliament. To make a hat, a sheet of paper, a web of homespun, or anything of iron, beyond the simple lump of pig, was interdicted. Independence brought a change and enlarged occupations. Primitive occupations diversified till they embraced what was requisite for prosperity. Under the encouragement of enactments designed to protect and foster, American industries became a fact by the year 1830.



Once on their feet, genius came into full play, and no history presents such a succession of brilliant inventions, such labor-saving processes, such a cheapening of products to the masses by reason of competition, such an improvement in artistic and substantial merits of the things produced. The cobbler work of the colonies ran into the huge proportions of \$75,000,000 of machine-made shoes by 1890. The same proportion holds as to cotton, linen and woollen manufactures. The sickle of the colony gave way to the combined reaper and binder, so that four hundred men on a western wheat farm came to equal the productive power of five thousand peasant land-owners in France.

Idlers in America are fewer than in any other nation. Rewards of labor are high; the incentives to work great. Opportunity for preferment, if not actual fortune, was never so open. While application is greater here, hours longer and holidays fewer, still there is an inducement for all to contend, there being no caste, nothing discrediting about toil, a certainty of result which is almost exactly computable.

Agriculture engages over 8,000,000 of our working population; nearly 5,000,000 are engaged in professional and personal services; trades and transportation occupy the services of over 2,000,000; while manufacturing, mechanical and mining pursuits occupy fully 4,500,000. Thus fully 20,000,000 people, or approximately one-third of our population, are engaged in gainful pursuits. These figures show that we are essentially an agricultural people, and the per cents of those engaged in occupations show that we are growing more industrial as the decades pass. What is particularly remarkable about occupations is that the drowsy immigrants from Europe take on an earning capacity in America they never dreamed of at home.

While our occupations are encouraged by generous wages, larger output, and more favorable yields, they are also stimulated by better living and at far less cost than in the countries of Europe. Better living implies more cheer and brawn. Rent in America means a better roof than in Europe. Wages mean better clothing, higher education for children, encouragement to

thrifty citizenship. The workmen of America are the soberest and most tasteful in the world. The cock-fighting, bear-baiting, dog-fighting, prize-fighting and wife-beating of the foreign workman are not known as amusements among American workingmen.

As to its occupations there is no country so full of diversity, so thoroughly engaged, so contented, and liberally remunerated, as the United States of America.

EDUCATION.—The fathers and all generations in the United States have been imbued with the doctrine that education of the masses formed the basis of our institutions and the guarantee of their perpetuity. Hence common school laws very early followed in the wake of the grammar schools and colleges which were an importation, and common school systems brought to the masses the privileges the higher schools denied. By 1831 fifteen per cent. of the population of the United States were scholars in public schools, a per cent. equalled only by Prussia. Since then popular, or primary, education as a cause has made marvellous strides, all the more wonderful because of the inducement to engage in thoughts of a material kind, and because the general government has remained a stranger to educational, as well as to religious, regulations. Every State and Territory is the originator and custodian of its own common and normal schools.

The common school system of the country has grown till it embraces an enrolled pupilage of 12,291,259, with a daily average attendance of 8,004,275, engaging 352,231 teachers, who are paid \$87,888,666 as salaries. To support the system costs \$132,129,500 annually.

Twenty-seven of the forty-four States have laws known as "compulsory school laws." Though the general government has never legislated in common school matters, it has been generous in its gifts for common school purposes. By an Act as early as 1785, the sixteenth section of each township of public land was reserved for school purposes. Twelve of the first admitted States thus came into possession of splendid educational endowments. By an Act of 1848, an additional section of 640 acres in each township of the public domain was given

to the States for school purposes. A further grant of 9,000,000 acres was given to certain States for universities. In 1862 a further grant of 30,000 acres for each Congressman in each State was given for the founding of Colleges of Agriculture and Mechanic Arts. Thus the government has given to the States for school purposes a domain exceeding in area that of England, Scotland and Ireland.

The educational system of the United States begins with the common schools, nearest the masses, and passes upwards through an endless chain of secondary and high schools, academies, institutes, normal and agricultural schools, schools of design and industry, schools special and general, colleges and universities. Special schools of science, art, agriculture and handicraft are a constant and rapid growth. This leaves out of computation the enormous number of private and parochial schools, whose growth keeps even pace with the population. No more elaborate educational system exists anywhere. It would seem as though it were impossible for the Americans to be anything but enlightened, yet the army of illiterates is a large one, chiefly due to ineffective methods in certain sections, and to immigration.

The system of higher education embraced, in 1889, 141 Theological schools, with 686 teachers and 6,989 pupils; 52 Law schools, with 345 teachers and 3,906 pupils; 115 Medical schools, with 2,272 teachers and 14,066 pupils; 384 preparatory and liberal schools, with 5,422 teachers and 86,996 pupils; and 198 Female colleges, with 2,548 teachers and 26,945 pupils.

It will thus be seen that one out of every five of our population is in attendance on schools of some kind, a per cent. that compares favorably with the best educated nations of the world, and exceeds most.

Supplementary to our magnificent educational system are our libraries. While we cannot boast of the accumulation of centuries as can France with its National Library of 2,000,000 volumes; England with its British Museum of 1,500,000 volumes; or Russia with its Imperial Library of 1,100,000 volumes; we have the best diversified library system in the world, and as

many volumes accessible to the reading public, in proportion to population, as any of the older countries. The largest library is the Congressional Library, which contains approximately 600,000 volumes. Every State has its library. The cities have many. The libraries of the country exceed 200,000 in number, and they contain over 50,000,000 books. Of these fully 65,000 are of a public character and bring 30,000,000 books to their readers. But library statistics fall far below reality, for no American home is regarded as perfect without its complement of books, and these are of a better grade than in any other country.

RELIGION.—Religion in America exists irrespective of the political institution. It must rely on itself. All sects are free except those that inculcate immorality. This regulation, or rather lack of regulation, has been promotive of religion. Churches, communicants, theological schools, preachers and teachers, have kept even pace with population, and have proved to be a force whose efficacy is flattering. Freedom of general institution tends to develop all there is in man, evil as well as good. But the restraining power of religion has kept us a moral nation, and stamped us a reverent one. In proportion to population our religious edifices outnumber those of Great Britain, where the church is protected by the state. We have, in round numbers, 100,000 churches, or one for about every 600 persons.

In 1800 the number of church communicants was as one to fifteen of the population. In 1890 the number was about one to five of the population. The investment in church property has grown with the years, while the church architecture has been revolutionized. Some of the finest specimens of architecture and most costly structures are churches. While actual membership runs as one to five of the population, or say 14,000,000, more than half the population are within church influence and pervaded with its teachings. The churches of America represent a property in excess of \$400,000,000 and an army of ministers equal to 100,000. This inspiring force, free to act, meeting with no resistance, voluntarily sustained, is the most majestic and pervading in the history of the world. It is a living force,

down close to the masses, working silently but effectively, leavening the lump of humanity, drawing men closer together, lifting the faltering, dispensing consolation, cleansing society, and producing the most religious community in the annals of the world.

AGRICULTURE.—In less than one hundred years the United States marched from the foot to the head of the world's agricultural column. Russia with her hundred million people and wide areas may boast a soil product of \$3,000,000,000. Germany and France with their teeming populations and close methods may boast productions of land valued at \$2,500,000,000 each. Great Britain may show her grand total of \$2,000,000,000. Austria-Hungary, Spain, Australia, Italy, Canada, may come in their places with \$400,000,000 to \$1,000,000,000, yields of tilled lands. But the Great Republic tops all with her tributes to Ceres. The total wealth of the country which was meagre in 1790, and \$16,159,616,068 in 1860, rose to \$62,610,000,000 in 1890, an unprecedented increase of 287 per cent. in thirty years. Of this immense wealth a large per cent. was agricultural. Farms had nearly trebled in number and acreage of improved land kept the same proportion. Farm methods had been revolutionized by reason of improved manures and machinery. Mulhall mentions as an astounding fact that, in 1880, the United States, with but fifteen per cent. of her area under cultivation, produced thirty per cent. of the grain of the world. At that date the capital invested in farms and farming was \$10,600,000,000, or three times that invested in manufacturing. These bewildering figures can be raised to \$12,000,000,000 by 1890. The United States is the only country in the world whose farm tillage feeds her people abundantly and furnishes what can be readily spared to others. Of her 4,500,000 farms, three-fourths are worked by actual owners. Only in the South does the renting system prevail to any great extent.

The leading crops as estimated and ascertained for 1890 foot up the following grand totals :



A HARVEST 50 YEARS AGO.

	Tons.	Bushels.	Pounds.	Value.
Potatoes		202,365,000		\$81,413,589
Hay.....	46,643,094			408,499,565
Tobacco.....			565,795,000	43,666,665
Cotton			3,438,188,060	292,139,209
Corn.....		1,489,970,000		754,433,451
Wheat		399,262,000		334,773,678
Rye		28,415,000		16,721,869
Oats		523,621,000		222,048,486
Barley		63,884,000		37,672,032
Buckwheat		12,050,000		7,627,647
Totals	46,643,094	2,719,567,000	4,003,983,060	2,198,996,191

To the above amazing figures must be added other products of the farm for 1890, in the shape of

	Number.	Value.
Fruits.....		\$60,000,000
Horses	14,213,837	978,516,562
Mules	2,331,027	182,394,099
Milch Cows	15,952,883	353,152,133
Cattle	36,849,024	560,625,137
Sheep	44,336,072	100,659,761
Swine.....	51,602,780	243,418,336
Total.....		2,478,766,028

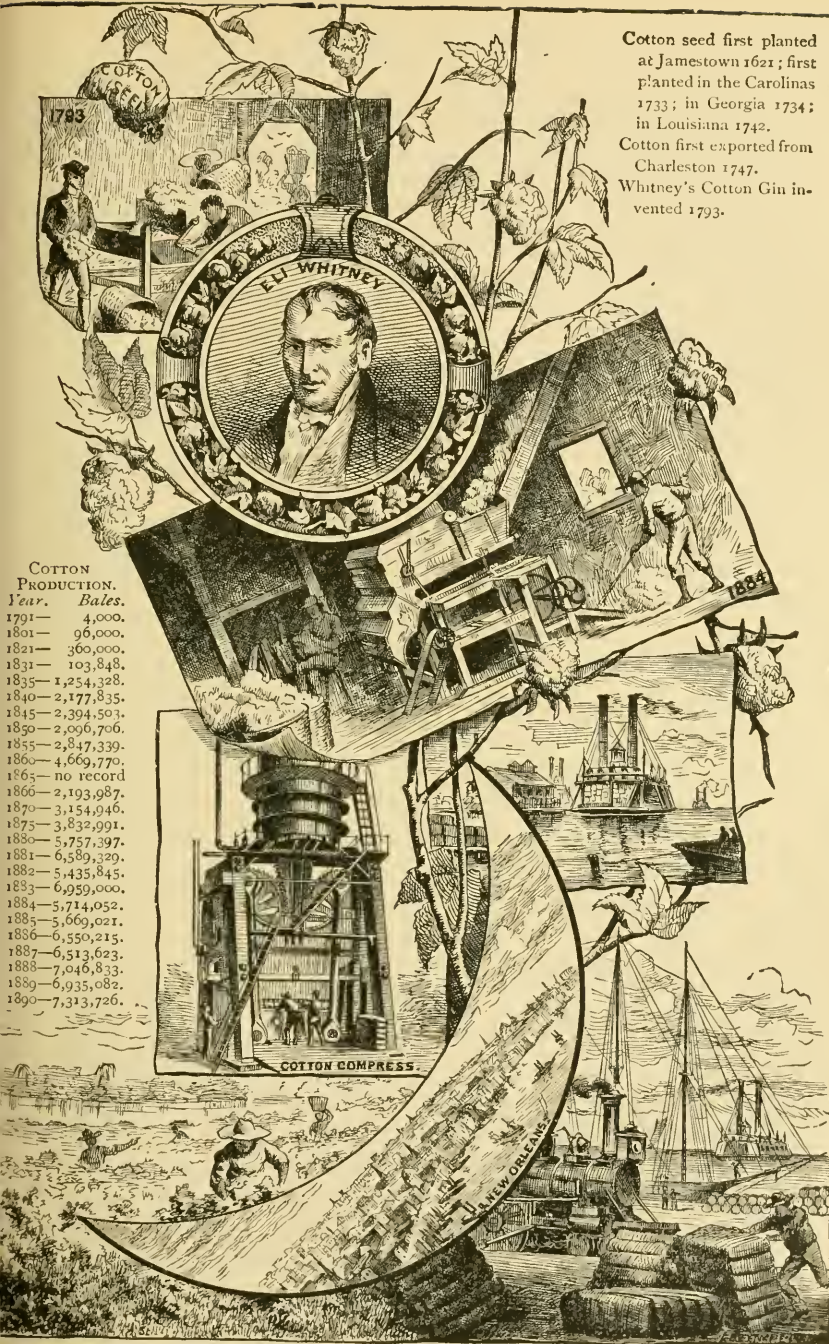
These two groups make a grand total of farm products equal to the value of \$4,677,762,219. And to these stupendous totals must be added others representing dairy products such as butter and cheese—half a million tons of the former and ninety thousand tons of the latter, representing at least \$100,000,000 annually. Then come eggs, and wool, and poultry and the myriad of untabulated farm products, amounting to countless millions more. In fact, of agricultural wealth there is no end. The land teems with plenty as no other land does. Never was soil so responsive. Never were energy and skill so well directed or so bountifully rewarded. Never had favored land so much for home use and such quantities to spare.

The farms of the United States contain a larger area than France, Germany, Austria, Hungary and Spain combined. Their value is greater than that of the entire kingdom of Italy. All the horses in Europe, each drawing a load of two tons, could not move the cereal crop of the United States. Loaded in cars, the train would reach one and a half times around the world. One year's crops exceeds in value all the gold ever washed from placers or raised from mines in California.

Cotton seed first planted
at Jamestown 1621; first
planted in the Carolinas
1733; in Georgia 1734;
in Louisiana 1742.
Cotton first exported from
Charleston 1747.
Whitney's Cotton Gin in-
vented 1793.

**COTTON
PRODUCTION.**

Year.	Bales.
1791—	4,000.
1801—	96,000.
1821—	360,000.
1831—	103,848.
1835—	1,254,328.
1840—	2,177,835.
1845—	2,394,503.
1850—	2,006,706.
1855—	2,847,339.
1860—	4,669,770.
1865—	no record
1866—	2,193,987.
1870—	3,154,946.
1875—	3,832,991.
1880—	5,757,397.
1881—	6,589,329.
1882—	5,435,845.
1883—	6,959,000.
1884—	5,714,052.
1885—	5,669,021.
1886—	6,550,215.
1887—	6,513,623.
1888—	7,046,833.
1889—	6,935,082.
1890—	7,313,726.



Of these agricultural products, we sent abroad in 1890, 394,-836 cattle; 91,148 swine; 3,501 horses; 3,544 mules; 67,521 sheep; 1,408,311 bushels barley; 101,973,717 bushels corn; 13,692,776 bushels oats; 25,460,322 lbs. oatmeal; 54,387,767 bushels wheat; 12,231,711 barrels flour; 2,462,579,034 lbs., or 5,020,913 bales cotton; 29,748,042 lbs. butter; 95,376,053 lbs. cheese; 471,083,598 lbs. lard; 531,899,677 lbs. bacon; 76,591,-279 lbs. ham; 79,788,868 pickled pork.

Many nations have posed as "the granary of the world." None ever deserved the title so completely as the United States. It is impossible to compute her ability to supply others with food, only because it is impossible to compute her ultimate resources of soil.

MANUFACTURES.—We pass to a more bustling and even more interesting field of industry and development. It presents the same evidences of phenomenal growth as agriculture, and pays the same compliments to our thrift and genius. It was designed by England that her American colonies should be agricultural. Love of land and the pastoral turn predisposed the early settlers to the plow. They were encouraged by soil, climate and all the accessories of successful tillage. But they, nevertheless, aspired to manufactures. They found splendid water power, and their genius was free. At a very early date their achievements along this line excited the envy of the mother country, and drew upon them those prohibitions which excited the spirit of independence.

The history of the growth of manufactures in the United States is the most interesting in its annals. By 1830 the total value of manufactures was measured by seven dollars for each inhabitant. By 1890 this value had increased fourteenfold, or to one hundred and ten dollars for each inhabitant. The total value of manufactured products has grown far more rapidly than that of agriculture, and to-day that value is ninety per cent. that of agriculture, which places the United States at the head of the manufacturing nations of the world. In thirty years the increase in value of manufactured products has been six hundred per cent. Of manufactures, that of flour stands at the head with \$200,000,-

000 of invested capital and an output of over \$500,000,000. The next is the comparatively new industry of slaughtering and packing, with its 6,000,000 pigs and half a million cattle going into barrels each year. Iron and steel roll up a value of \$450,000,000 a year. More than one-fifth of the iron and one-fourth of the steel of the world are manufactured in the United States, and every single nation is easily led. Lumber yields a product of \$250,000,000 yearly. Foundry and machine shop products yield \$225,000,000 yearly. Cotton manufactures have increased nowhere as in America. The ratio of increase as compared with any other country is as three to one, and the capital invested exceeds \$225,000,000, with a value of product exceeding \$200,000,000. Manufactures of wool have increased threefold since 1860, or six times faster than those of any other country. The same is true of silks and worsteds, boots and shoes and all the leading manufactures.

In no other country have the transfer from hand to steam or water power been so rapid, and in none has the increase of power been so marked. The result has been a decided lead for America in many branches of manufactures, notably silverware, watches, clocks, hardware, agricultural implements, etc., all of which command the markets of the world.

In 1880 the capital invested in manufacturing was \$1,232,839,670. In 1890 the capital invested in manufacturing was \$2,900,735,884. In 1880 the number of employees was 1,301,388. In 1890 the number of employees was 2,251,134. In 1880 the wages earned were \$501,965,778. In 1890 the wages earned were \$1,221,170,454. In 1880 the value of the product was \$2,711,579,899. In 1890 the value of the product was \$4,860,286,837.

MINING.—The United States is supreme below as well as above the soil. In no country are there such deposits of gold, silver, coal, copper, and iron, to say nothing of lakes of oil, and volumes of natural gas. The United States mines more coal than any other country; she furnishes one-third of the world's gold product; still a larger per cent. of the silver product; leads all other countries in the production of copper.

In 1870, 42,000 tons of lead were imported; in 1890 nearly as many tons were exported. Iron goes abroad in a thousand forms. The treasures of zinc, nickel, cobalt, platinum, salt, gypsum, graphite, sulphur, etc., to say nothing of granite, marble, sandstone, slate, etc., are immeasurable as yet, some through excessive richness, others through lack of development. Mineral wealth in the United States exceeds in its actuality the dreams of Columbus and his crews, of Spanish conquerors and their followers, of colonists of every nation and clime. They sought gold and silver. Gold and silver came profusely, but not in the shape of ingots, more than in the shape of "black diamonds," pigs of iron, barrels of oil, cubes of granite, slabs of marble, or the thousand and one forms which the treasures of earth take. We know only the beginnings of our under-ground wealth.

TRADE AND COMMERCE.—In the year 1790 the United States exported \$20,000,000 worth of her products and received \$22,500,000. In 1830 she received \$75,000,000 and sent forth \$60,000,000. In 1892 the total value of our foreign trade (exports and imports of merchandise) was \$1,857,680,610, an increase of \$128,283,604 over the previous fiscal year. The average annual value of our imports and exports of merchandise for the ten fiscal years prior to 1891 was \$1,457,322,019. Our foreign trade for 1892 exceeded the annual average value by \$400,358,591, an increase of 27.7 per cent. The significance and value of this increase are shown by the fact that the excess in the trade of 1892 over 1891 was wholly in the value of exports, for there was a decrease in the value of imports of \$17,513,754.

The value of our exports during the fiscal year 1892 reached the highest figure in the history of the Government, amounting to \$1,030,278,148, exceeding by \$145,797,338 the exports of 1891 and exceeding the value of the imports by \$202,875,686. A comparison of the value of our exports for 1892 with the annual average for the ten years prior to 1891 shows an excess of \$265,142,651, or of 34.65 per cent. The value of our imports of merchandise for 1892, which was \$829,402,462, also exceeded the annual average value of the ten years prior to 1891 by \$135,215,940.



ROBERT FULTON.



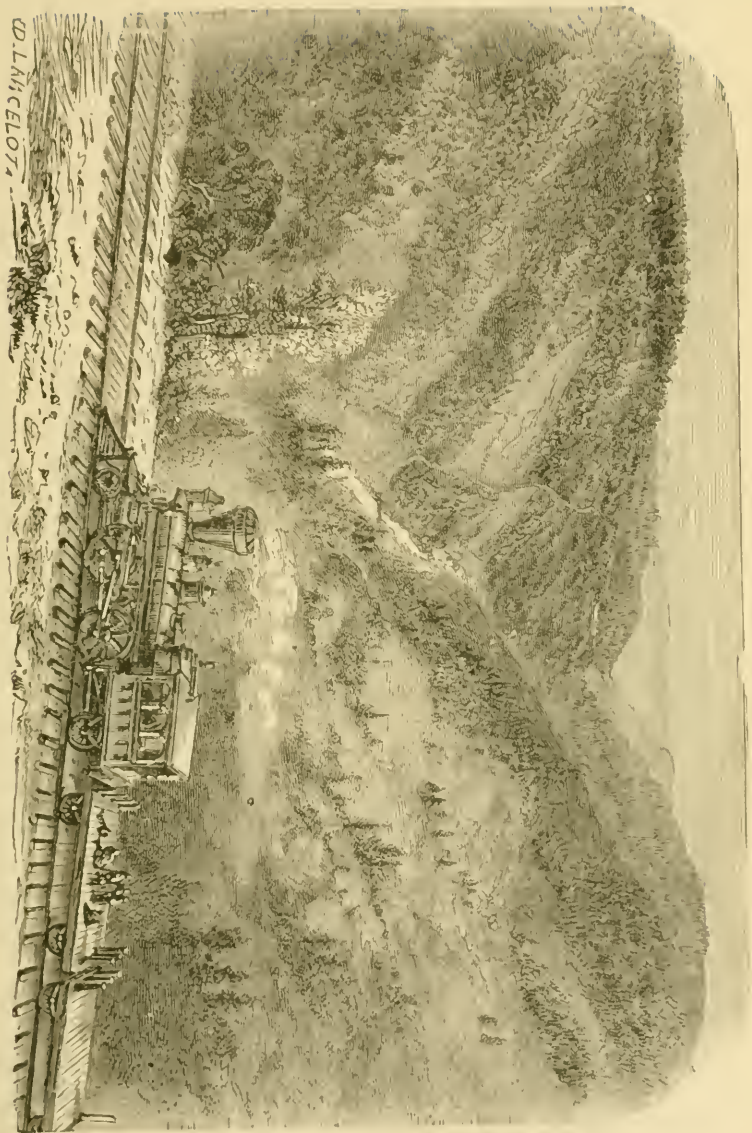
SAMUEL F. B. MORSE.

During the fiscal year 1892 the value of imports free of duty amounted to \$457,999,658, the largest aggregate in the history of our commerce. What is called our coastwise and inland trade exceeds the bounds of ordinary calculation. The freight carried in the coastwise trade of the Great Lakes in 1890 aggregated 28,295,959 tons. On the Mississippi, Missouri and Ohio rivers and tributaries in the same year the traffic aggregated 29,405,046 tons, and the total vessel tonnage passing through the Detroit river during that year was 21,684,000 tons. The vessel tonnage entered and cleared in the foreign trade of London during 1890 amounted to 13,480,767 tons, and of Liverpool 10,941,800 tons, a total for these two great shipping ports of 24,422,568 tons, only slightly in excess of the vessel tonnage passing through the Detroit river.

The aggregate traffic on our railroads for the year 1891 amounted to 704,398,609 tons of freight, compared with 691,344,437 tons in 1890—an increase of 13,054,172 tons. Fifty years ago the measure of this immense freight was taken by the Conestoga wagon load.

RAILROADS AND CANALS.—In the United States the canal is a convenience but the railroad a necessity. Our distances are vast. Earth has never before attempted to couple points so remote. From Philadelphia to Chicago is the journey from London to Rome. From New York to San Francisco is the voyage from London to Quebec. Jerusalem, Cairo, Constantinople are nearer London than Salt Lake City is to Boston. Yet Salt Lake is only two-thirds the way across the Continent. Therefore it takes more to bind our country than it would have done to bind the known commercial world two thousand years ago.

Sixty years ago the means of overland travel was the stage coach. In 1830 there were only 23 miles of railroad, though canal building began as early as 1785. The latter found its day with the advent of railroads. The total length of canals in the United States never exceeded 3000 miles. By 1840 there were 2818 miles of railroad. Since then the development of the resources of the country by steam highway has gone on with marvellous rapidity. Railroads were built to couple cities, to



CENTRAL PACIFIC RAILROAD IN THE SIERRA NEVADAS.

reach mines, to cross prairie distances, to bring outlying stretches into contact with peopled centres. They were numerous, extravagantly built. Some economists and fault-finders say they were foolishly and unnecessarily built in many instances. But there never was a foolish or unnecessary railroad in this country. Hundreds may have been in advance of their time, thousands may have been mismanaged, but in general they have been a force for development that needed but the railroad itself to prove its efficacy.

By 1860 we had 30,635 miles of railroad. By 1890 the mileage was 167,741, or far in excess of any other country; greater than many of the older countries combined. Each large city has its combinations of railroads, nearly every State its system. Think of it. Before 1830 not a dollar invested in railroads nor a mile of line in existence. In 1890 \$5,000,000,000 of capital invested in railroads, and a total railway liability of \$10,000,000,000. It is no longer so many hundred or thousand miles between cities, or even coasts, but so many hours. 500,000,000 passengers spin over these railroads in a year, at a cost of \$275,000,000; 700,000,000 tons of goods are whirled over them at a cost of \$700,000,000. They have a total revenue of \$1,000,000,000; and pay in interest \$175,000,000, and in dividends \$80,000,000.

The highest rate of increase in our railroad mileage in any one year was 12,879 miles in 1882. The average increase for the ten years between 1880 and 1890 was over 7,000. At this rate but a few years would suffice to give the United States a greater length of railroad mileage than all the world combined. Road-bed, rolling-stock, comforts of travel, dispatch of business, are of the best.

ELECTRIC SPEECH.—Communication by lightning had its birth in the United States, and seems to have been demanded by our magnificent distances and the need of quick business contact. As the American Franklin first identified the uncontrollable lightning with the controllable electricity, so the American Morse placed the latter in metallic leading strings and made it a medium of communication over the surface of continents and

under the depth of ocean. With that energy which has made the nation so wholly exceptional in every respect, the telegraph has been given phenomenal development. Prior to 1866 telegraph companies were scattered and their wires disjointed. In that year they were gathered together, and showed a line mileage of 37,380, with a wire mileage of 75,686. This was the beginning of systematic telegraphy in the United States. The days of experiment were over. The telegraph became the medium of business and news, bringing the marts and homes of the remotest parts into almost instantaneous contact, and serving a commercial purpose never before dreamed of.

By 1890 the mileage of telegraph lines in the United States, not counting those strictly private and belonging to the Government, was 220,000, and the length of wires was fully 800,000 miles. These wires, sufficient to girdle the earth more than thirty times, tingle night and day, like a system of nerves, throughout the Republic, and their every vibration means a story for thousands to read, a transaction in business, a thrill of grief or joy, for the domestic hearth.

While the railway annihilated distance as to solids, the telegraph did even more as to speech. An American conception, it meets a great American need. Here too it finds its mightiest patronage, being, as it were, a perpetual throb and quiver, source of satisfaction and profit, an invitation to endless investment. Already \$150,000,000 have gone into telegraphic enterprises, and the capital stock of the Western Union lines alone is \$87,000,000.

Like the telegraph, the telephone is the outcome of American genius. It is but a few years since Edison drove the human voice along the electric wires and provided a new means of communication highly useful in its social and commercial aspects. Already a single company—the Bell Telephone Company—has in place 449,861 telephones and 757 telephone exchanges in all parts of the Union. The entire telephone system of the United States uses 250,000 miles of wire, and represents an enormous capital, which pays a dividend of from 10 to 18 per cent.

The reduction of lightning to human uses has eventuated in a magnificent series of appliances which distribute it in manifold forms. It enters into our municipal business and household economy, in the shape of electric lights. It is distributed through our houses, offices and streets in the form of signals and summonses. It becomes a motor for cars, vehicles, machinery, boats. There is seemingly no end to its uses, as there is none to its powers. This most subtle, most majestic force in nature is more completely harnessed in America than in any other country, and most universally applied to the convenience of mankind.

LIFE CONDITIONS.—Two things are apparent from the slightest study of our industrial development. First, the progress has been phenomenally rapid, owing to conditions of soil, climate and resource and the terrific energy of the people. Second, the results stamp us as an exceptional people in comparison with the people of any other country or age. England was better known to Cæsar than America to Columbus. Yet those four hundred years have witnessed far more of growth and development in our republican community than those two thousand have done in England. This is not only true as to those things which we have used in this article as illustrations of material progress, but it is still more true of the vital conditions which are coupled with and inevitably affected by material prosperity. Not four hundred years ago, but only fifty, the United States was but a coast fringe. At a few places, as Boston, New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Charleston and Savannah, were clusters, which then ranked as cities, but which now would be only respectable towns. There were no roads, except in a few instances, which were passable at all seasons of the year. The means of public transit was the stage coach or the canal packet. When the pioneer pushed his way westward, he travelled in his ox-team and encamped in his wagon.

Dress was simple, coarse, and home-made. A broadcloth suit or a silk gown was a luxury enjoyed by the few. The popular taste was such that dress distinctions were abhorred. The carriage was unknown. People rode on horseback, in the crude

wagon, or at most in the one-horse chaise. Food was in general cheap, but simple and simply prepared. Barter was the common mode of payment. Wages were low. Workmen were paid, not in cash, but in orders upon the store. Clerical help received even lower wages, in proportion, than the day laborer. Fortunes rated not by the million, but by the \$50,000 or \$100,000.

The date of the carriage industry may be fixed at 1840. A piano manufactory, started in 1822, had so increased its business that, by 1853, a period of thirty-one years, it turned out the enormous number of fifteen pianos a week. But little attention was paid to art. Libraries were few, and generally inaccessible to the people. The village genius was a jack-of-all-trades. The professions were mixed. Preachers gave gospel and physic. Lawyers were counsellors, bankers, and real-estate brokers. Doctors administered pills and spiritual consolation. The division of labor, which came to distinguish the sciences and all handicraft, was unknown or unpracticed. The condition was primitive, though not forced. It was that which the migrant had brought with him from across the water. The community was one of toilers seeking betterment. The continent was before them, with its invitations and surprises.

Comparing that with this, time with time, condition with condition, we may well wonder whether the change has not been translation to another planet. There is no history anywhere to reconcile us with the magical transformation. Only the story of Aladdin's lamp, or some appeal of the imagination to the weird and wonderful, seems to warrant the chapters which note the transition from primitive to modern America.

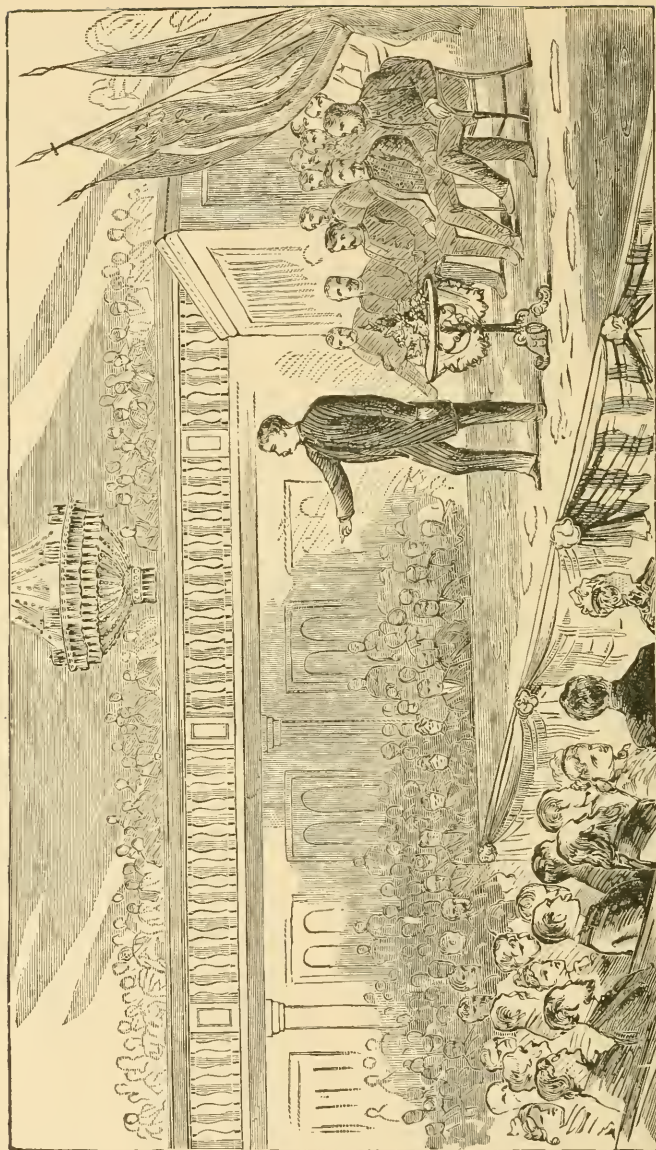
The railway came with its speed and whoop and roar to abolish the inconvenience of the mud highway. It not only made distant points contiguous, but it introduced the luxury of "bed and board," so that people never lost their sense of home comfort in a three thousand miles journey. The canal packet gave way to lake and river steamers of palatial build and swift motion, so that water transit became a pleasure. The food of the table assumed greater variety, larger quantity, and improved cooking. It is to-day the wonder of all Europeans, whether

seen on the rich man's table or on that of the workingman. Dress has taken on a richness, cost and style that the taste of fifty years ago would have utterly repudiated. "Republican simplicity" is no longer a fad. Americans are to-day the best dressed people on the globe. And so the American home is the best appointed, whether owned by rich or poor. There is no step from palace to hovel, as in the old countries, but the intermediate space where the million dwell is a succession of neat, cosy homes, warmed, lighted, healthful, with beds, carpets, pictures and books. There is hardly any such a thing as an American hovel, without windows and with cow and pig-pen in the kitchen. The American house of the wealthy has no counterpart in the world. It is heated throughout with the best appliances. It is carpeted like an Oriental palace. Its beds, linens, china-ware, hangings, chairs, tables, are rich, beautiful, durable. Pressure of an electric button signals servants in every room, in the garden or at the stable, and puts the household into contact with the fire department, the police, the store, or the next town. Speech is conveyed through all the stories and rooms by means of tubes. As to all those things which count as conveniences and comforts, no royal palace can equal a fully equipped American home of to-day.

There are a thousand outlets for taste and pride and rational enjoyment and true cultivation, that did not exist fifty years ago. Our horses and carriages and sleighs are sources of enjoyment as never before. Our theatres, public halls and other places of amusement afford relaxation, pleasure and instruction. Commercial exchanges, newspaper edifices, composite stores, systems of fire and life insurance, railway postal service, free postal delivery, uniform postage, postal notes, were not dreamed of by our immediate forefathers, especially in their present perfection. Now these things are not local or sectional. They are pervasive. The town of a night in the farthest West wakes up with them in full blast. All the energy, tastes and demands of the riper community seem to bud and blossom spontaneously in the newest communities. This is natural by reason of our easy and swift means of communication, our spirit of enterprise and emu-

lation, our wealth ; for be it known that the American migrant is the wealthiest in the world. A change from the East to the West, or from the North to the South, means desire and ability to make an investment, with a view to permanent betterment, and with no thought of relinquishing the tastes and comforts of the deserted home for a longer time than is required to establish them in the new sphere.

While the industrial growth of the United States is a series of historic surprises, it is prolific of lessons as impressive as those learned from its political growth. The lessons may be a little more intricate at first blush, but that is only because they are not so high sounding. Nothing can heighten their importance to the citizen, and especially to the young mind, or make them more easy to learn, than a contrast of that growth, and the conditions resulting therefrom, with the growth and conditions of countries and governments that have existed for thrice the length of time this one has, and whose boasts of superiority have rang incessantly along the ages. When a comparison is instituted, no larger expanse of rich soil will be found anywhere, no greater wealth of mine, no more healthy climate or varied vegetation, no finer manufactures, no richer commerce, no nobler intelligence, no statelier morals, no happier people, than in the United States. But this is far from the real situation, for the contrast warrants the conclusion that in all the above respects the United States enjoys a pre-eminence which the older nations look upon with envy and secretly, though reluctantly, confess.



POPULAR SOVEREIGNTY—A CAMPAIGN SPEECH.

POPULAR SOVEREIGNTY AND CITIZENSHIP.

IN a democracy, where the right of making laws resides in the people at large, public virtue, or goodness of intention, is more likely to be found than either of the other qualities of government. Popular assemblies are frequently foolish in their contrivance and weak in their execution, but generally mean to do the thing that is right and just and have always a degree of patriotism and public spirit. . . . Democracies are usually the best calculated to direct the end of law; aristocracies to invent the means by which that end shall be obtained; and monarchies to carry these means into execution.—*Blackstone*, Vol. i., p. 49.

This division of government into three forms is almost as old as the oldest writings on politics and law. It is only a general division, for there are other kinds of government besides these, but all kinds were, and are, regarded as reducible to one or the other of these heads.

Though it is not Blackstone's division, yet what he says of the merits of each kind of government is pretty generally accepted as true, and is taught in law and political schools. While his comparative view is brief, apt and suggestive, it is nevertheless the view of one who drew on his then historic past for the material out of which to weave opinions. In that past were many

democratic experiments, some of them pure democracies, others modified democracies called republics, whose rapid rise, bright meteoric career and swift decline, warranted his view.*

He did not teach that there was anything solid and enduring about a democracy. Had he written but yesterday he would have written amid greater light and perhaps not so much in sympathy with the notion which is so largely abroad in monarchies and aristocracies that our grand American experiment is but a "Great Republican Bubble." †

You hear the words "democracy" and "republic" used indiscriminately. Perhaps you so use them yourself. If so, your ideas may be clear respecting them, but such use is liable to lead to confusion in the minds of others, unless their full meaning be understood.

DEMOCRACY.—The democracy to which Blackstone refers is doubtless a pure democracy; that is, the democracy in which the *demos*, or people, met in periodic assembly, talked over their public affairs, passed their laws and elected their rulers, very much as we meet at our annual, or other, elections to record our wishes, except that their assembly was a deliberative body like our legislatures or congress, as well as a voting body.

A better idea of it may be gotten by supposing that all the

* The popular assembly of Athens could not consist of less than 6,000 citizens. The general assembly of Sparta was attended by all the freemen of Laconia. The republic of Venice, and the short-lived republics of Genoa and Pisa, were only republics in name. The people ultimately lost their power to ambitious doges and councils. The truest democracy was that of the ancient German tribes, where affairs of government were discussed and settled at their festal gatherings. That these were "foolish in their contrivance and weak in their execution," may be accepted as true, for all hands were encouraged to get gloriously drunk on the principle that they would then let out the true secrets of their mind.

† Boynton in his "Four Great Powers" says: "It (the rebellion) has proved that a popular government is not necessarily a weak one, and that a free unwarlike people, unused to the restraints of thorough organization and discipline, can yet assume almost at once the highest forms of national life, can reshape, without confusion, their whole industrial energy to meet the demands of sudden war, can bring forth, organize and hold in hand all their resources, and with all the skill and science of the age, can wield a thoroughly compacted national strength, greater in proportion to population than has been exhibited by any other power on earth."

voters of a state* should say to themselves, "We will not go to the trouble and expense of voting for members to represent us in the legislature, but we will all go to the capitol, or place of assemblage, and in popular meeting pass the laws ourselves." This would be the true and original general assembly of the *demos*, or people, and such a government would be a pure democracy. It is quite plain that such a form of government would be fitted for only a very primitive people and a very small state.

There is no such thing as a democracy in this sense now. It would be too heavy and too unwieldy a piece of machinery to work, or if it went at all, it would be very noisy and uncertain in its motion. The democracy which is meant by an every-day use of the word, or by the word when left unexplained, is democracy in its secondary or modified sense; that is, democracy in a representative form.

We do not all go to the general assembly to make laws, but we go to the polls and vote for some one to go in our stead, to represent us there, as the saying is. We still preserve the name "general assembly"—though largely substituted by the word "legislature"—to designate the place of meeting, not of the people at large, or of such of them as are called voters, but of the people through and by means of their chosen representatives. We are not in the general assembly directly, but we are there indirectly. We do not speak there with our own mouths but through our chosen mouth-pieces. We do not vote directly for our laws, but our representatives, who are supposed to know our wishes and who are responsible to us, vote for us. This is a

*Or rather all the *people* of a state, for the Declaration of Independence says "governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed;" and the preamble to the Constitution reads, "We the people do ordain and establish, etc.;" upon which Judge Sharswood remarks, "that in the freest nations—even in the republics which compose the United States—the consent of the entire people has never been expressly obtained. The people comprehend all the men, women and children of every class and age. A certain number of men have assumed to act in the name of all the community. The qualification of electors or voters was in general settled by the colonial charters, as well as the principle that the acts of a majority of such electors were binding on the whole."

much cheaper and handier kind of democracy than that first spoken of. It is the kind which must be understood when the term "democracy" is used without explanation, or in connection with our form of government. This government then is not a pure democracy, but a modified, or representative democracy; nevertheless it is a democracy.

REPUBLIC.—And as a democracy, it is equally a republic, for "republic" is very well defined as a form of government in which the sovereign, or law-making, power is exercised by means of representatives chosen by the people. The two terms, "democracy" and "republic," here come together in their meaning, and one may be used for the other without fear of confusion.

COMMONWEALTH.—You find in your reading other terms used to convey the same idea as "democracy" or "republic." The word "commonwealth" is one of them. And a very good word it is, too. Commonwealth is the common weal, health or happiness. It was not the democracy or republic of Cromwell,* but the commonwealth of Cromwell, though strictly it was all three, using democracy in its secondary sense as above explained. And this word "commonwealth" is much used by the respective States of our Union, as the "Commonwealth of Pennsylvania," "Commonwealth of Virginia," etc. Indeed, so popular and well fixed has this usage of the word become that it may be said to distinguish the smaller or fractional republic, otherwise called a State, from the Federal Republic, otherwise called the United States.

POPULAR GOVERNMENT.—The phrase "popular government," or "popular form of government," is common among speakers and writers when they refer to a democracy or republic. It is a pleasing phrase and hath much meaning. Every government which is endured, liked and sustained is in one sense "popular." In another sense every government which is par-

* The word "commonwealth" has got a meaning in English history as the form of government established on the death of Charles I., in 1649, and which existed under Cromwell and his son Richard, ending with the abdication of the latter in 1659.

tially representative, as a limited monarchy, is popular. But see the different shades of meaning embraced in the word "popular." In the first sense a despotism may be a popular form of government, in that the people may like it, but in the sense that they participate in it, help to carry it on, it is most decidedly unpopular.

In the expression "popular government" the word "popular" has, therefore, its true and original meaning, "of or belonging to the people." Perhaps the expression was never so happily paraphrased as when Mr. Lincoln, referring to our "popular form of government" in his oration at Gettysburg, called it "a government of the people, by the people, and for the people."

Popular is what is of and belongs to the *populus*, the people. The popular voice is the people's voice. The popular vote is the people's vote. Popular elections are the people's elections. Popular institutions are the people's institutions. A popular government is the people's government. And so, by contrast with those forms of government in which the people have no voice at all, and even in contrast with those forms in which they have a partial voice, the phrase "popular government," or "popular form of government," gets a meaning which always points out clearly a democracy, a republic, or a commonwealth. Our government is a popular form of government, or a popular government.

We happily know more about this kind of a government than Mr. Blackstone did. Our national experiment, so wisely started by our fathers, so adequate to every strain, has proved that a popular form of government, one in which the sovereignty is vested in the people, one in which the people are the rulers, is not necessarily weak or perishable, nor illy fitted to secure to the governed the ends for which it was established. Every one who has chosen to make himself acquainted with its history, and who has not? has seen such a government grow in size, strength and importance, in spite of the fierce obstacles of wars without and wars within. He has seen it acquire, populate, cement and give law and order to vast regions it did not own at the start. He has seen it rise from small and not very harmonious beginnings

till it has assumed the highest form of national life and conquered one of the first seats in the great political system which embraces all the civilized nations of the earth.

SOVEREIGNTY.—Amid this splendid growth, these evidences of inherent strength, these promises of durability, who does not feel new pride in our first and greatest axiom, "The sovereignty is in us, the people." Would that this pride were strong enough to impress every citizen with the need of special qualification for his high office, for his is an office—that of sovereign—and one with broader meaning and deeper function than that of the governor or president he helps to create.

In no country of the world does the word "sovereignty," as attached to the individual, have so much significance as in the United States. It is not merely a claim or a boast, but it is an inherent power which he may exercise on all proper occasions and in accordance with his own free will, and which he ought to exercise if he expects to be content with the laws and those who execute them. Knowledge of this supreme endowment ought to inspire every citizen with higher notions of manhood, ought to deepen his interest in the affairs of society and the State, ought to make him feel that there is no education so important as that which will teach him how best to turn the power he wields to the account of himself and those about him. True, he is but one sovereign among many, and he may feel that his voice is weak, his identity lost; but let an attempt be made to rob him of his endowment, and he will feel as if the loss were a mighty one indeed, one which could not well be borne. He would fight against its loss, as if it were the dearest thing on earth to him.

The true majesty and moving effect of individual sovereignty are visible when it is united with that of other individuals all along any line of political action. One soldier does not make an army, nor one man a nation, but many soldiers and many men. So sovereignty gets to be an imposing and effective force, gets to be sovereignty indeed, when it is a thing resident in, or bubbling forth from, a set of men, a society, a people, a nation. In the individual it was a still small voice, in the nation it is

Jove's chariot thundering in the heavens and shaking the earth.* Then, indeed, it means law, presidents and governors, constitutions, states, empires, and in an hour of great public grievance, or of incendiary partisan rage, it may mean the defiance of law, the overthrow of officials, the smashing of constitutions, the upheaval of states, the crashing of empires. It is a power for evil as well as good, a source of danger as well as safety.

WHENCE SOVEREIGNTY SPRANG.—In the after part of this volume there will be many opportunities of learning how the notions of popular liberty and the doctrines of popular sovereignty which are now a part of our national life were planted in our soil and cultivated among our colonial fathers. But the lesson of their importance to us cannot be fully learned, nor can their bearing upon the rest of the world be completely realized till we consider how many and what desperate battles they had to fight in the old world before they commanded any degree of respect. It was not the part of any feudal government to recognize sovereignty as in the people. Yet there never was a time when the people did not feel that all sovereignty was in them. Consequently all political history is marked here and there by volcanic eruptions of popular will, by upheavals of the masses in, too often, vain attempts to assert the power to rule themselves, which they felt was God-given and inherent. The democracies that tossed and writhed and tormented and spent themselves in very excess of agony, were simply the boiling up through hard feudal surfaces of that spirit which we now proudly claim and exercise as freemen. The republics which gave a mouth to every Grecian, bred in every Roman a sense of dignity, imparted a feeling of manhood to every Venetian, taught England that the "divinity which hedges a king" was no more divine than that which

* Some writers prefer not to speak of sovereignty as in the individual. They only recognize sovereignty as something residing in and coming out of an aggregate of individuals, a nation. Thus Brownson: "Sovereignty, under God, inheres in the organic people, or the people as a republic." It is only a question of when to begin to call it sovereignty. As a source of pride to the individual citizen he might as well be made to feel that his exercise of the elective franchise is an evidence of the sovereignty that is within him, as not. The water of each of an hundred springs that make up the river is in the river, whatever you may say.

hedges a mere citizen, were all so many protests on the part of the people against the doctrine of potentates that power does not rise from the masses, but comes down to them through masters. Rulers were always smarter than the uneducated, noisy, incoherent, careless masses. Hence democracies and republics were short lived. A shrewd or unscrupulous ruler was more than a match for brawling assembly, or a jealous and discordant set of electors. The Doges of Venice literally ran away with the power entrusted to them by the people, and royal diplomacy manœuvred England out of Cromwellian republicanism in ten years time. In all these battles for sovereignty the masses were at a decided disadvantage. They were, in general, not educated. If religious, their religion did not admit the freedom of conscience. If freemen, the modern doctrine of personal and civil liberty was not understood by them. If voters, the value of sovereignty was not appreciated. But with the reformation came a flood of daylight upon the lowly. Conscience got loose and shook itself rejoicingly, being free from fetters. Reading and thinking got down to the bases of society, and new notions of personal and civil liberty began to prevail. Subjects began to feel that they were men with rights which even sovereigns must respect, and most of all that they were a source of power which even sovereigns could be made to fear. Great minds got to writing about the sources of power, the responsibilities of citizenship, the relation of rulers to the ruled, the nature of liberty, the value of sovereignty, the duty of the freeman to assert his rights. Parties or sects—you can as yet scarcely distinguish between the two—sprang up, some to fight for their religion through their politics, and some to fight for their politics through their religion. In England the Puritan got to be a stubborn force, so did the Independent, and the Presbyterian, and the Quaker, all discordant, yet all united, in so far as the drift of their thought and influence was toward intellectual moral and political freedom, and the ultimate right of man to choose his own rulers and make his own laws. These were brave souls and they clung to their convictions and indoctrinated their fellows amid social ostracism and state persecution. Ham-

pered on all sides by forms too hard to break through, overshadowed by power too well entrenched to be easily dislodged, feeling that their doctrines were pervading, permanent and vital enough to bear transplanting, and knowing that an open continent lay beyond the ocean, they were ripe for the experiment of American colonization.

WE SHOULD PREPARE OURSELVES.—The propriety of, nay the necessity for, educating statesmen* is not doubted. Yet here we are, old and young, all of us, statesmen by right, and each endowed with a dignity and authority to which your statesman in fact is willing to take off his hat. Nothing is so pleasing and assuring as to see an office-holder well qualified for his office. Yet we are all office-holders, in that personal sovereignty is within each man's keeping. We go about our work or pleasure with what may be called the highest office, at least the highest responsibility, in the land, hanging to our persons, and inseparable from us.

The citizen makes a terrible mistake, one which may any day bring disaster to his country and himself, who supposes that he can properly fill his high office, perform his full duty as sovereign, without any previous thought or qualification. He cannot be a safe repository of power who does not know what power is, and when and how to exercise it. One cannot be a good president maker who has no idea of what a president is for, and what a good one is like. The man who is ignorant of legislation or the quality of a safe legislator is not fit to choose a representative in congress or the general assembly. You could scarcely expect a person without judgment to select a good judge for you. While the principle that every man is a sovereign, or that sovereignty resides in the people, is a glorious and inspiring one, it would be most dangerous to our own peace and to the per-

* What is specially needed in statesmen is public spirit, intelligence, foresight, broad views, many feelings, wisdom, energy, resolution; and when statesmen with these qualities are placed at the head of affairs, the state, if not already lost, can, however far gone it may be, be recovered, restored, reinvigorated, advanced, and private vice and corruption disappear in the splendor of public virtue.—*Brownson's American Republic.*

petuity of the nation, if we were all as ignorant and brutish as South Sea Islanders, or as indifferent as the free-footed Bedouins of the desert. It is only a safe and tolerable principle here and now because, as a rule, some kind of qualification exists, or because, as a theory, sufficient qualification is presumed; or, to state it in other words, because the result of the ballot is sufficiently on the side of purity and intelligence to answer as a set-off against an impure and ignorant ballot.

A CONTRACT WITH THE STATE.—The ballot is the legal means of giving expression to the will, or sovereignty, that is within us. Ought there ever to be a doubt about its intelligence and safety? Ought government, through and by means of the ballot, to be a sort of political hit or miss game, a thing to make one say, "Oh well, it is all wrong in this or that matter, but we will trust to another turn of the wheel to correct it?" We ought not to forget that despotism, aristocracy, monarchy, and every form of government which does not rank as popular, finds a strong vindication in its distrust of the masses, and in its doctrine that the sovereignty which comes up out of the people is uncertain, gross, and unsafe. The answer to the claim that the masses ought to govern themselves always was, "Let them prove that they are equal to the task." In the face of all the obstacles presented—their own ignorance as well as the superior intelligence and adroitness of their masters—they generally failed to prove it, and the laugh was on the side of the "powers that be." It was only when time had worked great changes in the condition of the common people, and when they began to give some proofs of their ability to master political situations, that the power which emanated from them, the state or government, got to be of any account. And now, under our form of government, does there not exist a secret understanding, an implied contract, a tacit pledge, between the state and the citizen, to the effect that one shall do all he can to qualify himself for his responsibilities, in turn for the protection and comfort the other affords? If such contract does not exist, the citizen is none the less responsible, and he must still face the question, "If ballots are even yet barely safe because those which are qualified outnumber

those which are not qualified, what might we not expect in the shape of stronger government and better institutions, if all were qualified?" The obligation of every sovereign citizen to qualify himself for the intelligent exercise of the power that is within him is deep, impressive, awful. Does he realize it? *

HOW QUALIFY?—Whatever will make the citizen think more seriously of his political obligations, whatever will enable him to give truthful, safe, and telling expression to the sovereignty that is within him, is a schooling of no mean order. Streams cannot rise higher than their source, creatures cannot be superior to their creators, institutions cannot be better than their supporters. Governments, laws, officials are, in general, a fair reflex of the ballots which make them. Before they can be raised to high and safe standards, we must rise to high and safe standards of citizenship. We must never admit that because a majority of us are qualified to exercise sovereignty, therefore things are safe. Things never can be absolutely safe till all are qualified. Our common schooling is a great help to us. But it is not of that special kind which is calculated to acquaint us with political situations, sharpen our wits as rulers, stimulate our pride of citizenship. Few of us ever think about our duty to the government till we are reminded of it by the alarum of a political campaign. Then as a short cut toward qualifying ourselves, we rush pellmell to school to the teachers who appear on the stump and in a declamatory, off-hand way, attempt to prove to us all kinds of impossibilities and demonstrate all undemonstrable things. These very eloquent teachers are seldom clear, dispassionate, or impartial. They may be mere creatures of prejudice or ambition. As a rule they rely more on the arts which captivate than on the logic which persuades, more on the tricks which deceive than on the facts which convince. Their appeals

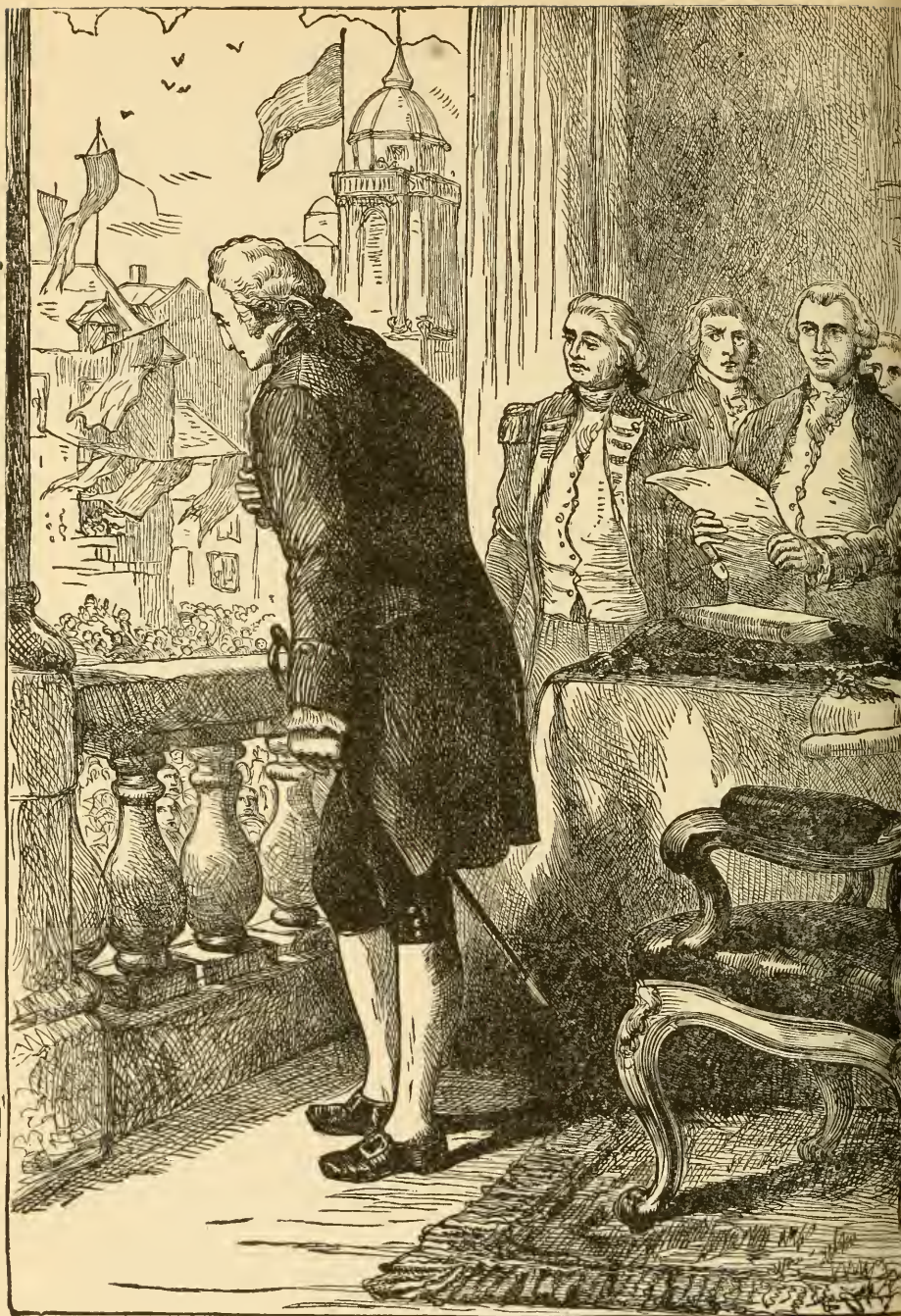
* Our republic has been reared for immortality, if the work of man may aspire to such title. It may, nevertheless, perish in an hour by the folly, corruption, or negligence of its only keepers, *the people*. Republics are created by the virtue, public spirit, and intelligence of the citizens. They fall when the wise are banished from the public councils, because they dare to be honest, and the profligate are rewarded, because they flatter the people in order to betray them.—*Story on the Constitution*.

are to the passions and not to the solid judgments of men. The most they want is votes, not as winged principles, but as something to be counted in one, two, three order for their favorite candidate. There is but one class of scholar who is truly at home in this ringing, jostling, exciting school. He is the one who will not qualify himself in any other way, who is fond of the hurly-burly, delights in brass bands and ear-splitting hurrahs, loves the delirium of passion, and supports the ticket, no matter who is on it or what principles it embodies. Conviction goes to the dogs with such an one, sovereignty is a Chinese gong, the franchise a batch of fire-works, and election day a glorification.

You will say, "but better this school than none." Assuredly. We do not design to diminish its importance further than that is effected by showing that it is not the best school, and should not be the only one, in which to learn our duties as citizens, or to get substantial notions of our high privileges. It is very pleasant to hear speeches, delightful to be carried away by oratorical flights and figures, gratifying to see an enemy's scalp raised by the keen knife of sarcasm, inspiring to be appealed to in various pathetic ways, but it is all very much like going to a theatre to dwell for a little time in the midst of sentiments and passions. It is an intoxicating, short-lived schooling, which may tide one over an emergency, but leaves the mind to as sad a reaction as a drink of spirits does the body.


The best qualification of the citizen is that which is always going on. He may quicken it by the usual agencies of the campaign, brush up, as it were, at each call to exercise his sovereignty, but the solid, solemn work of preparation ought to begin with the child and never end till death ends it. The course of study cannot be mapped. Tastes vary, and time is not at the command of all alike. But it is safe to say that all may learn, and should, what will make them prouder of the distinction of sovereign citizen, what will enable them to handle, without danger to themselves or others, the sharp weapon of the ballot, what will give them bigger and broader views of their country and institutions, what will enlarge their manhood and make them

feel their importance as factors in further building and perpetuating this vast temple of government, which is even now overshadowing all others and influencing all others for their good. For the greater encouragement of the young, and for overcoming the indifference of those of riper years, let this fact not escape attention. The people are closer to their rulers and their government now than ever before in its history. Just as they prepare themselves for the duty of personal rulers, they rise in importance with their political rulers. Just as they are able to think accurately for themselves, formulate their thoughts succinctly, and defend them stoutly, in that proportion the political ruler hearkens unto them and takes his cue from them. It is for this reason that reform is twice as speedy now as it was twenty years ago. The better informed, the stronger, the more resolute the constituency, the surer it is of a prompt and certain echo from its representative. And this is as it should be, for the whole theory of sovereignty with us is, that power passes upward from the people, never downward. So, ability to instruct and judge should pass in the same direction. While the responsibility of the people is thus greater, the duty of the legislator is simpler and easier.



PRESIDENTS AND ADMINISTRATIONS.

CONGRESSES AND PARTY MEASURES; RISE AND FALL OF POLITICAL PARTIES; NATIONAL ELECTIONS AND PARTY PLATFORMS.

ARTIES IN GENERAL.—Party names do not always afford an index to party principles or professions. In this respect they are unfortunate. “Whig” was originally a term of reproach, and “Democrat” and “Jacobin” were mere epithets previous to 1825. So far as the names give a cue to principles there ought to be no difference between the existing “Republican” and “Democratic” parties. In such names as “Federal,” “Anti-Federal,” “Native-American,” etc., one is provided with a key to the principles professed.

Under our institutions issues are so transitory that parties are short-lived. Or if they retain their names a great while, they frequently cross their principles and change their professions. They are also often the victims of a seemingly inevitable drift, by which they get very far away from the intent of their founders, and so lose sight of original principles as to leave nothing but the party name as a rallying cry. Some of our best and purest parties, in the beginning, have moved illogically along in wider and wider departure from their first intent, until they either ruined themselves or brought trouble to the country. In such instances party is lost in partyism, and blind adherence to a banner is mistaken for intelligent devotion to principle.

USES OF PARTIES.—As embodiments of ignorance, prejudice, passion, as a means of holding unthinking crowds, and wielding arbitrary, brutal power, parties are dangerous, even in a Republic. But as schools of thought, as orders representing

some vital principle, as a means of giving emphatic expression to some popular and useful wish, they are proper and necessary. Candid study of our institutions must impress one with the fact that in general the existence of political parties has been timely, and their effect wholesome. Each has answered a purpose, which, even if not presently needful or apparently good, has nevertheless served as a check on its opponents or as a stimulus to higher notions of activity. However much party principles may have ebbed and flowed, however far toward fanaticism, sectionalism and intrigue, certain minds, and orders of mind, may have drifted, it cannot be said that the spirit of liberty has suffered, or that respect for our institutions has been undermined, but that, on the contrary, the former is keener and the latter broader and deeper. Yet it is always well to remember Washington's words, "that from the natural tendency of governments of a popular character, it is certain there will always be enough of party spirit for salutary purposes. And there being constant danger of excess, the effort ought to be, by force of public opinion, to mitigate and assuage it. A fire not to be quenched, it demands a uniform vigilance to prevent its bursting into flame, lest, instead of warming, it should consume."

PRIMITIVE PARTIES.—The Colonial period developed no parties as we now know them. The Colonies were disjointed governments, therefore there could be no national party. But there was always a sentiment against the right claimed by Parliament to legislate for them. This sentiment grew warmer after the English revolution of 1688, which greatly strengthened the hands of Parliament and emboldened its assumptions. But it did not really crystalize in the Colonies till after the treaty of 1763, by which Great Britain secured Canada and the Mississippi valley from France. Then it became a British policy to make the Colonies pay a part of the expenses of the war.* This policy brought that long list of burdens, such as customs dues, export taxes, excises, Tea Acts, Stamp Acts, etc., against which the

* An excessive part of the expenses, for the English idea was that they should pay all they could be compelled to, inasmuch as the territory secured enured to their benefit.

Colonies unitedly remonstrated, not more because they were burdens, than because submission to them involved a surrender of the point that Parliament had no right to tax America without her consent. The respective Tory ministries in England favored Parliament. The Whigs (when out) favored the Colonists, or, at least, non-interference. Colonial thought, shaped on these lines, took these party expressions. As the Colonial Whigs grew warm in their opposition to Parliament, and the idea of union and independence advanced, "Whig" and "Tory" became as familiar in America as in England, and the sentiment represented by each as bitter. The Whig, who was at first only an opponent of Parliamentary claims, got to be a Colonial unionist, without separation from the mother country, then a unionist, with separation. The Tory remained the fast friend of English sovereignty on our soil, in whatever shape the powers at home chose to present it.

PARTIES OF THE REVOLUTION.—From the above attitude of parties one can readily see that after the fact of Independence (1776) the Tory party was without a mission. If a party at all, its sentiment was silenced amid arms. The Whig idea was uppermost and overwhelming. It meant vastly more than in the beginning. The Whigs were the revolutionary, armed party. They were the government, such as it was—the Congress first, and then the Confederation. The Tories were enemies, traitors if you please. Indeed, the term Whig began to mean so much that other words, comprehending more, came into use, as "Popular Party," "Party of Independence," "American Party," "Liberty Party," "Patriots," and so on. This was the party situation from 1774 to 1778, in the Continental Congress and in the Colonial Legislatures.

PARTIES OF THE CONFEDERATION.—The event of the Confederation was forced by the Whigs. Their party name followed. The Articles of Confederation were a decisive advance of the federal idea, but as a government they were infinitely weaker than the arbitrary, revolutionary Congress. We have already seen their sources of weakness, how they fell into disrespect at home and abroad, why it became necessary to sub-

stitute for them "a more perfect union." The Whig party dominated the Confederation. Less than ever was there a Tory party. Toryism invited confiscation, proscription, banishment.

PARTIES OF THE CONSTITUTION.—With the peace of 1783, the Tory cause perished outright. Therefore there was no longer any need for the term Whig. The prevalent thought was the national one—how to unite more firmly, and for peace as well as war? This was Federalism—the permanent one out of the disjointed many idea. The weaknesses of the Confederation forced this thought along like a torrent, ripened it until it became the Constitution of the United States. Strictly speaking, there were no more two parties from 1783 to 1787, than from 1774 to 1783. Whigism became Federalism, and Whigs Federalists, and the thought of "a more perfect union" was as paramount as the thought of Independence, Union under a Congress or the Articles, and the victory of the Revolution. But it was a time of peace, and Federalism was a widely varying theme. It took all sorts of shapes in conventions, village groups and around the hearthstone. When it brought the convention which framed the Constitution, it was variant there. Debate took very wide range. Antagonisms were pointed and bitter. And debates in the State Conventions over the question of ratification took still wider range. But in all these contentions the central thought was not lost sight of. Federalism, however colored or twisted, was still the aim. Starting away up among the few monarchy men of the convention, or of the States, and travelling down through the various orders of thought clear to the very few who repudiated union on any conditions, we find Federalism the regnant idea and crowning hope. All differences were as to form, time, construction, etc., not as to fact or necessity. The party of Federalism, that is, the Federal party, became the party of a new and stronger government, of the Constitution, just as the Whig party had been the party of Independence and the Continental Congress.

"The Republicans are the nation," said Jefferson in the flush of political triumph. The Federals were the nation. Their conciliations and compromises in convention secured a Constitution.

Their concessions, surrenders and appeals secured its ratification, speedily here, tardily there, reservedly in many instances, fully in others. We therefore regard the common division of the parties of this time into Federal and Anti-Federal as not exact and somewhat misleading. There was no national Anti-Federal party,* certainly no national sentiment worthy the name of Anti-Federalism. The opposition to the Constitution which sprang up in the State ratifying conventions was not even unreservedly Anti-Federal. It was a strange, incalculable sentiment, born of fears, and visions, and hypotheses, and constructions, and was as much indulged by men like Patrick Henry and Samuel Adams who had all along been Federalists of the most pronounced type, as by those who thought the "secretly deliberating convention" could only hatch a scheme of monarchy. Nor was it a final sentiment, for many Anti-Federalists voted to ratify. It was not a coherent sentiment, for some opposed because the promised union would not be strong enough, some because it would be too strong, some because the States would suffer, some because a State government was at all times sufficient, and so on. Anti-Federalists were united in nothing save their opposition. When the work of ratification was completed and the government came to be started, Anti-Federalism was not heard of. In the presence of the fact of a Constitution it either agreed to suspend judgment while the new experiment was being tried or engaged to help the trial on.

* All the members of the Convention signed the Constitution except Edmund Randolph and George Mason, of Virginia, and Elbridge Gerry, of Massachusetts, and they were believers in Federalism, *i. e.*, the necessity for a stronger union, but they did not think the Constitution was the best means to secure it. On signing, Franklin said: "I confess there are several parts of this Constitution I do not at present approve, but I am not sure I shall never approve them." And Hamilton, on moving that all the members sign the instrument, said: "No man's ideas were more remote from the plan than his own were known to be, but is it possible to deliberate between anarchy and convulsion on one side and the chance of good to be expected from the plan on the other?" In the letter which Washington sent out with the Constitution he says: "In all our deliberations we have kept steadily in view that which appears the greatest interest of every American—the consolidation of our Union, in which is involved our prosperity, felicity, safety, perhaps national existence."

NEW GOVERNMENT PARTIES.—So general was the refusal of the Anti-Federalists to adopt a definite line of action after the Constitution had been ratified by the necessary number of States (nine), and such was their acquiescence in the popular wish to see the new government fairly tried, that all animosities ceased, and all open opposition was hushed, while the nation bowed before the popularity of Washington, and unanimously chose him for its first President. This signal mark of confidence, and this supreme triumph of Federalism was to end most happily for the country. The passions of the hour would have time to cool. Though Washington was a recognized Federalist, he was not extreme, and all could depend on his judgment to start the machinery on the broadest and safest basis. Extremists and radicals of every type could afford to bide their time. And they did, harmlessly but not inactively. It was a period for new schools of thought, or rather for bringing to bear on the new order of things old thoughts in stronger and better formulated shape. Federalism, which was affirmative, and Federalists who were responsible for the new government, naturally inclined to such a construction of the Constitution, where points were doubtful, as would throw the doubts in favor of the central authority. Anti-Federalism, which was negative, and Anti-Federalists, even though they were supporters of the administration, naturally inclined to such a construction, as would throw the doubts in favor of the States. Thus the operative, dominant Federalism of the day took the form of liberal or open construction of the Constitution, would interpret it as though it had a spirit as well as a letter, saw in a government under it an entity with powers and functions to be questioned only by the people at large. So the Anti-Federalism of the day took the form of a strict or close construction of the Constitution, would interpret it as though it were a simple, inelastic code, saw in a government under it nothing more than that aggregate of power and function which the sovereign States had parted with, and which they were at liberty to question, or if need be recall. While these two schools of thought did not immediately branch into organized and opposing parties, they furnished the ground-

work for nearly all subsequent and legitimate national party differences.* A few years of experiment with the new government brought up many questions which deeply engaged the respective schools and gradually led to the first organized antagonism to the Federal party, which became known as the Democratic-Republican party, or better as the Republican party. But of this in its place.

I.

WASHINGTON'S FIRST ADMINISTRATION.

April 29, 1789—March 3, 1793.

GEORGE WASHINGTON, VA., *President*. JOHN ADAMS, MASS.,
Vice-President. SEAT OF GOVERNMENT AT NEW YORK AND
PHILADELPHIA.

*Congresses.**Sessions.*

FIRST CONGRESS.	{ 1, April 6, 1789—September 29, 1789, appointed session.
	{ 2, January 4, 1790—August 12, 1790.
	{ 3, December 6, 1790—March 3, 1791.
SECOND CONGRESS.	{ 1, October 24, 1791—May 8, 1792.
	{ 2, November 5, 1792—March 2, 1793.

Washington was nominated by a Caucus of the Continental Congress. The State Legislatures chose electors for President and Vice-President on the first Wednesday of January, 1789.† These electors voted on the first Wednesday in February.

*To the former or liberal school of construction belonged the Federal party, which may be called its founder. To the same school belonged the Whig party, which asserted that internal improvement at the national expense was within the purview of the Constitution, as well as protective duties and a general banking system. And so of the modern Republican party which claims for the central government all power necessary for its preservation and advancement. To the latter, or strict school of construction, belonged the old Republican party and its successor, the Democratic party. But all this is in general, for many times the respective parties have occupied common ground or crossed each other's tracks, only to back away again to their old places when motives of expediency ceased to operate, and there was no rallying point short of the old differences.

† The electors were chosen by the State Legislatures up till 1824. Under the Constitution as it stood up till 1804, they voted for two persons, the one having the highest number of votes to be President, the next highest to be Vice-President. But they could not both be from the same State.

ELECTORAL VOTE.

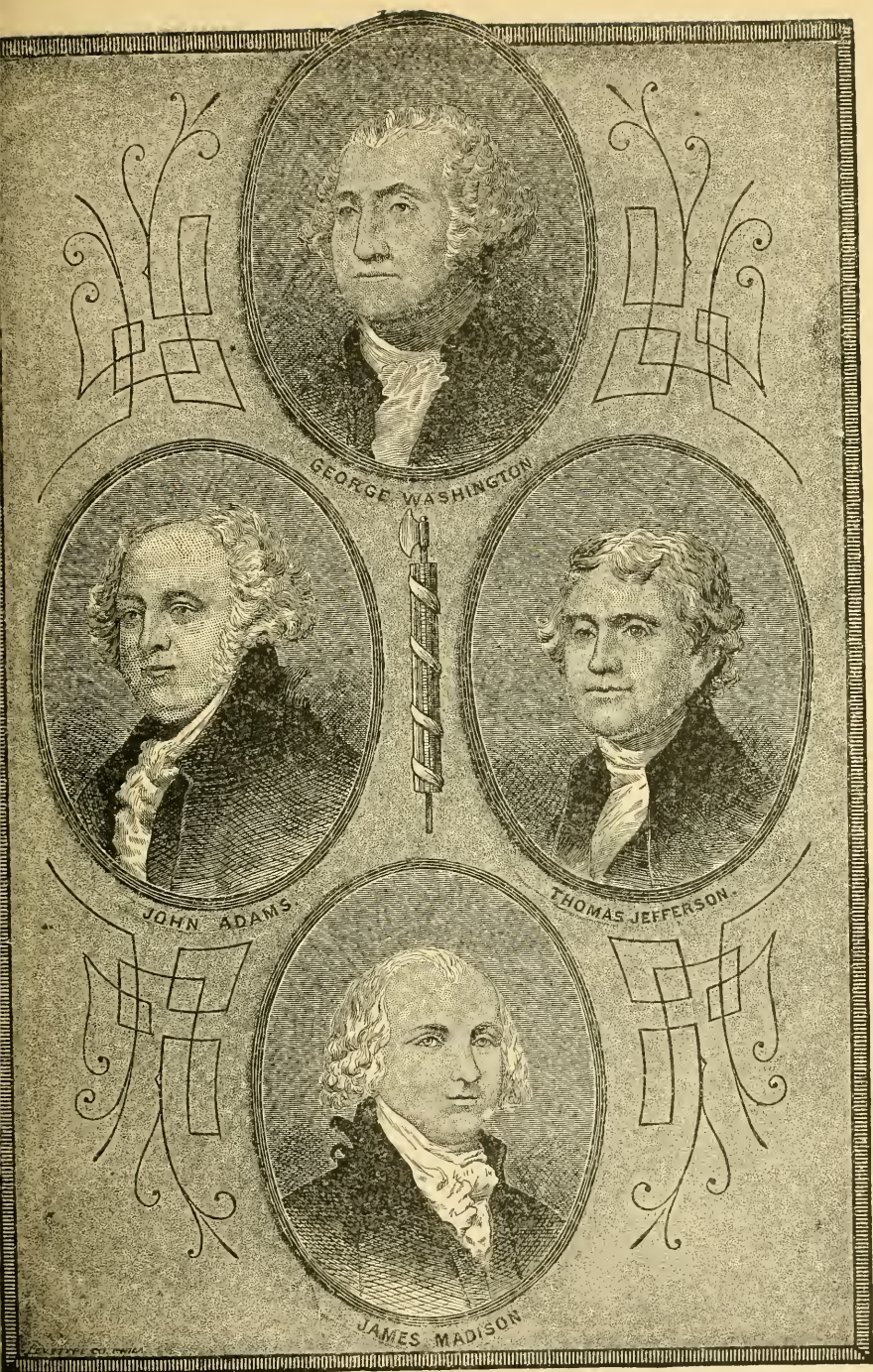
States.	Basis of 30,000.	Votes.	Party.	George Washing- ton.	John Adams.
New Hampshire.. . . .	3	5	No opposition to the Federal party.	5	5
Massachusetts.....	8	10		10	10
Rhode Island	1	3		..	.. Had not yet ratified the Constitution.
Connecticut.....	5	7		7	5
New York.....	6	8		..	.. Had not yet passed an electoral law.
New Jersey.....	4	6		6	1
Pennsylvania.....	8	10		10	8
Delaware.....	1	3		3	..
Maryland.....	6	8		6	.. Two vacancies.
Virginia.....	10	12		10	5 “ “
North Carolina.....	5	7	No opposition to the Federal party.	..	.. Had not yet ratified the Constitution.
South Carolina.....	5	7		7	..
Georgia.....	3	5		5	..
Totals.....	65	91	..	69	34*

Though March 4, 1789, had been fixed as the time for starting the new government, it was not until April 6 that a quorum of Congress was present. Their first business was to count and publish the Electoral votes as above. The candidates, being duly notified of their election, went to the seat of government. Adams arrived first and took his place as presiding officer of the Senate. Washington was sworn into office by Chancellor Livingston on April 29, 1789.

THE CABINET.†—Washington chose a Cabinet with due regard to the sentiment of the day. As to ability it was unquestioned.

* Of the votes cast for other candidates, and usually recorded as scattering, John Jay received 9; R. H. Harrison, 6; John Rutledge, 6; John Hancock, 4; George Clinton, 3; Samuel Huntington, 2; John Milton, 2; Benjamin Lincoln, 1; James Armstrong, 1; Edward Telfair, 1.

† The choice of a Cabinet was not an immediate step, for Congress had not yet passed laws organizing the respective Departments. The State Department was organized by act of Sept. 15, 1789, and Jefferson's appointment dates from Sept. 26. The Treasury Department by act of Sept. 2, 1789, and Hamilton's appointment dates from Sept. 11. The War Department by act of Aug. 7, 1789, and Knox's appointment dates from Sept. 12. The Attorney-General by act of Sept. 24, 1789, and Randolph's appointment dates from Sept. 26. The Navy Department was not separately organized till April 30, 1798, nor the Post-Office Department till 1829. The latter was conducted till that time by the Treasury Department.



PRESIDENTS FROM 1789 TO 1817.

Secretary of State.....Thomas Jefferson, Va.....Moderate Anti-Federal.
 Secretary of Treasury.....Alexander Hamilton, N. Y.....Federal.
 Secretary of War.....Henry Knox, Mass.....“
 Attorney-General.....Edmund Randolph, Va.....Anti-Federal.
 Chief Justice Supreme Court. John Jay, N. Y.....Federal.

CONGRESS IN EXTRA SESSION.—The House organized by electing Frederick A. Muhlenberg, of Pennsylvania, Speaker. This election had no political significance. All were content to allow the work of organization to move on the plane of Federalism; or rather there had been no comparison of ideas, and consequently no effort to organize opposition to Federal supremacy. The session lasted for nearly six months, or till Sept. 29, 1789. The work related to the preparation of machinery and starting the wheels of the new government. The number of measures necessary, and their novelty, invited able and protracted discussions. In range and character they were not unlike those of the period preceding the adoption of the Constitution, and they foreshadowed those permanent differences of interpretation which might readily, and properly too, afford a basis for party existence.

AMENDMENTS.—So many States had ratified the Constitution with the hope of early amendment, and two, Rhode Island and North Carolina, held so stubbornly off, that the Congress took early steps toward remedying the defects of the instrument. Twelve amendments were agreed upon (Sept. 25, 1789) and submitted for ratification. Ten of these became a part of the Constitution, Dec. 15, 1791. They referred to freedom of religion, speech, person and property. Though intended to overcome the objections of the States and to make more secure the rights of the citizens, strange to say they invited bitter opposition from the extreme anti-Federal element, which regarded them as deceptive, and calculated to lure the States and people into false expectations of national unity and strength.

COMMERCE AND TARIFF.—Bills for the regulation of Commerce and the adjustment of a Tariff were fully considered and passed. The Tariff act was generally acquiesced in, so far as it provided a means of raising revenue by indirect taxation. But when it was suggested that such an act could also, and

should, be made a means of protection, the strict constructionists decried it as unconstitutional. However, some of the extreme anti-Federals sought to make the measure discriminate against England, by favoring the products of other nations. A Tariff bill was finally passed July 4, 1789, against strong opposition. Though it imposed a very low rate of duty, it was nevertheless dignified in the preamble as an "act for the encouragement and protection of manufactures." Thus as to one of the objects of a Tariff, and in the character of opposition it met with, there were foreshadowed, at the very beginning of our government, the spirited and strictly party controversies over the same subject a generation afterwards, and for that matter, at the present day. The matter of adjusting the public debt was left in the hands of the Secretary of the Treasury for future action. This extra session adjourned Sept. 29, 1789. During the vacation, Nov. 21, 1789, North Carolina ratified the Constitution and entered the Union.

FIRST CONGRESS—First Regular Session.—Seat of government at Philadelphia. Met Jan. 4, 1790. Hamilton's Report on the adjustment of the public debt furnished the leading subject for deliberation. This great State paper, which involved the national credit at home and abroad, was presented January 9. The plan proposed was (1) for the national government to fund and pay the foreign debt of the Confederacy in full. (2) To likewise fund and pay the domestic debt of the Confederacy, at par. This debt was then floating about in the shape of nearly worthless promises. (3) That the government should assume and pay the unpaid debts of the respective States. To the first proposition there was no opposition. Against the second the extreme anti-Federals rallied, and they were reinforced by such as Madison, and many others, of Federal leaning. Their logic was that this debt was largely held by speculators, who had bought it for a song, and who would realize enormously if it were paid at par. Against this Hamilton urged that the only way to permanently raise the broken national credit was to pay all honest promises in full, and thus teach the first holders of them the folly of parting with a valuable security at a ruinous dis-

count. This second proposition finally carried. The third proposition was looked upon as a stretch of power on the part of the government. It was an assumption to do what the States only could and should do. The entire anti-Federal sentiment was united against it. Still it was carried by a close vote in the House (31 to 26). It was however reconsidered a short time afterwards, on the arrival of the seven anti-Federal representatives from North Carolina, and defeated. But it was finally carried by the vote of two anti-Federals, who agreed to favor it, in turn for Federal support of the measure to locate the National Capitol, after it had remained ten years in Philadelphia, on the Potomac. Though this bargain clouded somewhat the brilliancy of Hamilton's success in getting his propositions through, they resulted in an instant rebound of the national credit, and the establishment of government finance on a substantial working basis. The Tariff act of the previous session was amended on Aug. 10, 1790, by increasing the previous rates of duty. The other measures of this Congress had no party significance. The body adjourned Aug. 12, 1790, after a session of over seven months. It had witnessed the coming of Rhode Island into the Union, by the ratification of the Constitution, May 29, 1790.

FIRST CONGRESS—Second Session.—Met Dec. 6, 1790, at Philadelphia. The leading subject was a financial agent for the government in the shape of a National Bank. Over this subject controversy was heated, and party lines came to be more clearly defined. The Federals in general, and all who inclined to a liberal or open construction of the Constitution, claimed that if Congress could pass laws for revenue and taxes, it could make those laws effective through such an agency as a bank. The anti-Federals, and all strict constructionists, denied the necessity, and therefore the constitutionality, of such an agent. The controversy thus begun has continued under one form and another, almost to the present day. The personal bitternesses and jealousies it then engendered were never healed, but were carried down to the people and soon became the basis of permanent party separation. Even the Cabinet was divided, and it was known that Jefferson stood ready, in that august body, to oppose Hamilton in all his financial plans.

The bill to charter a National Bank passed, but so conservative was Washington that he would not sign it till he had secured the written opinions of his Cabinet officers. That of Hamilton, in favor of the constitutionality of the act, had greater weight than those of Jefferson and Randolph, against it, and the bill secured the President's signature. It chartered a National Bank for twenty years, *i. e.*, until 1811, when the Republican party refused to recharter it, only, however, to retrace their steps in 1816, when, under the influence of liberal construction notions, and the seemingly imperative needs of the hour, they instituted another National Bank which met its downfall in 1836.* The financial legislation of the session was supplemented by an Excise law, which excited much opposition and became very unpopular. The first Congress adjourned *sine die*, March 3, 1791. Altogether it had been an able body, and had done its work with as little jar and as effectively as was possible for men who had no exact instructions from constituents and no elaborate political chart to steer by. The event of March 4 was the admission of Vermont as a State.

SECOND CONGRESS—First Session.—Met Oct. 24, 1791, at Philadelphia. The country had passed successfully through the excitement of Congressional elections, and the position of the Federals had been maintained, though their membership in the new body was slightly reduced. This, however, did not matter, for there were still many of the Anti-Federal, or strict construction, turn who supported the administration. The House organized by the election of Jonathan Trumbull of Connecticut, as Speaker.

THE FIRST REBELLION.—Opposition to the excise law of the previous Congress, which was fanned by the Anti-Federal element, culminated in the "Whiskey Rebellion," among the distillers of Western Pennsylvania. The same element also was now opposing a National Militia Law. But the latter passed, and in

* From that time on, all attempts to establish a National Bank failed, till in 1862 the exigencies of civil war resulted in a strictly national currency under the auspices of the Treasury Department, and a system of National Banks whose credit is based on that of the government.

time for the President to use it, so as to bring the armed disputants of the national authorities to terms. The victory was a moral and bloodless one, achieved through the show of an unsuspected vigor and resource on the part of the government.

THIRD TARIFF ACT.—On May 2, 1792, an amended tariff act was passed which raised the ad valorem rates of duty some $2\frac{1}{2}$ to 5 per cent. It incurred the opposition of the Anti-Federals, and called for a repetition of their former arguments. An apportionment bill, the first under the new Constitution, was also passed. It fixed the ratio of representation at 33,000, under the census of 1790, increased the membership of the House to 105, and the electoral vote to 135, there being fifteen States, counting Kentucky, which was admitted June 1, 1792. Congress adjourned its first session, May 8, 1792.

POLITICAL CONDITION.—The country was about to pass through the crisis of a Presidential election, the first under the new Constitution. The government had been started, and maintained thus far under a wholesome division of sentiment which has been popularly, but not exactly, described as Federal and Anti-Federal. It was more exactly that division which is better described as *Liberal Interpreters* and *Strict Interpreters* of the Constitution; the former as they were antagonized, or as their principles demanded, drifting, perhaps unconsciously, toward larger powers and a fuller exercise thereof on the part of the national government; the latter as they antagonized, or as their principles demanded, drifting, perhaps unconsciously, toward the doctrine which afterwards became known as State Sovereignty or State Rights. For the former, and because they were acting affirmatively, the term Federal must still apply. For the latter there is now no need, except conventionally, of retaining the term Anti-Federal. Indeed the first ten amendments to the Constitution, which were regarded as in the nature of a declarative Bill of Rights, so disarmed all opposition to the instrument itself as to render the term Anti-Federal a misnomer. Jefferson felt that it was an empty term, and that if the varying, and often discordant, sentiments represented by it were ever to

be crystalized, some new and more comprehensive name must be adopted. The old name was a perpetual reminder of opposition to the *fact* of government. As there was no longer any such opposition, but only questions as to how it should be managed and with what powers it should be endowed by the creative instrument, the new name must, in no degree, be a reminder of the old political status, but must, on the contrary, be both an appeal to popular affection and comprehensive enough to embrace every form of antagonism to the party which was still to be called Federal.

THE REPUBLICAN PARTY.—The situation gave birth to the new party name. Feeling was intense on all sides in favor of the French Revolutionists. Jefferson, who was fresh from the scenes, taught that it was the direct outcrop of our own Revolution, and none chose to gainsay it. But as the Republicans of France drifted toward wild, ungovernable liberty, and evinced more and more a fierce leveling and communistic spirit, the Federals checked their ardor and grew cold. In that proportion the Anti-Federals grew warm. Their admiration took even the fantastic shape of dress and manner imitation. Here were differences mental and visual. To crown them with the term Republican was something, but not quite original. To group all feeling of opposition to the Federals under the term Democratic-Republican would prove original and striking. That, therefore, became the new party name. But the Federals heaped contempt on the Democrats, classed them as Jacobins, and altogether daunted them in the use of their compound title. So the first part was gradually dropped, and the new party passed into active politics as the Republican party; which was all curious enough, seeing that at this very juncture its tendency was rather toward a Democracy than toward a strong central Republic. Nor were the Republicans less abusive of the Federals. These latter were roundly denounced as fellows with a leaning toward monarchy, and full of all aristocratic notions. It is very likely that the sentiment among the masses was an exaggeration of that existing in the councils of the nation, though even there the President spoke grievously of the antagonisms,

and complained that the old spirit of compromise had turned into one of unjust suspicion and personal antipathy.

ELECTION OF 1792.—Fortunately for the country party spirit was not yet deep enough, or bold enough, to affect the Presidency. The one Republican who could have made a respectable showing in the Presidential race was Jefferson, and both he and Washington were from the same State. Therefore, both could not be voted for, without the loss of the vote of that State. Besides many staunch Republicans had joined with the Federals to request Washington to serve a second term, a course he had not intended to pursue, till persuaded that the country demanded it. This left only the Vice-Presidency open to party contention, and for this office the Federals supported John Adams, Mass., and the Republicans George Clinton of New York. The election took place Nov. 6, 1792, and resulted in the success of the Federal ticket.

SECOND CONGRESS—Second Session.—Met Nov. 5, 1792, at Philadelphia. Revenue questions occupied most of the time of the session, and the Federals had comparatively easy successes, the Republicans not being a unit in their opposition. But they figured conspicuously for political position, and made a direct but unsuccessful attempt to censure Hamilton's management of the Treasury Department. The count of the electoral vote* was made in February, 1793, and Washington was declared elected President, and John Adams Vice-President. They were sworn into office on March 4, 1793, Congress having adjourned March 2.

II.

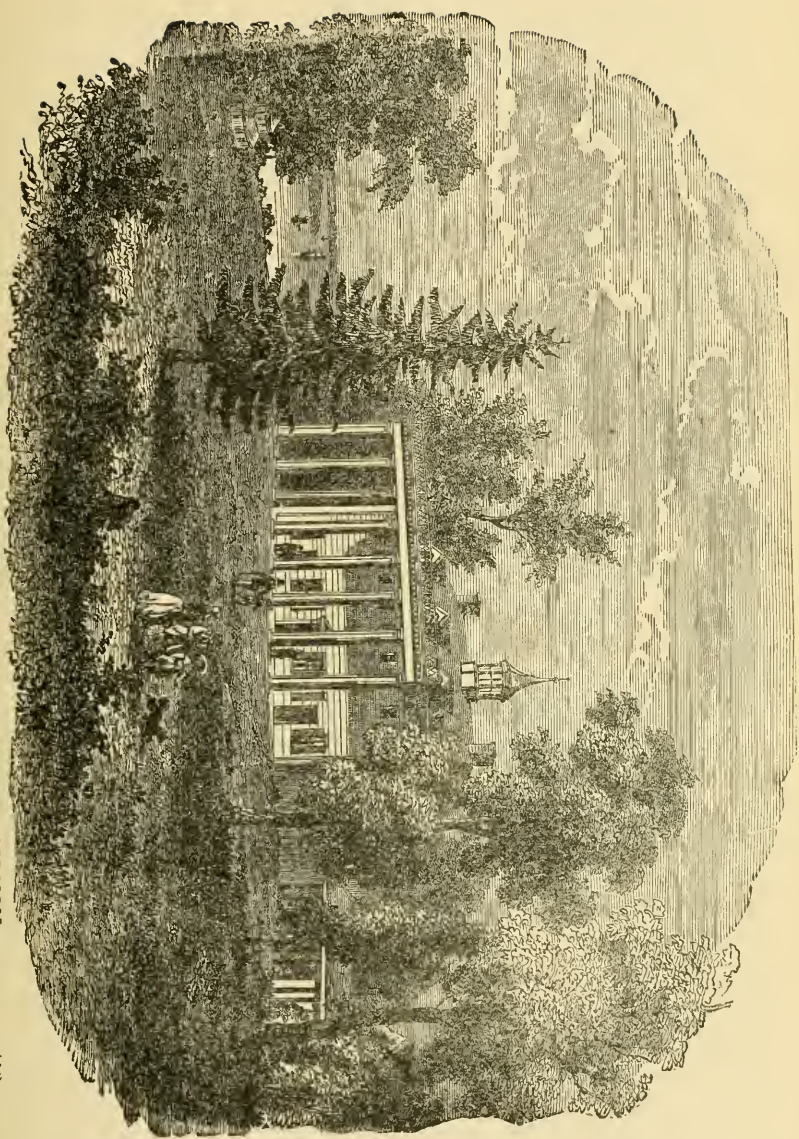
WASHINGTON'S SECOND ADMINISTRATION.

March 4, 1793—March 3d, 1797.

GEORGE WASHINGTON, VA., *President*. JOHN ADAMS, MASS.,
Vice-President. SEAT OF GOVERNMENT AT PHILADELPHIA.

* For full electoral returns see always the succeeding administration.

RESIDENCE OF GEORGE WASHINGTON AT MOUNT VERNON.



<i>Congresses.</i>	<i>Sessions.</i>
THIRD CONGRESS.	{ 1, December 2, 1793–June 9, 1794. 2, November 3, 1794–March 3, 1795.
FOURTH CONGRESS.	{ 1, December 7, 1795–June 1, 1796. 2, December 6, 1796–March 3, 1797.

*ELECTORAL VOTE.**

States.	Basis of 33,000.	Votes.	Federal.		Republican.
			Geo. Wash- ington, Va.	J. Adams, Mass.	Geo. Clinton, N. Y.
New Hampshire.....	4	6	6	6	..
Massachusetts.....	14	16	16	16	..
Rhode Island.....	2	4	4	4	..
Connecticut.....	7	9	9	9	..
New York.....	10	12	12	..	12
New Jersey.....	5	7	7	7	..
Pennsylvania.....	13	15	15	14	1
Delaware.....	1	3	3	3	..
Maryland.....	8	10	8	8	.. Two vacancies.
Virginia.....	19	21	21	..	21
North Carolina....	10	12	12	..	12
South Carolina....	6	8	7	6	Scattered. One vacancy.
Georgia.....	2	4	4	..	4
Vermont.....	2	4	4	4	..
Kentucky.....	2	4	4	..	Scattered.
Totals.....	105	135	132	77	50

THE NEW ADMINISTRATION.—Washington, in pursuance of his conciliatory policy, made no immediate changes in his cabinet. He had, however, active and delicate work on hand. France had (April, 1793) declared war against Great Britain and Holland. The Republicans gave reins to their sympathy for their French namesakes, and claimed that the treaty of 1778, which bound France and the United States to an alliance offensive and defensive, was still in existence and ought to be respected. It looked as if war with Great Britain were certain, with the United States as an ally of France. Notwithstanding the unpopularity of the act, Washington decided that the treaty was null, and issued a decree of neutrality † between the contending parties. This step brought upon his administration, and on himself personally, the bitterest assaults of the Republicans. He was denounced as an enemy of Republican France, as a vio-

* Of the votes indicated as "scattered," four were cast for Thomas Jefferson and one for Aaron Burr.

† This was the beginning of a foreign policy from which there have been few departures since.

later of sacred faith, as a usurper of the powers of Congress. To further complicate and intensify matters, citizen Genet arrived as Minister to the United States, April 8, 1793. Deceived by the warmth of his reception at Charleston, S. C., he foolishly went about the business of raising money, recruiting men and commissioning cruisers for the French cause. Jefferson ordered him to desist, but removing to Philadelphia and encouraged by the Republican clubs of that city, which organizations carried their sympathy into wild excess, he continued to act as if on French soil. The French Consul at Boston rescued a libeled vessel from the United States Marshal. An American privateer sailed from Philadelphia under French colors, against the orders of the government. Military organizations were being formed in Georgia against the Spanish American possessions. Genet was so inflated with his Republican support that he privately announced his intention of appealing to the people for a general uprising in behalf of France.* Timely exposure of this intention speedily alienated even his warmest friends, and his meteoric career was ended by his recall.

THIRD CONGRESS—First Session.—Met Dec. 2, 1793, at Philadelphia, and organized by electing F. A. Muhlenberg, of Pennsylvania, Speaker. He was a Republican, but it was only when party lines were closely drawn, which was possible on but a very few questions, that a small Republican majority could be counted on. The President's action respecting American neutrality and the Genet affair was coldly approved, but Republican sentiment took another turn. If it could not directly favor France, it could at least antagonize England. It therefore very justly called England to account for not carrying out the treaty of 1783, by which she was to give up her Lake military posts on American soil. The Indian wars of the Northwest were attributed to British intrigue. So were the Algerine piracies. All in all, it looked as if the country were about to be plunged into war with England, for the Republican course proved to be very

* This announcement was made public by Chief Justice Jay and Senator King, who published it over their signatures in a New York newspaper. Its truth was vehemently denied by the Republicans.

popular. England began to judge the country by it, and to act as though the United States were already a secret, and soon to become an open, ally of France. She ordered her ships of war to stop all vessels laden with French supplies and to turn them into British ports (June 8, 1793). She began her system of impressing American seamen suspected of being Englishmen. She aimed a further blow at American commerce by actually seizing ships carrying French supplies and instituting trials against them in English courts. She justified her holding the Lake forts on the ground that our government had refused to pay certain debts due British subjects. Thus the Republican sympathy for France had brought ruinous commercial retaliation. Jefferson, in an official report of December 16, 1793, wisely called a halt by proposing an effort at amicable adjustment of the difficulties before proceeding to counter retaliation. The Federals, especially those of the cabinet, were anxious for the first part of this proposition, but the Republicans, especially the extreme ones, were implacable, and Madison (January 4, 1794) introduced resolutions imposing prohibitory duties on English goods. This measure invited long debate and served to straighten Republican lines, but it failed of passage. Jefferson retired from the cabinet in December, 1793, and was succeeded by Edmund Randolph, of Virginia, as Secretary of State, January 2, 1794. The former premier retired to his Virginia plantation, and amid his political writings and plans for the further development of the new Republican party, of which he was the acknowledged founder, he escaped responsibility for the mistakes due to the enthusiasm of his political friends in the Congress.

WASHINGTON ACTS.—In accordance with the peaceful policy outlined in Jefferson's report, Washington nominated (April 16, 1794) Chief Justice Jay as Envoy Extraordinary to England, with a view to a treaty. The Federal Senate confirmed the nomination. In order to balk the mission the House Republicans moved to prohibit trade with England. This the Senate rejected, and Jay started on his mission, arriving in England in June, 1794.

FURTHER PARTY CONTESTS.—The Federals fought all

through the session for their policy of neutrality between France and England, the Republicans for intervention of some kind or in some way, and the ardor of the latter often drew them into inconsistencies. Thus while they invited war with England by measures to prohibit commercial intercourse with her, they at the same time opposed the Federals in their attempts to found a navy, the most effective weapon with which to carry on such war. And so when the Federals sought to escape the odium of Excise taxation by a system of indirect taxes, and a thereby increased revenue, the Republicans voted for direct taxes. Another unsuccessful attempt was made by the Republicans to censure, by resolution, Hamilton's management of the Treasury. They likewise bitterly but ineffectually opposed the Federal bill designed to approve of Washington's admonitions against "self-created political societies,"* and to prevent a recurrence of Genet's attempts to engage a people in warlike enterprises without the consent of their government. This attitude was the more remarkable because the French government had already disavowed Genet's conduct, and sent Fanchet as minister in his stead. But it was a formative period for the Republicans. Much must be excused to their enthusiasm, to their lack of definite policy, to the newness, oddness and swiftness of the situations they were called upon to confront. Neither party had yet had very proficient schooling in diplomacy. The Federals had all the advantage of a purpose. They could hew to a line, however roughly. The Republicans had to agitate and deny, work a negative situation for all it was worth, and at the disadvantage of youth and inexperience. As yet they had invented no distinctive affirmative American measure on which they could consistently unite, or risk their future success.

XITH AMENDMENT.—Could a citizen of the United States sue a State? The Supreme Court had decided that a State was suable like any other corporation, and that too by a citizen of another State. This was a terrible blow to the members of the

* The allusion was to the various secret associations formed for working up an American-French sentiment, and popularizing, if not justifying, such conduct as Genet had been guilty of.

strict construction school. The Republicans therefore proposed the XI. Amendment, which limited the judicial power of the United States, and exempted a State from suit in the Federal courts, instituted by a citizen of another State, or by a foreign citizen. The wisdom of this amendment was not much mooted at the time, but the advantage taken of it by States which have felt inclined to repudiate their debts has shaken public faith in its justice. It was proposed March 5, 1794, and declared in force Jan. 8, 1798, having been ratified by the necessary number of States.

TARIFF ACT—The Fourth.—The Federals succeeded in amending the Tariff Act of 1792, by increasing the *ad valorem* rates of duty, June 7, 1794. The imperative need of revenue, the quiet and general distribution of taxation in this form, and the sure and easy manner of collection, reconciled many of the Republicans to it, so long as it was unmixed with the affirmative doctrine of protection. Congress adjourned June 9, 1794.

THIRD CONGRESS—Second Session.—Met Nov. 3, 1794, at Philadelphia. The session opened by warm debate on Hamilton's plan of Internal Taxation. These debates continued at intervals throughout the session, and resulted in the passage of the measure, the Republicans not being able to keep their opposition solid. Hamilton resigned from the Cabinet in January, 1795, and was succeeded (Feb. 2) by Oliver Wolcott, of Connecticut. Congress adjourned *sine die* March 3, 1795.

EXCITING INTERVAL.—Minister Jay had succeeded in a treaty with England by November, 1794. It reached America March 7, 1795. The Senate was called to consider it, June 8, 1795. It was ratified by a two-third majority, and while awaiting the President's signature its contents (June 29) were prematurely divulged by one of the Senators. Its appearance was the signal for a Republican attack on the administration, and on all concerned in its negotiation and ratification, which for the directness and bitterness of its personalism has probably never been surpassed. Meetings were called in the cities to denounce it, and to present appeals to the President not to sign it. It was

denounced as not covering any of the causes of grievance. It left England at liberty to impress American seamen, to interfere with our commerce, to shut off our West India trade, and so on. The President signed it. This turned denunciation of the treaty into abuse of his administration and himself. He was charged with usurpation, with indifference to American prisoners in Algiers, with embezzlement of public funds, with official incapacity then and during the Revolution, with hostility to his country's interests, and even with treason. Malignity took the form of threats to impeach, and even to assassinate him. On Republican lips he was no longer "the Father," but "the Step-father of his Country." "He would rather be in his grave than in the Presidency," was his sad comment on these thoughtless and vulgar drives at his private character. The treaty itself came to his vindication. England speedily removed her Lake forts from American soil. In less than a year American commerce took a rebound. Jay's much denounced treaty passed into political history with the approval of its bitterest opponents.

FOURTH CONGRESS—First Session.—Met December 7, 1795, at Philadelphia. Senate contained a Federal majority: House a Republican, though not united, majority. Jonathan Dayton, Federal, of New Jersey, was elected Speaker. The President's message was approved by the Senate, by a vote of 14 to 8. The Republicans of the House refused to agree to a resolution which contained an expression of "confidence in the President and approval of his course."

A CONFLICT.—The President sent to Congress, March 1, 1796, his proclamation that the Jay treaty had been duly ratified and was law. Mr. Livingstone, of New York, against the advice of the more liberal members of his party, moved that the President be requested to send to the House a copy of the treaty and all the papers connected with it. After an acrimonious debate the resolution passed by a vote of 57 Republicans to 35 Federals. Washington refused to comply, saying that the House was not a part of the treaty-making power.* This

* This answer of Washington involved the principle which has ever since been accepted as the correct one regarding treaties.

stirred the animosity of the Republicans still deeper. Word was passed to the country that a "British party" existed, and that the administration had been corrupted with British gold. Indignation meetings were again called. The House resolved that it had a right to the papers because it was a judge of the necessity of a treaty wherever an expenditure of public money was involved. The Federals, under the lead of Fisher Ames, of Massachusetts, rallied to the support of a counter resolution, declaring that provision should be made for carrying out the treaty. This was distracting to the Republicans, and they fought it, at first very desperately, through the month of April (to April 29th). In the meantime the country was responding, but not in a way the Republicans had hoped for. The people were tired of the agitation and did not want the treaty set aside. A Presidential election was coming on. It might not be prudent to push a doubtful question further at such a time. The Republican majority weakened, fell into a deliberative mood, and finally helped to pass the Ames resolution by a vote of 51 to 48.

Questions of revenue occupied the rest of the session. One of them related to a further increase of Tariff rates, on which political lines were closely drawn, and the Federals, who favored the increase, were beaten. Tennessee became a State of the Union June 1, 1796, and on that day the Congress adjourned.

FAREWELL ADDRESS.—On September 17, 1796, Washington gave to the American people his farewell address. He had been solicited by men of both political parties to become for the third time a candidate for the Presidency, and had been assured of the support of the people. But his determination to retire to private life could not be altered. His address, carefully drawn and solemnly worded, was his vindication against attack, which was to stand for all time, and his appeal to his countrymen to be true to the government, to beware of foreign influences, to avoid party strife, and to cultivate religion, education, and patriotic devotion to their institutions. It was a full reflex of the man, conservative, yet firm; solemn, yet hopeful;

plain, yet elegant; great, yet unselfish.* It was received everywhere with approbation, and ranks to-day as a political classic, well worth study by every young man.

ELECTION OF 1796.—The mission of Washington had been to hold sentiment together, or see that every conspicuous shade was represented, till the experimental period of the new government had passed. It had now passed, and his retirement left the field open to the square contention of parties. By mutual understanding, rather than by Congressional caucus nomination, the candidates of the Federals became John Adams, of Massachusetts, and Thomas Pinckney, of Maryland, and those of the Republicans Thomas Jefferson, of Virginia, and Aaron Burr, of New York.

There was no platform announcement of party principles, but the Federals claimed to represent Washington's policy of peace, neutrality, finance, progress, safety, and the right as founders of the government to place its existence beyond hazard before being called upon to part with their high trust. The Republicans claimed to be the advocates of economy, enlarged liberty, the rights of man, the rights of the States, and they did not hesitate to charge the Federals with every real and conceivable sin of commission and omission, among them an inclination toward an English policy and form of government. Though this latter was in manifest forgetfulness of their own well-known favoritism for France, the country was reminded of it by a presumptuous paper issued by the French Minister, called an "Address to the American People," and designed to influence the Presidential contest, in which the hint was thrown out that France would have to withhold intercourse with the United States if the Republicans were unsuccessful.

* One characteristic of the address is its delicate undertone of vindication and complaint. The former was designed and exquisitely incorporated. The latter seems foreign to a man of Washington's iron will. But he was withal very sensitive, and it must have been well-nigh impossible for even one of his high, unbending character, and though the paper were studied and stately to the last degree, to avoid all shadow of complaint. He had previously spoken of the attacks on him as aggravatingly malicious and personal, and made "in terms so exaggerated and indecent as could scarcely be applied to a Nero, a notorious defaulter, or even a common pickpocket."

The Presidential election was held in November, 1796, the electors being chosen by the Legislatures of the several States, a practice which continued till 1824, and in some States till a later period.

FOURTH CONGRESS—Second Session.—The Congress met December 5, 1796. It was a comparatively quiet session, and void of party interest. In February the count of the electoral votes was made, and the result showed a glaring defect in the method of choosing the President. Adams received 71 votes, Jefferson 68, Pinckney 59, and Burr 30. Thus there was a Federal President and a Republican Vice-President, with all the confusion incident to a change of administration in mid-term, in case of the death or disability of the former, and all the danger to be apprehended from a like change if partisanship or corruption should accomplish his impeachment or removal. The experience furnished by the next Presidential election brought a much needed amendment of the method of voting. An amended Tariff act was passed March 3, which made a slight increase in the duty on manufactures of cotton. Congress adjourned *sine die* March 3, 1797, and on March 4 Adams and Jefferson were sworn into office.

III.

ADAMS' ADMINISTRATION.

March 4, 1797—March 3, 1801.

JOHN ADAMS, MASS., *President*. THOMAS JEFFERSON, VA., *Vice-President*. SEAT OF GOVERNMENT AT PHILADELPHIA.

<i>Congresses.</i>	<i>Sessions.</i>
FIFTH CONGRESS.	{ 1, May 15, 1797—July 10, 1797, extra session. { 2, November 13, 1797—July 16, 1798. { 3, December 3, 1798—March 3, 1799.
SIXTH CONGRESS.	{ 1, December 2, 1799—May 14, 1800. { 2, November 17, 1800—March 3, 1801.

ELECTORAL VOTE.

States.	Basis of 33,000.	Votes.	Federals.		Republicans.		Scat- tering.
			J. Adams, Mass.	Thos. Pinck- ney, Md.	Thos. Jeffer- son, Va.	A. Burr, N. Y.	
New Hampshire....	4	6	6	..	..	..	6
Massachusetts.....	14	16	16	13	..	..	3
Rhode Island.....	2	4	4	..	..	..	4

Electoral Vote—Continued.

States.	Basis of 33,000.	Votes.	Federals.		Republicans.		Scat- tering.
			J. Adams, Mass.	Thos. Pinck- ney, Md.	Thos. Jeffer- son, Va.	A. Burr, N. Y.	
Connecticut.....	7	9	9	4	..	..	5
New York.....	10	12	12	12	..	..	..
New Jersey.....	5	7	7	7	..	..	..
Pennsylvania.....	13	15	1	2	14	13	..
Delaware.....	1	3	3	3	..	..	..
Maryland.....	8	10	7	4	4	3	2
Virginia.....	19	21	1	1	20	1	19
North Carolina.....	10	12	1	1	11	6	5
South Carolina.....	6	8	..	8	8	..	..
Georgia.....	2	4	..	..	4	..	4
Vermont.....	2	4	4	4	..	..	.
Kentucky.....	2	4	..	..	4	4	..
Tennessee.....	1	3	..	..	3	3	..
Totals.....	106	138	71	59	68	30	48*

THE CABINET.

Secretary of State.....Timothy Pickering, Pa.....Continued.
 Secretary of Treasury...Oliver Wolcott, Conn..... "
 Secretary of War.....James McHenry, Md..... "
 Secretary of Navy.....To Department of War till 1798.
 Attorney-General.....Charles Lee, Va..... "
 Postmaster-General.....Joseph Habersham, Ga..... With Treas. Depart. till 1829.
 Continued.

THE INAUGURAL.—President Adams in his inaugural broadly affirmed the policy of the Washington administrations, and made a calm and studied denial of the oft-repeated charges that the Federal party was influenced by English patronage or any love for England. It did not serve to mellow the bitterness of the Republicans. On the contrary, they seemed to share the bad feeling now openly manifested by the French Republic on account of Republican defeat in America.

ARMED NEUTRALITY.—Adams found his administration between an upper and nether millstone of excitement. He must act and that promptly. Steps were taken toward preserving the neutrality established by the previous administrations, peaceably if possible, forcibly if necessary. A navy was improvised. Monroe, an ardent Republican and Minister to France, was recalled, and C. C. Pinckney sent in his stead. The French

* Of those marked as scattering Samuel Adams received 15; Oliver Ellsworth, 11; George Clinton, 7; John Jay, 5; James Iredell, 3; George Washington, 2; John Henry, 2; S. Johnson, 2; and Charles C. Pinckney, 1.

Directory parted with Monroe, expressing admiration for the American people, and contempt for the American government. They at the same time ordered Pinckney to quit their country, and declared they would receive no more American ministers till their grievances, prominent among which was the Jay treaty, were redressed.

FIFTH CONGRESS—Extra Session.—On hearing of the French attitude, the President called the Fifth Congress into Extra Session, May 15, 1797. It organized by electing Jonathan Dayton, of New Jersey, Speaker. He was a Federal, and that party had a majority in both branches. The President developed his foreign policy in an address. It meant neutrality, even at the expense of war with offenders. But three envoys were proposed, to go to France and exhaust all reasonable efforts for peace. These were approved by both Houses, and they departed on their mission. Congress adjourned July 10, 1797.

AN EMPTY MISSION.—While the envoys were absent the respective parties kept their feelings ablaze by the old charges of English and French influence and favoritism. "The country contained few Americans, but very many English and French," was remarked of the situation by a foreign observer. The envoys, after a fruitless effort at peace, submission to conduct they regarded as humiliating, and refusal on their part to listen to a request for a loan to the French Republic as a preliminary to negotiations, came back to report their failure, and meet the ridicule of the Republicans.

A CONDITION OF WAR.—While the envoys—the X. Y. Z. mission* as they were called—had been treated hardly by the French, and no better by their opponents at home, the country was forced to confront the solemn fact that France was making not only secret attack upon its commerce, under cover of law, but open attack as well, which nothing but a state of war would excuse. Any vessel carrying American shipping papers was deemed fit subject for seizure and confiscation.

* Agents of the French Directory over the initials X. Y. Z. had intimated to the envoys the possibility of their success, provided they could offer some substantial money inducement.

FIFTH CONGRESS—First Regular Session.—Met at Philadelphia, Nov. 13, 1797. The juncture was critical. The Republicans were so pronouncedly in favor of France, and were so strong, that it looked as if a policy of "Armed Neutrality" would at any moment go to the wall. Early in 1798 they were able, in the House, to vote down a proposition to arm American vessels. But the Senate, April 8, made public the attempted negotiations of the envoys to France. They surprised both parties. The Federals became furious at the insult heaped on their accredited agents and at the double-dealing, not to say corrupt overtures, of the French Directory. The Republicans stood aghast at the revelation. They could not brook conduct so flagrant, much as their sympathies had been enlisted in behalf of their struggling brethren of France. The more patriotic and shrewder-minded turned in with the Federals. A respectable minority found silence golden. American self-respect and American danger impelled to a common political sentiment, and that sentiment found popular outburst in the cry of "millions for defence, but not one cent for tribute."

ALIEN AND SEDITION LAWS.—Congress co-operated with the administration in placing the government on a war footing. The navy was strengthened, and orders were issued to seize French vessels operating against American commerce. Letters of marque and reprisal were authorized. Treaties with France were declared abrogated. A temporary army was ordered, to be commanded by Washington as Lieutenant-General. Thus far all was popular and unquestioned. But France was to be fought not only on the ocean and on the field. It was felt that she was stronger in the country through her secret emissaries than in any other spot. Hence, the Alien Law, passed June 25, 1798, giving the President power to order aliens, whom he should adjudge dangerous, out of the country, and providing for the fine and imprisonment of those who refused to go. This was followed by the Sedition Law of July 14, to remain in force till March 3, 1801. It imposed fine and imprisonment on conspirators to resist government measures, and on libellers and scandalizers of the government, Congress or President.

NATURALIZATION LAW.—This law required an alien to reside fourteen years in the United States before he could be naturalized. The Federals favored it on general principles of safety to the country, and because they felt that they could not hope for accessions to their party from any foreign element then likely to become immigrant. The Republicans fought for a five-year probation, on the ground that America was properly an asylum for all nations, that a longer term would cause too many of the inhabitants to owe no allegiance, and because they knew, with the Federals, that immigrants would naturally augment their political ranks. The Congress adjourned July 16, 1798.

STORMY INTERVAL.—War action had been set into feverish reaction by the Alien and Sedition Laws, which the Republicans regarded as a violent stretch of constitutional authority, and as arming the government with altogether too much power, even for war times. Not choosing to distinguish between themselves and those at whom the laws were aimed, they claimed that they were a menace to all Republicans, that they abridged liberty of speech and the press, that they were unconstitutional out and out. They had the best of the argument before the country, for the Federals could only justify them by the necessities of the hour. Constitutional construction was then in its infancy, and any new step was likely to excite jealousy and alarm. As a matter of policy, they were a step beyond what the Federals need have taken. They had, without them, a patriotic and permanent standpoint, and they had for it a strong Republican support, especially among the people, caused by the action of the French Directory. Their execution gave greater offence than their enactment. Having gone too far to retract, the administration insisted on carrying them out, even though France had come forward to deny any knowledge of bribery and corruption on the part of her agents, and had expressed a desire for peace. Thus they became a torment to the Federals, present and recurring. Aware of their keenness as a political weapon the Republicans drove it home on every occasion.

CONGRESSIONAL ELECTIONS.—Though the enforce-

ment of the Alien and Sedition Laws was a source of weakness to the Federals, the Republicans soon felt they could not hope by their opposition to them to carry the fall (1798) Congressional elections. They therefore turned their attention to the State Legislatures, feeling that there their opposition could be made effective in the next Presidential election. Effort took the shape of denunciatory resolutions (really proclamations) passed by the Legislatures of two States. They are noteworthy as being the first formal declaration of strict construction views of the day, and are worthy of study as containing the doctrine on which all subsequent strict constructionists have relied for their advocacy of State sovereignty, nullification and secession.

RESOLUTIONS OF 1798.—The Kentucky resolutions were drawn by Jefferson, the Virginia resolutions by Madison. Both were adopted by the respective State Legislatures. The Virginia resolutions declared the Constitution to be a compact made by the States and to form which the States had agreed to surrender only a part of their own powers. The Federal government could not exceed the authority delegated to it by the States. If it did the States had a right to stop it, and to maintain the powers they had reserved to themselves. The Alien and Sedition Laws were usurpations of powers not granted to the Federal government, for the Constitution forbade any abridgment of liberty of speech or the press. The State of Virginia declared them unconstitutional, and appealed to the other States to join her. The governor was ordered to lay the resolutions before the other State Legislatures. They were repeated in 1799.

The Kentucky resolutions repeated those of Virginia in substance, and added that the Federal compact was as if a contract between two parties, the States being one, and the Federal government the other; and that each party was to be the judge of any breach of the agreement, as well as of the manner of redress. These were also repeated in 1799, but with the wonderfully bold amendment, designed to draw the line between party opposition and criminal or treasonable opposition to the government, that the rightful remedy on the part of a State was "nullification of

all unauthorized acts (by the Federal government) done under color of that instrument (the Constitution)." It ought to be observed, in justice to Jefferson, ever diplomatic, if very ardent in his Republicanism, and who, at this time a prospective candidate for the Presidency, would not willingly have jeopardized his chances, however anxious he might have been to force home on the Federals their mistake in passing the Alien and Sedition Laws, that the final position taken in the Kentucky resolutions was far more ultra than his own, and that it was not regarded as good strict construction doctrine, till other causes, times and men,* conspired to give it sanction and render it operative.

FIFTH CONGRESS—Second Session.—Met at Philadelphia, Dec. 3, 1798. Irregular ocean warfare was still going on between American and French privateers. There was scarcely any opposition to an increase of the navy, but the Republicans antagonized every measure for an increase of the army, alleging that none was needed and that the matter was only an ingenious Federal scheme, gotten up for the sake of providing places for their party leaders. The President, who had hitherto been firm, but who began to feel that his firmness was really a source of weakness so far as his aspirations to succeed himself in office were concerned, departed from his determination not to negotiate further with France, and, without consulting his Cabinet, sent three other envoys to treat for peace. This action led to a division in the Cabinet, and the protesting members met with the approval of the Federal party at large. The effort of the President to recover lost ground with the Republicans lost him more ground within his own party. Congress adjourned *sine die* March 3, 1799.

SIXTH CONGRESS—First Session.—Met at Philadelphia, Dec. 2, 1799. Theodore Sedgwick of Massachusetts was chosen Speaker. He was a Federal, and the Federals had a good working majority in both Houses. They represented the war feeling of the country, and had been chosen before sentiment began to revolt against the enforcement of the Alien and Sedition Laws, at least before such revolting sentiment could be made effective

* Notably 1832, Calhoun's time; and 1860, the era of open secession.

in the Congressional districts. It was the policy of the Republicans to avoid all party contests. Drawing their inspiration from Jefferson, they kept quiet, conscious that the ferment of opposition already active in the body politic would work favorably to them, and by no means displeased witnesses of the estrangement, gradually growing wider, between the President, and such prominent Federal leaders as Hamilton and others. The Federals in Congressional caucus nominated as their candidates for the Presidency John Adams, of Mass., and C. C. Pinckney, of S. C. The Republicans, in a Congressional Convention* at Philadelphia, nominated Thomas Jefferson, Va., and Aaron Burr, N. Y. Congress adjourned May 14, 1800.†

ELECTION OF 1800.—Though the Legislatures of the States did not meet to choose Presidential electors till November, the fact that those bodies chose them made the Presidential result turn on their political complexion. The Presidential election was therefore in reality scattered over a great part of the year previous to November. Adams was unfortunate in not having the undivided support of his party. The State election

* This term "Congressional Convention" implies what we would now understand to be a Congressional Caucus. It was full, formal and called, and therein differed from those informal caucuses of members which had bespoke former nominations. The first political platform, and the only one till the Clintonian address or platform of 1812, was that of this Republican Congressional Convention of 1800 which nominated Jefferson. It announced (1) "Preservation of the Constitution in the sense in which it was adopted by the States;" (2) "Opposition to monarchizing its features;" (3) "Preservation to the States of the powers not yielded to the Union, and to the Legislature of the Union its constitutional share in division of powers;" (4) "A rigorously frugal administration of the government;" (5) "Reliance for internal defence solely on the militia, until actual invasion, and for such naval force only as may be sufficient to protect our coasts and harbors;" (6) "Free commerce with all nations, political connection with none, and little or no diplomatic establishment;" (7) "No linking ourselves with the quarrels of Europe;" (8) "Freedom of religion;" (9) "Freedom of speech and the press;" (10) "Liberal naturalization laws;" (11) "Encouragement of science and art."

† On May 13, 1800, the sixth amended Tariff act was passed, raising the duty on sugar one-half cent per pound, and on silk $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. The rates on the leading articles now ranged as follows: Sugar, $2\frac{1}{2}$ cents per pound; coffee, 5 cents per pound; tea, 18 cents per pound; salt, 20 cents per bushel; pig iron, 15 per cent.; bar iron, 15 per cent.; glass, 20 per cent.; cotton goods, 15 per cent.; woollens, $12\frac{1}{2}$ to 15 per cent.; silk, $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.

in New York, April 28, resulted in a Republican Legislature. This result, due more to Hamilton's estrangement than to either Jefferson's or Burr's popularity, was a bad omen for the Federals. Adams was so piqued that he dismissed Hamilton's friends from the cabinet, and they went forth branded as British factionists. The Republicans had been making their ground solid in the States by such means as the Kentucky and Virginia resolutions for two years. But despite their seeming advantage of harmony and popular hue and cry, the returns in November were doubtful till South Carolina was heard from. Her vote settled the election in favor of the Republicans.

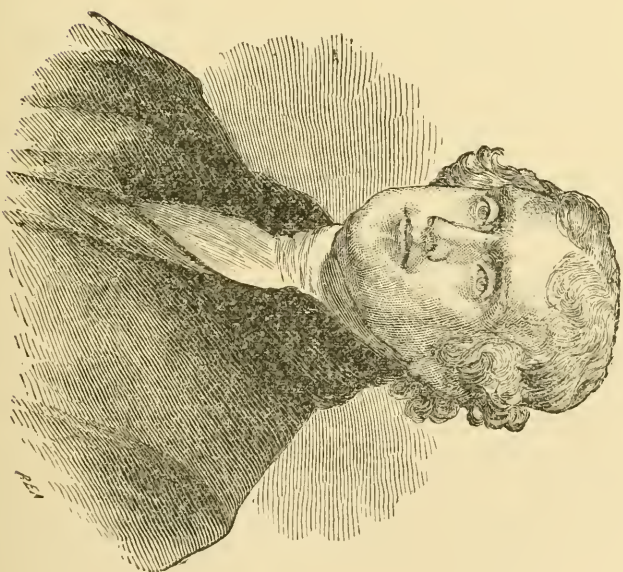
SIXTH CONGRESS—Second Session.—Met at Washington, Nov. 17, 1800.* This short session had a problem on hand which loomed up in the Fourth Congress, and which in certain shapes has returned periodically to plague Congress and the people. The electors had voted under the then existing constitutional provision, each for two candidates not of the same State. In February, 1801, when Congress came to count the returns, it was found that Jefferson and Burr each had 73 votes, Adams 65 and Pinckney 64. There was therefore no choice, for no one candidate had the highest vote.

CONTESTED ELECTION.—The election passed to the House, where a protracted struggle resulted, and one full of bitterness and danger. The Federal element had to choose between two Republicans, one of whom, Jefferson, the Republicans were bent on making the President, the other, Burr, the Vice-President. Some of the Federals preferred to reverse this, not only to balk the Republican plan, but because they regarded Jefferson as a more formidable opponent than Burr. Burr himself fell, of course, to this idea, and fostered it by all the arts of which he was the well-known master. Balloting began Feb. 11, and, after running for several days, the Federals proposed to confess their inability to elect by vote of the States. Against this the Republicans threatened armed resistance. After other days were con-

* The Capitol building was ready in June, 1800, and the ten years during which the seat of government was to remain at Philadelphia having expired, it was formally removed to Washington at this session of Congress.



JOHN ADAMS.



THOMAS JEFFERSON.

sumed in idle balloting, the Federals were charged with a wish to put off the election till after the 4th of March and thus to make John Jay, Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, the temporary President. The result proved that this charge had no foundation. Burr finally lost caste in his attempts to dicker with the Federals, and Jefferson won on the 36th ballot, Feb. 17, by securing ten States, leaving four for Burr and two blank. This contention so clearly proved the defects and dangers of the plan of electoral voting that the Twelfth Amendment was proposed to the Constitution, Dec. 12, 1803, and declared in force Sept. 25, 1804. Congress adjourned *sine die*, March 3, 1801. Jefferson was sworn in as President and Burr as Vice-President, March 4.

IV.

JEFFERSON'S FIRST ADMINISTRATION.

March 4, 1801—March 3, 1805.

THOMAS JEFFERSON, VA., *President*. AARON BURR, N. Y., *Vice-President*. SEAT OF GOVERNMENT AT WASHINGTON.

*Congresses.**Sessions.*

SEVENTH CONGRESS.	{ 1, December 7, 1801—May 3, 1802.
	{ 2, December 6, 1802—March 3, 1803.
EIGHTH CONGRESS.	{ 1, October 17, 1803—March 27, 1804.
	{ 2, November 5, 1804—March 3, 1805.

ELECTORAL VOTE.

States.	Basis of 33,000.	Votes.	Republicans.		Federals.	
			Thos. Jeffer- son, Va.	A. Burr, N. Y.	J. Adams, Mass.	C. C. Pinck- ney, S. C.
Connecticut.....	7	9	..	..	9	9
Delaware.....	1	3	..	..	3	3
Georgia.....	2	4	4	4	..	..
Kentucky.....	2	4	4	4	..	..
Maryland.....	8	10	5	5	5	5
Massachusetts.....	14	16	..	..	16	16
New Hampshire....	4	6	..	..	6	6
New Jersey.....	5	7	..	..	7	7
New York.....	10	12	12	12	..	..
North Carolina.....	10	12	8	8	4	4
Pennsylvania.....	13	15	6	8	7	7
Rhode Island.....	2	4	..	Sc.*	4	3
South Carolina.....	6	8	8	8	..	..
Tennessee.....	1	3	5	3	..	..
Vermont.....	2	4	..	..	4	4
Virginia.....	19	21	21	21	..	..
Totals.....	106	138	73	73	65	54†

* This one vote was thrown for John Jay.

† No choice. See contested election on p. 305.

CABINET.

Secretary of State.....James Madison, Va.
 Secretary of Treasury...Samuel Dexter, Mass.....Continued.
 Secretary of War.....Henry Dearborn, Mass.
 Secretary of Navy.....Benjamin Stoddard, Md....Continued.
 Attorney-General.....Levi Lincoln, Mass.
 Postmaster-General....Joseph Habersham, Ga.....Continued.

POLITICAL REVOLUTION.—The Republican sweep was clean, up to the door of the Judiciary. Adams' defeat was keenly felt, though not unexpected. He had many admirers who remembered with pride his eloquence in behalf of Independence, and his bold stand in favor of Federalism. But the loss of a President was as nothing compared with the permanent break in the Federal lines. The breaches were too wide for healing. The prestige it had acquired in placing the government on a firm basis, in anxious controversy for such power as would make it respected at home and abroad, in spirited contention for a policy of neutrality, and in timely, though not very masterly, effort to restrain the French Republican influence, had been badly clouded by some of its later efforts to hold political place, or at least prevent certain of its opponents from holding the same. Its internal weaknesses were now in sad contrast with that former boldness which successfully dared the most intricate financial problems, provided an ample revenue, and established an enduring national credit.

NEW POWER.—Jefferson's inaugural address laid down the policy of the Republican party. After attempting to remove asperities and smooth differences, he announced the intention to continue the payment of the public debt, reduce the army and navy, lower taxes, restrict the power of Federal government to the lowest limit permitted by the Constitution, and preserve the State governments in all their rights. While the message had the effect of abating party spirit somewhat, the old outcrops of enmity were still frequent. Federals were still "Black Cockade Federals." Republicans were still "Democrats and Jacobins." The wealth, intellect and culture of the country, largely of Federal type, naturally felt apprehensive of a situation now commanded by those it had learned to look upon with distrust and

to associate with what was foreign and revolutionary in spirit. Perhaps they saw in Jefferson himself all they feared from his party, when they spoke of him as "an atheist in religion and a fanatic in politics."

REMOVALS FROM OFFICE.—The President proceeded immediately to undo some of the centralizing measures of the preceding administration by pardoning those imprisoned under the Alien and Sedition Laws. Then he turned his attention to his party friends anxious for office. His removal of Elizur Goodrich, Federal, from the Collectorship of New Haven, and the appointment of Samuel Bishop, Republican, in his stead, was looked upon as a proscriptive innovation, and brought a Federal storm about his ears. Washington had made his appointments without reference to political opinions. Adams had made few removals and none for political reasons. Why should the old rule be broken? And especially why should it be broken in this instance when Goodrich was competent and Bishop was 78 years old and incompetent? To all which Jefferson made the memorable reply whose spirit was, in Jackson's time, incorporated into the aphorism, "To the victor belong the spoils." With rare sagacity, he, however, drew a fine line of distinction between removals for retaining opinions and removals for using influence. The former he would not make, the latter he would make. And again he would rebuke President Adams, by removing all his appointees after the result of the Presidential election became known.* All of this is interesting as the rather cautious beginning of that policy of removal from office, and appointment thereto, which grew by slow degrees until Jackson

* Jefferson said that it was not "political intolerance to claim a proportionate share in the direction of public affairs. If a due participation of office is a matter of right, how are vacancies to be obtained? Those by death are few, by resignation none." He would base his causes for removal as "much as possible on delinquency, on oppression, on intolerance, on ante-revolutionary adherence to our enemies." After thus getting a fair quota of the offices for his party, and thus correcting what he charged as erroneous procedure on the part of his predecessor, he said, "that done, I will return with joy to that state of things when the only questions concerning a candidate shall be: Is he honest? Is he capable? Is he faithful to the Constitution?"

claimed the policy to be an indisputable right, and which has been exercised since by all political parties as such, until questioned by the civil service reform spirit of the present day.

SEVENTH CONGRESS—First Session.—Met Dec. 7, 1801. Organized by electing Nathaniel Macon, Republican, of North Carolina, Speaker, there being a small Republican majority in both branches. Instead of delivering his message in person to the Congress as Washington and Adams had done, Jefferson presented it in writing and thus established a custom which has ever since been maintained, for convenience sake as well as for its accordance with republican simplicity. The Congress went manfully to work to modify previous Federal legislation. The limit for naturalization was fixed at five years, with privilege of declaration of intention after a residence of three years. The act of 1798 required a residence of fourteen years. A sinking fund was established. The army, navy and taxes were reduced. Perhaps the most direct blow at the Federals was the repeal of the Judiciary law. The law of the previous session had established twenty-four new Circuit Courts, the officers for which Adams had appointed the last thing before retiring. The Republicans said this was an abuse of his power, in that the commissions had been made out and signed after the results of the Presidential election had become known. They called them "midnight judges," and though the Federals declared that there was judicial work for all of them, and further that Adams had not exceeded his authority in granting their commissions, the Republicans found a way to overcome, for the time being, their strict construction notions and repeal the bill. This drove the Federals from their last hold on the government, and they never recovered their lost ground. Ohio entered the Union Nov. 29, 1802. Congress adjourned May 3, 1802.

LOUISIANA PURCHASE.—Republican zeal for France and the French Republican cause received a blow early in 1802 when it was announced that Spain had secretly ceded the Louisiana Territory to France. Our government had been making war preparations against Spain in order to settle the right to free navigation of the Mississippi, and to equal privileges about the

Gulf entrance. By the cession to France, the entire programme changed. The government was confronted with a new and more formidable owner of this vast country of Louisiana,* and probably with a new set of complications. Minister Livingston was instructed to remonstrate with the French Emperor and to say that France's possession of this territory would drive the American Republic to enter into an alliance with England. James Monroe was sent to Livingston's aid, with instructions to buy Florida and the Island of Orleans, which Jefferson mistakingly supposed had been embraced in the Spanish cession to France. Monroe found France in need of money for contemplated war on England and not averse to selling all of Louisiana. A bargain was at once struck for \$15,000,000, and though Monroe had exceeded his instructions and no authority existed anywhere for the transaction, Jefferson agreed to the contract, trusting to the Congress and the people to stand by him. In this he was not disappointed. The treaty of purchase was ratified by the Senate, Oct. 20, 1803.

SEVENTH CONGRESS—Second Session.—Met Dec. 6, 1802. The respective parties were so watchful of each other and so resolute that each failed to accomplish any significant political legislation. The action of Spain was censured by the Republicans. Attempts to amend the Constitutional mode of electing a President, to abolish the mint, and to fasten a charge of mismanagement on the Treasury Department, failed. Congress adjourned *sine die*, March 3, 1803.

EIGHTH CONGRESS—First Session.—This Congress was called together Oct. 17, 1803, in order that the treaty for the purchase of Louisiana might be disposed of. The Republican majority had been increased, the Federals having lost some of their best leaders. Nathaniel Macon was again chosen Speaker. The debates on the ratification of the treaty were similar to those over the Jay treaty of 1795, but parties were turned right round, the Republicans using the old Federal, and the Federals the old Anti-Federal logic. As observed above, the treaty was ratified by the Senate Oct. 20, 1803, and the House made the appropria-

* For fuller account of this purchase, see *ante*, page 105.

tion to carry it into effect.* The Twelfth Amendment to the Constitution changing the mode of Presidential election was passed Dec. 12, 1803, and ratified by the States by Sept. 25, 1804. The first articles of impeachment under the new government were voted by the House against Judge Pickering of the United States District Court of New Hampshire, for occasional drunkenness. The articles were sustained and the judge dismissed. Other articles were voted against Judge Chase, of Md., and Judge Peters, of Pa., for arbitrary conduct in trying cases under the Alien and Sedition Laws. The Federals took alarm at these steps and boldly charged the Republicans with a design to make places for their party judges, and to impair if not destroy the judiciary. An amended tariff bill was passed March 26, which, if anything, increased the average rate of duties then existing. Congress adjourned March 27, 1804.

ELECTION OF 1804.—Burr had never secured Jefferson's confidence after the suspicion that he had tried to barter with the Federals for his defeat during the previously disputed Presidential election. Besides he had then come too near the Presidency to suit Jefferson's idea of his own success. He was therefore sacrificed in the Congressional caucus, and Jefferson and George Clinton of New York became the Republican nominees for President. The nominees of the Federals were C. C. Pinckney, S. C., and Rufus King, N. Y. The Federals were vanquished in every State except Connecticut, Delaware and part of Maryland.

EIGHTH CONGRESS—Second Session.—Met Nov. 5, 1804. The session was not complimentary to the Republican majority. The impeachment trial of Judge Chase came on under the articles previously drawn in the House. It took a decided partisan turn and awakened the bitterest sentiment. Burr, who was under a cloud for having killed Hamilton, and who felt keenly the disappointment of defeat at the hands of his Republican friends, did much, as presiding officer at the

* Senate vote for ratification was 24 to 7; and House vote for the appropriation was 90 to 25, so that the purchase, notwithstanding its irregularity, was abundantly confirmed.

trial, by his refusal to hearken to the demands of his party, to re-establish his lost reputation. This angered the Republicans all the more, and when their determination to convict was met by a square verdict of acquittal on all the charges, they proposed several Constitutional amendments (none of which carried), making impeachment, conviction and removal from office easier. The electoral votes were counted in February. Jefferson and Clinton had 162, and Pinckney and King, 14. The Eighth Congress adjourned *sine die*, March 3, 1804. The successful Presidential candidates were sworn into office March 4, 1804.

V.

JEFFERSON'S SECOND ADMINISTRATION.

March 4, 1805—March 3, 1809.

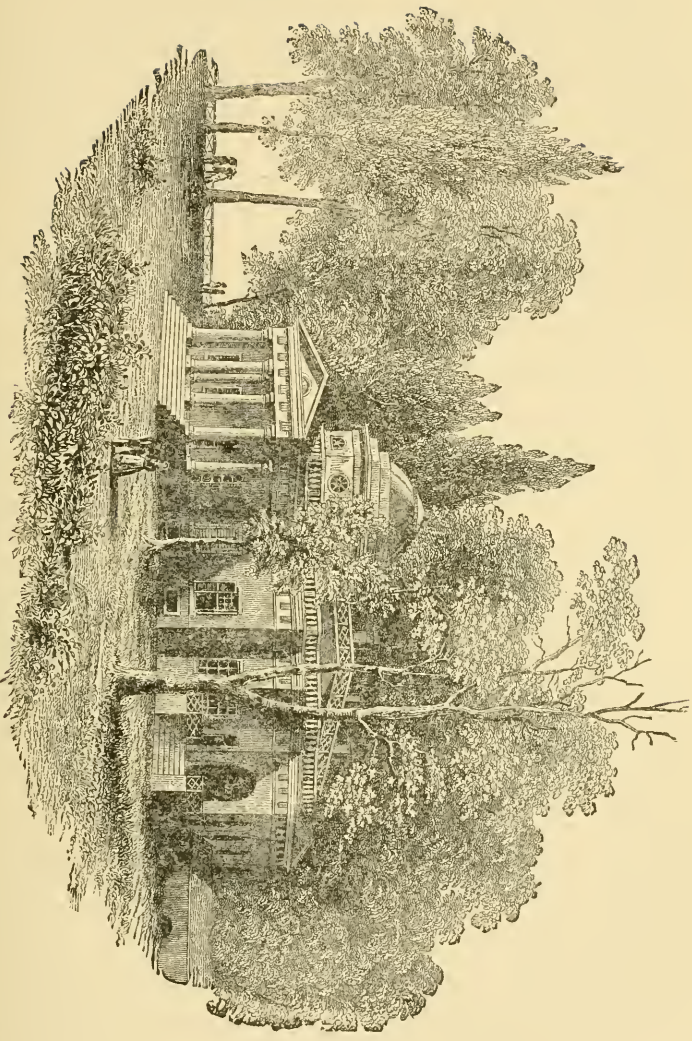
THOMAS JEFFERSON, VA., *President*. GEORGE CLINTON, N. Y.,
Vice-President.

<i>Congresses.</i>	<i>Sessions.</i>
NINTH CONGRESS.	{ 1, December 2, 1805—April 21, 1806. 2, December 1, 1806—March 3, 1807.
TENTH CONGRESS.	{ 1, October 26, 1807—April 25, 1808. 2, November 7, 1808—March 3, 1809.

*ELECTORAL VOTE.**

States.	Basis of 33,000.	Votes.	Republicans.		Federals.	
			Thos. Jeffer- son, Va.	G. Clin- ton, N. Y.	C. C. Pinck- ney, S. C.	R. King, N. Y.
Connecticut.....	7	9	..	..	9	9
Delaware.....	1	3	..	..	3	3
Georgia.....	4	6	6	6	..	..
Kentucky.....	6	8	8	8	..	..
Maryland.....	9	11	9	9	2	2
Massachusetts.....	17	19	19	19	..	..
New Hampshire....	5	7	7	7	..	..
New Jersey.....	6	8	8	8	..	..
New York.....	17	19	19	19	..	..
North Carolina....	12	14	14	14	..	..
Ohio.....	1	3	3	3	..	..

* While the nominations did not distinguish between President and Vice-President, the candidates were voted for as if they had been so distinguished, the Constitutional amendment (the twelfth) having been ratified in September in time for the vote to be cast under its provisions.



MONTICELLO—THE HOME OF JEFFERSON.

States.	Basis of 33,000.	Votes.	Republicans.		Federals.	
			Thos. Jeffer- son, Va.	G. Clin- ton, N. Y.	C. C. Pinck- ney, S. C.	R. King, N. Y.
Pennsylvania.....	18	20	20	20	..	..
Rhode Island.....	2	4	4	4	..	..
South Carolina.....	8	10	10	10	..	..
Tennessee.....	3	5	5	5	..	..
Vermont.....	4	6	6	6	..	..
Virginia.....	22	24	24	24	..	..
Totals.....	142	176	162	162	14	14

THE CABINET.

Secretary of State.....	James Madison, Va.....	Continued.
Secretary of Treasury....	Albert Gallatin, Pa.	"
Secretary of War.....	Henry Dearborn, Mass....	"
Secretary of Navy.....	Jacob Crowninshield, Mass.	
Attorney-General.....	Robert Smith, Md.	
Postmaster-General.....	Gideon Granger, Conn.	

POLITICAL SITUATION.—The Congressional elections had been nearly as disastrous to the Federalists as the Presidential election. They were strong only in New England, and even there Vermont had turned Republican. Federalism was clearly moribund. The Republicans had the affirmative. The times were prolific of new situations, which could be turned to popular account. Jefferson understood the art of keeping his party on a happy vantage ground better than any statesman in it, and as he had its entire confidence, so far as the masses were concerned, he exercised a control which was quite autocratic.

NINTH CONGRESS—First Session.—Met Dec. 2, 1805. Organized by re-electing Nathaniel Macon Speaker. Both Houses strongly Republican. A notable event was the estrangement of John Randolph, of Virginia, from the President. His ambition to go as Minister to England had not been gratified, and he had failed also in his aspirations to be the leader of the administration on the floor of Congress. He therefore with a small following threw his strength to the Federalists, and thus augmented they became a brilliant, determined and useful minority. The Spanish Mississippi situation was still delicate. It was decided that the best way to settle it was to buy out the remaining interest of Spain in our soil. The President was authorized to make the purchase, but it was not effected till 1819. Though both England and France were violating the rights of

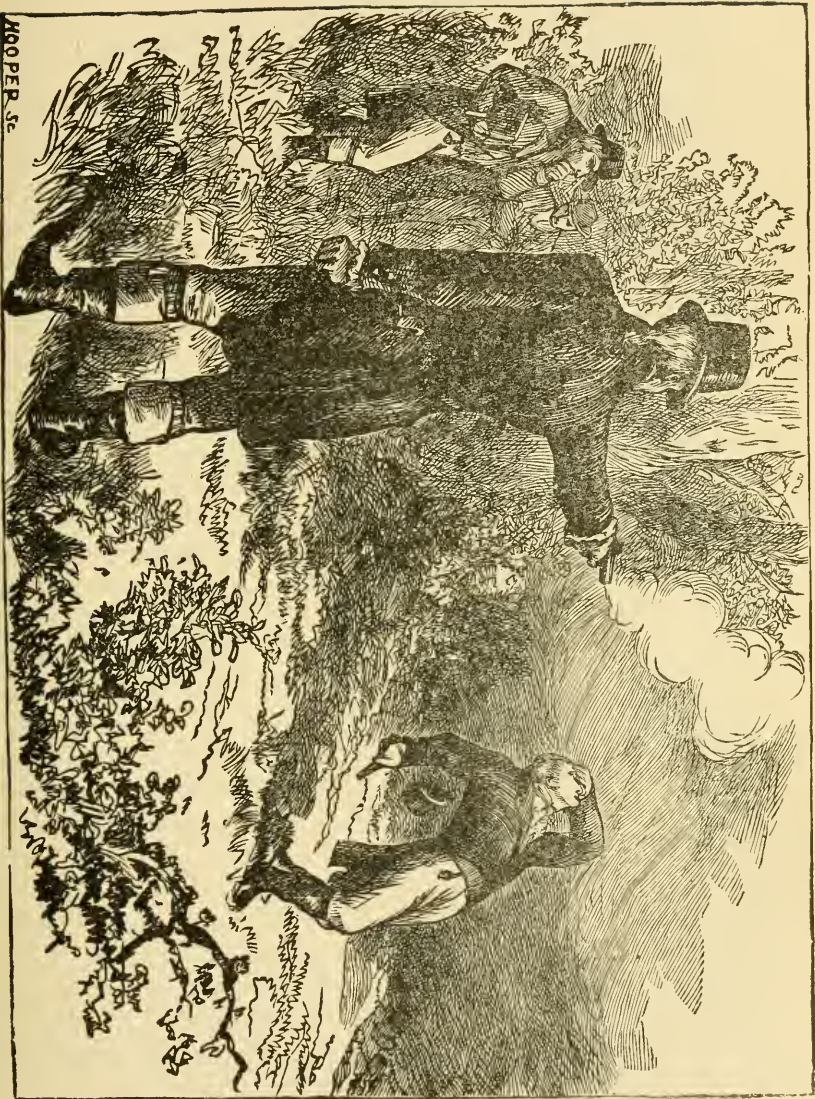
neutrals, the President would not sanction the building of an American navy, but compromised on a system of gunboats, which was much ridiculed by his opponents. Republican partiality for France was shown by the passage of a measure prohibiting the importation of English goods after Nov. 15, 1806. This was designed to be retaliatory of England's violation of the rights of neutrals. As France had been, and was still, equally guilty, the blow might very justly have been aimed at both. Not yet tired of efforts to Republicanize the Judiciary, another attempt was made to clear out the old Federal incumbents, but it failed. A strained situation for the Republicans grew out of the proposition to build a National Road from the Potomac to the Ohio. Contrary to all their previous views of a rigid construction of the Constitution, and in vivid contrast with the notions of their school which prevailed for fifty years afterwards respecting internal improvement, they enacted to lay out and build such road. An adjournment took place April 21, 1806.

NINTH CONGRESS—Second Session.—Met Dec. 1, 1806. During the vacation Burr's enterprise of a Southwest Empire became public, and the President had ordered his arrest. Information of the scheme was laid before Congress, and the Senate enacted to suspend the writ of habeas corpus for three months, but the House did not concur. Financial management had been such as to produce an excess of receipts over expenditures. This excellent condition the President proposed to turn to the account of the country by devoting the surplus to education and national road and canal making. He was however too far in advance, or outside, of his party in this matter to be able to persuade it to any such general undertaking. A revulsion of sentiment had set in on the discriminating act against England, passed at the previous session, and the President was given power to suspend the operation of the law till December, 1807. Congress adjourned *sine die*, March 3, 1807.

BURR BUBBLE.—In the early part of the year 1807 the Burr bubble burst, and he returned, under arrest, to Virginia, the scene of his plots, for trial. What he designed to accomplish

by his expedition down the Mississippi has never been accurately known. His enemies regarded his scheme as treasonable, having for its object the establishment of an empire in the Southwest so as to control the commerce of the Mississippi. His friends—rather his excusers, for friends were hardly possible—gave him the credit of a far-sighted enterprise to expel all foreign influence from the region of the Gulf, provide an inviting field for immigration, and thus establish Federal sovereignty in a distant and dangerous part of the public domain. However it may all be, his trial was now (May, 1807) on at Richmond, before Chief Justice Marshall. It was far more political than judicial. The Federals, who had denounced the President's order for arrest as a usurpation of authority, now heaped personal invective on him for his anxious letters to the District Attorney and his open attempts to influence the trial. Nothing, however, served to deter Jefferson. He had no love for Burr, and, further, he felt that his conviction was to be his own vindication for a procedure which was so bitterly denounced as arbitrary and without precedent. The result was Burr's acquittal for want of jurisdiction. The defeat of the administration was humiliating in proportion to its anxiety to impress the trial.

TENTH CONGRESS—First Session.—Met Oct. 26, 1807, and organized by electing Joseph B. Barnum, Republican, of Massachusetts, Speaker, there being again a Republican majority in both branches. An early session was called to consider the attitude of England. The foreign outlook was by no means assuring. The English treaty of 1806 had been rejected by the President on his own responsibility, because, like the Jay treaty of 1795, it left England at liberty to search American ships and impress American seamen. This the Federals stoutly opposed as a bold assumption on the part of the President and because they, being largely the commercial part of the community, were most anxious for some kind of a treaty with England. But above all the snubbing of England by the President led her to stubborn and retaliatory renewal of her aggressions. In June, 1807, the *Leopard*, a British frigate, attacked the *Chesapeake*, an American frigate, in Hampton Roads, and forcibly removed four



DUEL BETWEEN BURR AND HAMILTON.

seamen, ostensibly English. Here parties swung to and fro and almost embraced. The Federals became indignant at England for this outrage. The Republicans had grown lukewarm toward France, who, though not so boldly, was practising the same invasions of neutral rights. Our commerce suffered most from English aggressions, only because England was stronger than France on the water. So great was the destruction of our commerce that Jefferson privately wrote how he had come to regard "England as a den of pirates and France as a den of thieves."

EMBARGO ACT.—England's prohibition of all commerce with France, a similar prohibition by France, blockades by each, searches of neutrals by both, led the President to a proclamation against British armed ships entering American ports. To support him in this was the object of the called session. The Republicans passed his Embargo bill, against the opposition of the Federals supported by the Randolph Republicans, or *quids*, as they were facetiously called, both of whom argued that it would retroact on the United States and lead to more complete commercial ruin than direct aggression by either England or France had done. The Republicans averred it must be either an Embargo or war, and chose the former, not without a modification, however, to the extent of making it operative during the President's pleasure. The Embargo Act passed Dec. 21, 1807, by a vote of 87 to 35 in the House and 19 to 9 in the Senate. It prohibited American vessels sailing from foreign ports, foreign vessels taking cargoes from American ports, and all coasters from landing cargoes elsewhere than in the United States. It proved to be a veritable boomerang, as the Federals had predicted. Congress adjourned April 25, 1808.

ELECTION OF 1808.—During the summer and autumn of 1808 sentiment was shaping for the Presidential contest. For a long time (since 1806) Randolph had been actively engineering the cause of Monroe, who was Minister to England, against Madison, whom Jefferson had been coaching for his successor. But the Congressional caucus nominations at the called session had resulted in the nomination of James Madison, Va., for President, and George Clinton, N. Y., for Vice-President, on the part

of the Republicans, and C. C. Pinckney, S. C., for President, and Rufus King, N. Y., for Vice-President, on the part of the Federals. Jefferson, like Washington, had been requested to accept a third term but declined. The issue turned on the Embargo Act, the Federals denouncing it as unconstitutional, as destructive of American commerce, and as tending to help England as against France—a cunning argument in view of previous Republican favoritism for France, yet one whose truth was daily becoming apparent. They carried their opposition to the verge of physical resistance along the New England coast, and really lost sight of the political situation in their vehement desire to force the repeal of a destructive and obnoxious law. The result in November was a majority of Republican electors, though by no means as large as that for Jefferson.

TENTH CONGRESS—Second Session.—Met Nov. 7, 1808. Opened with protests against English and French aggressions, and an attempt of the Federals to repeal the odious Embargo Act, whose operation had by this time driven them to commercial despair. The President was informed by John Q. Adams, who had resigned from the Legislature of his State (Mass.) because his advocacy of the Embargo had drawn public censure, that it would be impossible to further enforce the act in New England, and that a scheme of open resistance was already in course of preparation. However truthful this might have been—it was stoutly denied,—and however much it may have been a part of Adams' wish to thus secure administrative favor—he was soon after sent as minister to Russia,—it is certain Jefferson changed front on the question, and with him the entire Republican party. The bill was repealed, the repeal to operate on and after March 4, 1809, and a simple Non-Intercourse Act substituted. The Republicans even went so far as to pronounce in favor of an American navy, and full protection of American rights on the high seas. Had this wonderful surrender taken place a few months earlier, the Federals must have swept the country in the Presidential contest. But it was shrewdly postponed till after the verdict had been recorded.

The electoral votes were counted in February. Madison had

for President 122, and George Clinton 6. Pinckney had for President 47. For Vice-President Clinton had 113, King 47, and 15 were scattering. Congress adjourned *sine die* March 4, 1809. Madison and Clinton were sworn into office March 4, 1809.

VI.

MADISON'S FIRST ADMINISTRATION.

March 4, 1809—March 3, 1813.

JAMES MADISON, VA., *President*. GEORGE CLINTON, N. Y., *Vice-President*.

*Congresses.**Sessions.*

ELEVENTH CONGRESS.	{ 1, May 22, 1809—June 28, 1809, extra session. 2, November 27, 1809—May 1, 1810. 3, December 3, 1810—March 3, 1811.
TWELFTH CONGRESS.	{ 1, November 4, 1811—July 6, 1812. 2, November 2, 1812—March 3, 1813.

*ELECTORAL VOTE.**

States.	Basis of 33,000.	Votes.	Republicans.		Federals.	
			J. Madison, Va.	G. Clinton, N. Y.	C. C. Pinckney, S. C.	R. King, N. Y.
Connecticut.....	7	9	..	..	9	9
Delaware.....	1	3	..	..	3	3
Georgia.....	4	6	6	6	..	..
Kentucky.....	6	8	7	7	..	.. 1 vacancy
Maryland.....	9	11	9	9	2	2
Massachusetts....	17	19	..	..	19	19
New Hampshire....	5	7	..	..	7	7
New Jersey.....	6	8	8	8	..	..
New York.....	17	19	13	13	Sc.	Sc.
North Carolina....	12	14	11	11	3	3
Ohio.....	1	3	3	Sc.	..	..
Pennsylvania.....	18	20	20	20	..	..
Rhode Island.....	2	4	..	..	4	4
South Carolina....	8	10	10	10	..	..
Tennessee.....	3	5	5	5	..	..
Vermont.....	4	6	6	..	..	Sc.
Virginia.....	22	24	24	24	..	..
Totals.....	142	176	122	113	47	47

THE CABINET.†

Secretary of State.....Robert Smith, Md.

Secretary of Treasury.....Albert Gallatin, Pa.....Continued.

* Of those marked scattering Clinton received 6 for President, and for Vice-President Madison received 3, John Langdon 9, and James Monroe 3.

† The Cabinets as here found are those first organized by the incoming administrations. For the changes and all incumbents see the respective department heads under "Ruling Nationally."

The Cabinet—Continued.

Secretary of War.....	William Eustis, Mass.	
Secretary of Navy.....	Paul Hamilton, S. C.	
Attorney-General.....	C. A. Rodney, Pa.....	..Continued.
Postmaster-General.....	Gideon Granger, Conn.....	“

POLITICAL SITUATION.—The Republicans were on the eve of an entire change of policy. Jefferson had adroitly handled the old Federal policy of neutrality so as to keep a show of firmness, and at the same time avoid armed conflict with England or France. On the score of economy he opposed high taxes, a navy, an army. Madison fell heir to this policy. When Erskine, British Minister, mistakingly informed him that England desired peace, Madison immediately suspended the Non-Intercourse Act, as he was authorized by its terms to do, so far as England was concerned. But when England repudiated the conduct of Erskine, the President had to restore the operation of the act. Whether this was sheer double-dealing on the part of England, or only a Republican trick to influence sentiment, as the Federals claimed, from that time on the drift toward war was too strong for the Republicans to resist. The schism in the ranks of the party left an active minority to operate on the strict party flanks. It was a time when a body of new leaders, active and strong, could walk away with the organization and shift its ancient policy. From this time on, too, we begin to hear popular mention of the word Democrat. As admiration for France, which had made the word Republican popular, subsided, as Jacobin and Democrat were no longer offensively identical, and further as there were two schools of thought in the Republican ranks, one newer and more aggressive than the other, it became common for the older to designate themselves as Democrats, that is, the true Republicans, the primitive Democratic-Republicans.

ELEVENTH CONGRESS—Extra Session.—Met May 22, 1809, with a Republican majority. Organized by re-electing Joseph B. Varnum, Mass., Speaker. The only matter before it was the President's suspension and reassertion of the Non-Intercourse Act. After affirming his action Congress adjourned, June 28, 1809.

ELEVENTH CONGRESS—First Regular Session.—Met

Nov. 27, 1809. The Non-Intercourse act was continued, and the British Minister was censured for contradictory statements and obtrusive conduct. France had shrewdly shaped her commercial policy so as to receive all the benefits of the American position. This galled England all the more, and as a consequence her attitude became more hostile. In advocacy of her right to search American vessels for deserted British seamen, she announced as final the doctrine, "Once an Englishman, always an Englishman." During the session the Republicans had a large majority and shaped legislation without much dissent from the Federals. Adjourned May 1, 1810.

ELEVENTH CONGRESS—Second Session.—Met Dec. 3, 1810. The Non-Intercourse Act was repealed as to France and continued as to England. This threw both England and America on their mettle. But the administration was not yet done with its economic and peace ideas. The National Bank, chartered in 1791 for twenty years, was asking for a new lease of life. It had, as we have seen, secured the favor of a charter through a momentary spasm of liberal construction on the part of strict interpreters of the Constitution. Such a spasm was not now on, though it had so many Republican friends in both branches that the bill granting a new charter was defeated by only one vote in the House and by the casting vote of the Vice-President in the Senate. It therefore wound up its business and ceased to exist. The attitude of Federal and Republican on this question of a national bank became, in after years, that of Whig and Democrat on the same question. Congress adjourned *sine die*, March 3, 1811.

TWELFTH CONGRESS—First Session.—Met Nov. 4, 1811. Either the administration must accept the idea of forcible resistance to England or go to the wall. American vessels, estimated at 900, had been captured since 1803. American commerce had become a thing of the past. It would not do to allow the idea to grow further that the Republicans were aiming a blow at commercial New England by persistence in their suicidal policy of dilly-dallying diplomacy and devouring peace. A new order of men came to the front. Henry Clay, Ky., was elected

Speaker. John C. Calhoun, S. C., became an ambitious and able leader in the House, as did William H. Crawford, Ga., in the Senate. Fortunately none of these new leaders, fully imbued with the war spirit, thoroughly determined on a change from the economic, hesitating, and now cowardly, policy of Jefferson and Madison, were mistrusted by Madison. Clay had been his firm friend, and had come out of a two-term career in the Senate the better to lead on the wider plane of the House. Therefore their work of swinging the administration and the party from its peace moorings was comparatively easy. During the session, and against the opposition of the Federals and a Republican minority, bills for increasing the navy and organizing the militia were passed. Whatever scruples the President may still have had about accepting the situation and affirming this heterodox legislation was overcome by the intimation that his renomination depended on his acquiescence. He therefore fell fully in with the new leaders, and made his *exposé* of the Henry documents * which so outraged the sentiment of New England, but which brought from Congress the action designed, viz., a resolution denunciatory of England for an attempt to divide a friendly nation.

This was followed by an Embargo on American shipping for ninety days, which of course brought an announcement from the English Minister (May 30, 1812), which was supported by the Parliament, that England would not change her policy toward neutrals.

DECLARATION OF WAR.—A message from the President, June 1, 1812, referred to a committee, brought a report which, as a summary of grievances, complained of the British orders in council, of the unfair system of blockades of the French ports, of the refusal to settle claims for damages, and, last but not least, of the searching of American ships and impressment of American seamen. It recommended a declaration of war. A

* The President made this *exposé* in a special message. The documents, he said, he bought of one John Henry for \$50,000. They purported to show how Henry had been a Canadian agent sent to influence New England Federals to join their cause with that of England. The British Minister denied all knowledge of such agent or agency.

war act was consequently passed and promptly signed by the President (June 18, 1812), who had by this time received a second nomination for the Presidency and who was acting in strict concert with the war wing of his party. At first the declaration of war was received with applause. But a reaction soon set in. The Federals of New England published a protest against it as sectional and not national, the act of a party and not of the country. Strictly construing the Constitution, Massachusetts and Connecticut refused to permit their militia to go beyond the boundary of their States till an actual invasion had taken place. To answer them the Republicans became liberal interpreters of the Constitution and would obliterate State lines and forget all about State rights in order to present a solid national front to the foe. Louisiana had become a State in the Union, April 30, 1812.

TARIFF OF 1812.—Madison had urged in his message a revision of the Tariff. The new leaders took it up. Calhoun and Lowndes favored Clay's new doctrine that the Protective idea ought not any longer to be secondary to the Revenue idea. South Carolina was then a high protection State, England having levied exorbitant duties on raw cotton. Here was a marvelous shifting of party doctrine. The Republicans became such liberal interpreters of the Constitution that they not only swung to the Protective notion, but actually used the report of Hamilton, which brought the earliest Tariff acts, in vindication of their position. The Federals, in their weakness, forgetfulness of party traditions and determination to see nothing good in the administration, swung clear over to the abandoned strict construction doctrine of their political enemies, and through such as Webster (then in the House) and others opposed the Protective thought. Sentiment on this Tariff act ought to be carefully noted. It was the beginning of that division in the Republican party which prepared the way for "The American Idea," for "Internal Improvement," and for the Whig organization, which was Clay's outlet from the strict construction columns. Indeed, even at this session a bill for internal improvement was passed under Clay's leadership, which Madison vetoed. The tariff act was

passed July 1, 1812, and it marks the highest rates of duty reached from the foundation of the government till 1842. Sugar went from $2\frac{1}{2}$ cents per pound to 5; coffee from 5 cents per pound to 10; tea from 18 cents per pound to 36; pig iron from $17\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. to 30; bar iron from $17\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. to 30; glass from $22\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. to 40; manufactures of cotton from $17\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. to 30; woollens from 17 per cent. to 30; silk from 15 per cent. to 25. Congress adjourned July 6, 1812.

ELECTION OF 1812.—We have seen the conditions upon which Madison was permitted to become a candidate for a second term. But he still had opposition. De Witt Clinton, N. Y., who would have been the candidate in case Madison had declined to wheel into the war line, refused to be bound by the bargain. The other Republican States had become jealous of Virginia's claim to be "the home of Presidents." Clinton moved on this line, secured the nomination of the New York Legislature and issued an address ("Clinton's Platform") protesting against caucus nominations of Presidential candidates, the continuance of public men in office for long periods, the claim of particular States to monopolize principal offices, and "that official regency which prescribed tenets of political faith." His followers became known as Clintonian Democrats.

Madison was nominated in May, 1812. John Langdon was nominated for Vice-President, but declining on account of age, Elbridge Gerry, Mass., was substituted. The Federals, taking advantage of the schism in the Republican ranks, met in caucus in New York city and nominated De Witt Clinton for President, with Jared Ingersoll, Pa., for Vice-President.* The election came off in November. A large majority of Republican electors was chosen. The Congressional elections resulted also in a majority of Republican members favorable to the war.

TWELFTH CONGRESS—Second Session.—Met Nov. 2, 1812. There was a slight adjustment of parties on account of

* Eleven States were represented in this caucus or convention. It was a bitterly partisan body, determined to see nothing good in any act of Madison, and as an evidence of its desperation, willing to support a soured Republican in order to defeat the regular Republican nominee.

the war. Some Republicans voted with the Peace Federals, but they were more than offset by War Federals voting with the straight Republicans. There was but little opposition from any source to an increase of the navy, which had already won the right to be encouraged by proving a match for the best equipped ships of England. Other measures of war were carried by Republican votes. The count of the electoral vote was made in February, and showed 128 for Madison and 89 for Clinton. For Vice-President 131 for Gerry and 86 for Ingersoll. Congress adjourned March 3, 1813. The candidates elect were sworn into office, March 4, 1812.

VII.

MADISON'S SECOND ADMINISTRATION.

March 4, 1813—March 3, 1817.

JAMES MADISON, VA., *President*. ELBRIDGE GERRY, MASS., *Vice-President*.

Congresses.

Sessions.

THIRTEENTH CONGRESS.	{ 1, May 24, 1813—August 2, 1813, extra session. 2, December 6, 1813—April 18, 1814. 3, September 19, 1814—March 3, 1815.
FOURTEENTH CONGRESS.	{ 1, December 4, 1815—April 30, 1816. 2, December 2, 1816—March 3, 1817.

ELECTORAL VOTE.

States.	Basis of 35,000.	Vote.	Republicans.		Fed. or Clinton Dem.	
			J. Madison, Va.	Elbridge Gerry, Mass.	De Witt Clinton, N.Y.	Jared Ingersoll, Pa.
Connecticut.....	7	9	..	..	9	9
Delaware.....	2	4	..	..	4	4
Georgia.....	6	8	8	8	..	..
Kentucky.....	10	12	12	12	..	..
Louisiana.....	1	3	3	3	..	..
Maryland.....	9	11	6	6	5	5
Massachusetts.....	20	22	..	2	22	20
New Hampshire...	6	8	..	1	8	7
New Jersey.....	6	8	..	..	8	8
New York.....	27	29	..	..	29	29
North Carolina....	13	15	15	15	..	..
Ohio.....	6	8	7	7	..	.. 1 Vacancy.
Pennsylvania.....	23	25	25	25	..	..
Rhode Island.....	2	4	..	..	4	4
South Carolina....	9	11	11	11	..	..
Tennessee.....	6	8	8	8	..	..
Vermont.....	6	8	8	8	..	..
Virginia.....	23	25	25	25	..	..
Totals.....	182	218	128	131	89	86

THE CABINET.

Secretary of State.....	James Monroe, Va.....	Continued.
Secretary of Treasury.....	Albert Gallatin, Pa.....	"
Secretary of War.....	John Armstrong, N. Y.	"
Secretary of Navy.....	William Jones, Pa.....	"
Attorney-General.....	William Pinckney, Md.....	"
Postmaster-General	Gideon Granger, Conn.....	"

THIRTEENTH CONGRESS—Extra Session.—Called May 24, 1813, to provide means for the war. House organized by re-electing Henry Clay, Ky., Speaker. Republican majority greatly reduced in both House and Senate, the vote on the Speakership being 89 to 54, though the latter were not all Federals, but partly anti-war Republicans. In the Senate there was a strong faction of anti-administration Republicans. After meeting the object of its call the Congress adjourned, Aug. 2, 1813.

WAR SENTIMENT.—It was already manifest that the war was destined to be unpopular with the country. Do their best the Republicans could not keep up a furore respecting it. The Federal sentiment, still strong in the Eastern States, was pronouncedly against it. The Embargo, while it may not have been designed as such, was a cruel blow at the centres of commerce. The peace faction in the Republican ranks was growing more out-spoken. England, in order to encourage a wider division of sentiment between the Eastern and other States, had actually gone so far as to exempt them from her blockade of the Atlantic coast, and it was charged by the Republicans that at the port of New London, Conn., the departure of American vessels was secured, notwithstanding the Embargo, by means of blue light signals to the English blockading fleet.

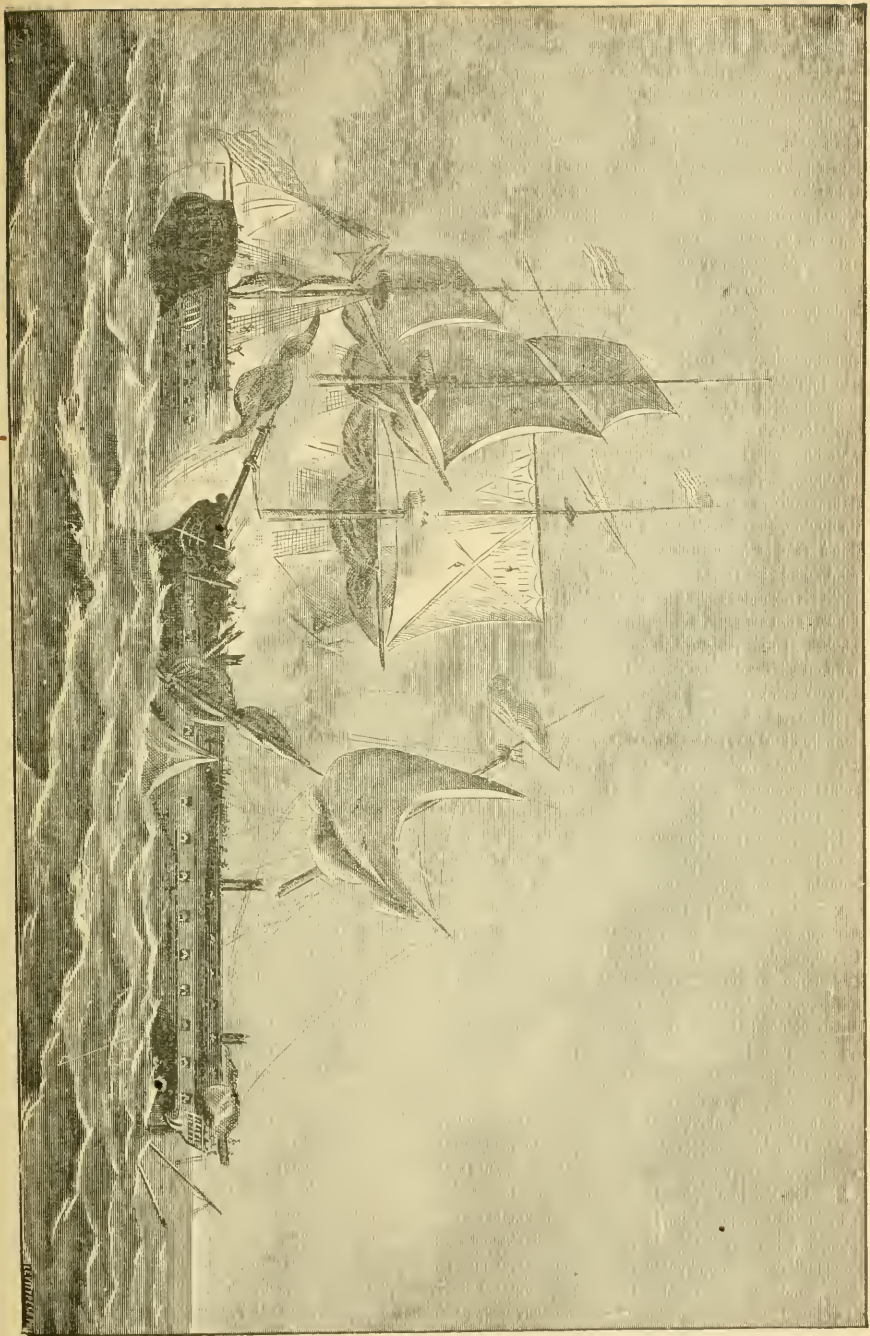
THIRTEENTH CONGRESS—First Regular Session.—Met Dec. 6, 1813. Financial subjects, relating to the war, were chiefly uppermost. But in view of alleged violations of the Embargo Act by New England mariners a stricter act was passed, embracing all ships, large and small. The war was in the midst of its greatest activity. Congress adjourned April 18, 1814.

THIRTEENTH CONGRESS—Second Session.—Called as early as Sept. 19, 1814, to consider negotiations for peace which had been begun in August, soon after the capture and burning

of Washington by the English, and when it had become apparent that the provisions to meet vigorous and protracted war were as inadequate as was the popular sentiment to further sustain it. England had gotten rid of her home adversary, Napoleon, and was at liberty to direct her undivided attention to America. She had long since revoked her orders in council and was only insisting on her right to search American ships and impress her deserting seamen. The administration, in view of the entire situation, had therefore wisely instructed its commissioner abroad to negotiate for peace without insisting on rectification of the "search and impressment" grievances. But as this showed weakness, the English grew bold, and would not only have no American fleets or military posts along the Great Lakes, but a permanent Canadian barrier erected in the shape of an Indian Confederacy.

HARTFORD CONVENTION.—The administration and its active Republican support were in a quandary. The weakness of abject surrender must be confessed, or resort must be had to those reserved powers which strict interpreters of the Constitution had ever denied to the government. The War Department favored a more imposing and effective army, by means of a draft and the enlistment of minors. The Navy Department proposed to impress seamen, after the English fashion. Every effort was made by the administration to recover lost ground, put on a front worthy the American name, and fight the war to a successful end. But it was too late in the day. The President's own party could not be imbued with his suddenly assumed liberal construction notions. His radical war measures were either defeated or coldly favored. Beyond, the situation was appalling. England held vantage ground in Maine and along the northern border. New England had been almost entirely neglected by the government. Every war measure thus far had been more destructive to her industry and wealth, and more disparaging to her people, than to the overt enemy. Massachusetts invited a conference (Oct., 1814) of the New England States "to confer on the subject of their public grievances." This met at Hartford in December, 1814, and sat for three

CAPTURE OF THE GUERRIERE BY THE CONSTITUTION.



weeks. It was the historic Hartford Convention, so odious to Republicans, so dear to Federals. Its secret proceedings aroused suspicion and drew on its members and their cause a denunciation than which nothing could be more bitter, and a proscription even, which was the knell of their party importance. So far were the charges of treasonable design carried that, years afterwards, it was deemed proper to break the seal of secrecy and publish the entire proceedings, but too late, of course, to remove the stigma which inflamed partisanship had fastened to the event.*

EVENTS OF THE WAR OF 1812.—On May 16, 1811, the American frigate *President*, Captain Rogers, hailed the British sloop of war *Little Belt*, off the coast of Virginia. The reply was a cannon shot. An engagement ensued, and after the *Little Belt* had sustained a loss of thirty-two men, she returned a satisfactory answer. In the same year the Indians of the Northwest, instigated by British emissaries and led by their chief, Tecumseh, attempted to expel all settlers from the country north of the Ohio. They were repulsed at the battle of Tippecanoe, by an army led by General Harrison, Nov. 7, 1811.

These overt acts on the part of England led to a declaration of war against her, June 19, 1812. General Hull immediately invaded Canada, from Detroit, with 2000 American troops. On

* Judged by the proceedings the convention was not only timely and orderly, but representative of grievances which were hardly to be borne, and which ought never to have existed. It was simply unfortunate in its manner of deliberation, and in the fact that the close of the war shut off public presentation of its protest and resolutions to the government. The resolutions opposed (1) drafts, conscriptions or impressments not authorized by the Constitution. (2) A plan whereby the respective States or sections might defend themselves against the enemy and pay for the same, the central government to reimburse them. (3) A full militia for each State, with power to detach a portion at the request of other States, when invaded. (4) Seven amendments recommended to the Constitution: (1) Representatives and direct taxes to be apportioned among the States in proportion to the number of *free* persons. (2) Admission of States only on vote of two-thirds of both Houses. (3) No embargo beyond sixty days. (4) No interdiction of commercial intercourse except by two-third votes of both Houses of Congress. (5) No declaration of war except by vote of two-thirds of both Houses. (6) No naturalized person to be eligible to Congress. (7) No second term for the President, nor any President from the same State twice in succession. A fifth resolve provided for the reassembling of the convention in case these resolutions did not bring redress.



THE WASP BOARDING THE FROLIC.

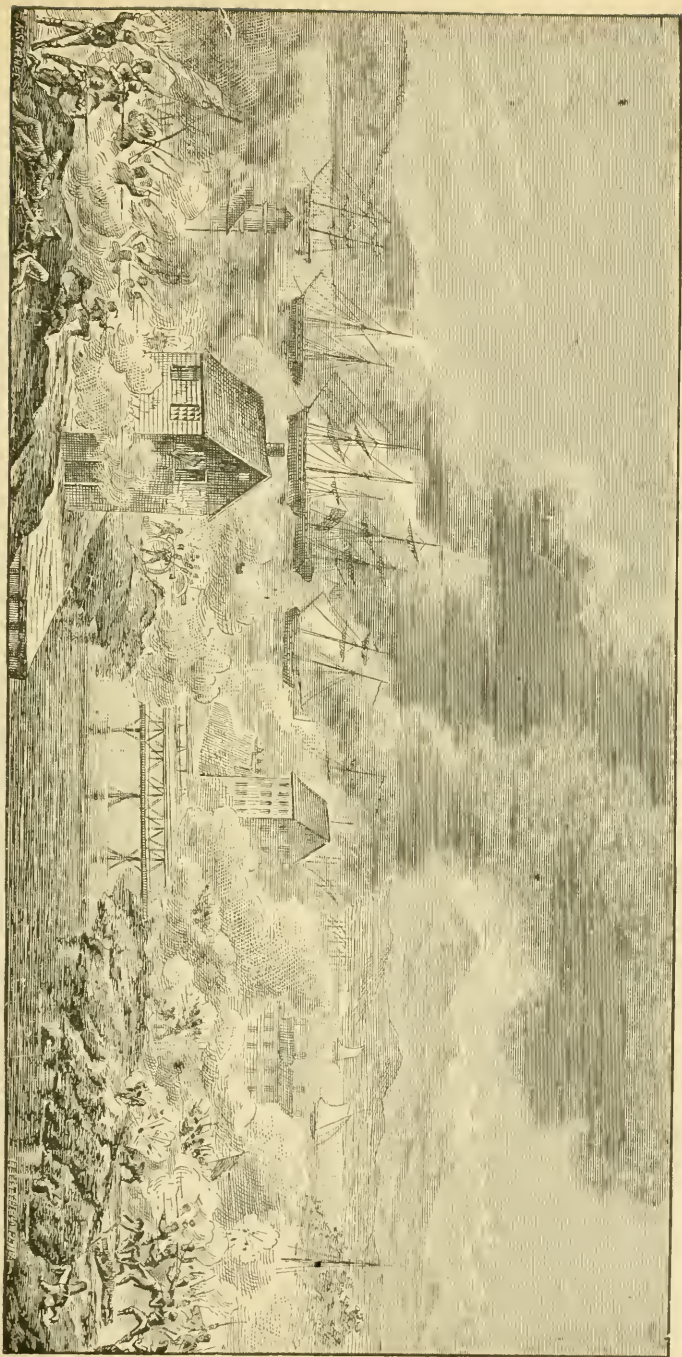
learning that detachments had been defeated and posts captured in the Northwest by British and Indians, Hull retreated to Detroit, pursued by a British army under Brock. Detroit was besieged, and Hull surrendered it and his army.

On Oct. 13, 1812, the Americans again invaded Canada at Niagara, and attacked Queenstown, but were defeated with the loss of 1000 men. But though defeated on land, the Americans were successful at sea. "The Essex, Captain Porter, captured the British sloop of war *Alert*, Aug. 13, 1812. The frigate *Constitution*, Captain Hull, captured and burned the British frigate *Guerriere*, Aug. 19, 1812. The *Wasp*, Captain Jones, compelled the surrender of the British brig *Frolic*, Oct. 18. The British frigate *Macedonian* captured the American frigate *United States*, Captain Decatur, Oct. 25. The *Constitution*, Captain Bainbridge, captured the British frigate *Java*, Dec. 29, 1812.

EVENTS OF 1813.—Three American armies held the frontiers in 1813. The "Army of the West," under General William Henry Harrison, was posted at the west end of Lake Erie. The "Army of the Centre," under Dearborn, held the Niagara frontier. The "Army of the North," under General Wade Hampton, held the line of Lake Champlain. On Jan. 22 General Proctor, with 1500 British and Indians, attacked and defeated the Americans at Frenchtown, on the River Raisin, and the sick and wounded were massacred by the Indians. General Harrison was twice besieged in Fort Meigs, but both times succeeded in repulsing the enemy, led by Proctor and Tecumseh. The latter then marched against Fort Stevenson, on the Lower Sandusky, but were again repulsed.

During the summer the Americans built and launched a fleet of nine vessels, carrying 63 guns, on Lake Erie, under command of Commodore Perry. He met the British fleet, under Commodore Barclay, at the west end of the lake, Sept. 10, 1812, and after a terrific battle compelled Barclay to surrender. Perry's dispatch to Harrison was, "We have met the enemy and they are ours."

Perry's fleet carried Harrison's army across to Canada. The British deserted Fort Malden. Harrison pursued and forced



MCDONOUGH'S VICTORY ON LAKE CHAMPLAIN.

the battle of the Thames, Oct. 5, where he gained a signal victory. Tecumseh was killed, and the forces of Proctor were nearly annihilated. This restored Michigan and terminated the war in the Northwest.

On April 27 Dearborn crossed into Canada and captured Toronto, losing the brave General Zebulon N. Pike in an explosion of captured ammunition. On May 27 Dearborn drove the enemy from Ft. George, on the Niagara river, and again repulsed them at Stony Creek, June 6, but with the loss, as prisoners, of Generals Chandler and Winder.

On May 29 Prevost, with 1000 British soldiers, attacked General Brown at Sackett's Harbor, but was repulsed. In August General Wilkinson succeeded Dearborn, and began a movement on Montreal with 7000 troops. He fought an indecisive battle near Ogdensburg, Nov. 11, but finding that Hampton refused to co-operate with him, he went into winter-quarters at French Mills. This movement of Wilkinson threw open the Niagara frontier, which was immediately invaded by the enemy, who forced General McClure out of Fort George and across to Fort Niagara, in New York. They then attacked Fort Niagara, captured it, and laid six of the adjacent towns, including Buffalo, in ashes. Meanwhile, the Creek Indians, in the South, rose in arms and destroyed Fort Mimms in Alabama, massacring some 400 women and children. General Jackson led a force against them, and forced them into a humiliating peace at the battle of Tohopeka, March, 1814.

During 1813 the ocean was the scene of many desperate engagements. The American sloop *Hornet*, Captain Lawrence, captured the British brig *Peacock*, Feb. 24. Captain Lawrence was given charge of the *Chesapeake*, in which he was defeated and killed, by the British frigate *Shannon*, off Boston Harbor, June 1. The American brig *Argus*, Captain Allen, captured many British vessels, off the English coast, but was herself captured by the *Pelican*, Aug. 14. On Sept. 5 the American brig *Enterprise* captured the *Boxer*, off the coast of Maine. The commanders of both vessels were killed, and were buried in one grave in Portland.



LEVANT.

CONSTITUTION.

CYANE.

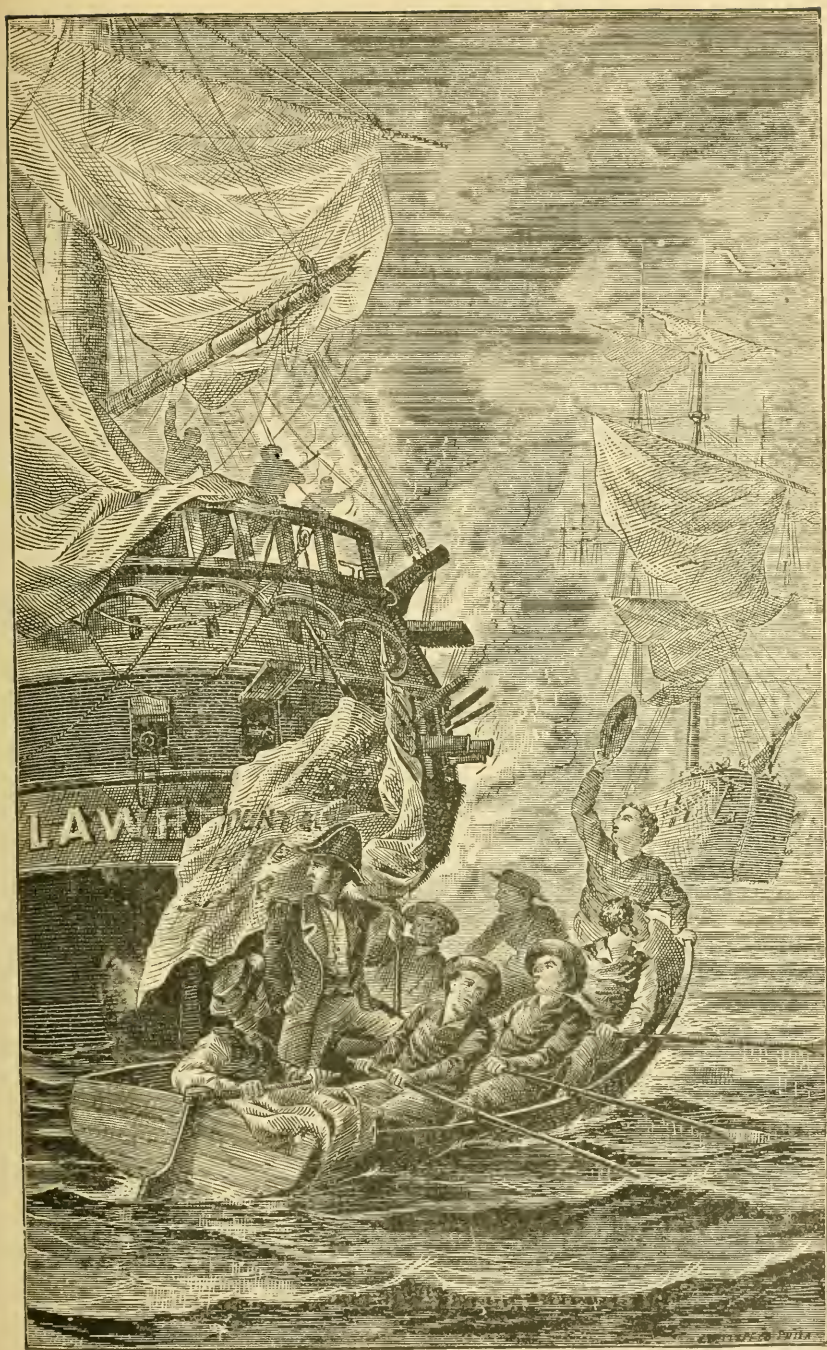
CAPTURE OF THE CYANE AND LEVANT BY THE CONSTITUTION.

During the summer of 1813 a British squadron, under Admiral Cockburn, plundered and burned Lewistown on the Delaware Bay, and Havre de Grace, Frenchtown, Frederickstown, and Georgetown on the Chesapeake. He was repulsed in his attacks on Norfolk and Portsmouth, but committed great depredations at Hampton.

EVENTS OF 1814.—On May 5 the British attacked and captured Oswego, N. Y., but left it in two days. On July 3 Generals Scott and Ripley crossed to the Canada side and captured Fort Erie from the British. Brown then marched west along the Niagara river, and on July 5 gained the brilliant victory of Chippewa, over the British general Riall. General Drummond now came to the rescue of Riall, and Scott reinforced Brown. The opposing armies fought the bloody battle of Lundy's Lane, near Niagara Falls, July 25. The losses were heavy on both sides, the result indecisive, both Brown and Scott being wounded, and the Americans fell back to Fort Erie. Drummond besieged the fort, but on attempting an assault, he was repulsed with the loss of 1000 men. Drummond then retreated to Chippewa, and, soon after, the Americans destroyed the fort and recrossed to the New York side of the river.

The American "Army of the North," on the line of Lake Champlain, had been reduced to 1500, by reason of reinforcements sent to General Brown. This small force was at Plattsburg, under command of General Macomb. General Prevost marched to attack Plattsburg, with an army of 14,000 men. Both Americans and British had constructed a small fleet on Lake Champlain, and the British fleet was to co-operate with Prevost's land attack. The American fleet was commanded by Commodore McDonough. The British fleet began the attack on McDonough, Sept. 11, and after a fierce engagement of several hours, every British vessel surrendered. Prevost attacked Plattsburg by land with 12,000 men, on the same day, but was badly defeated and compelled to retreat toward Canada.

Meanwhile the British naval forces had blockaded the whole New England coast, had cannonaded Stonington, Conn., and had captured Eastport, Machias and Belfast, in Maine.



PERRY'S VICTORY ON LAKE ERIE,

Maryland, too, was invaded, in August, by a British fleet in the Patuxent and by 5000 land troops under General Ross, who defeated the Americans at Bladensburg, captured Washington, burned the Capitol, President's House, and other public buildings, and then beat a hasty retreat to the fleet.

On Sept. 12 the British fleet landed General Ross with 8000 soldiers at North Point. He marched for Baltimore, and was killed in an engagement seven miles from the city. The American forces, under General Stricker, fell back behind the defences of Baltimore. While Ross was advancing, the British fleet bombarded Fort McHenry, a few miles below Baltimore, but finally withdrew, with the land forces, on Sept. 14.

The Creek and Seminole Indians of Florida had been again stirred to hostilities by British emissaries, and had attempted to capture Fort Morgan, below Mobile. General Jackson marched with 2000 Tennesseans to Mobile, and thence to Pensacola, where he drove the British mixed forces back to their shipping.

On Dec. 14, 1814, a British fleet entered Lake Borgne, in Louisiana, captured the American flotilla there, and landed an army of 12,000 men, under Packenham, who marched upon New Orleans. General Jackson had been sent to New Orleans. He attacked the British camp on the night of Dec. 23, but was repulsed, and fell back behind his cotton bale entrenchments three miles from New Orleans, with his little army of 3000 men, soon to be reinforced by 3000 Kentucky militia. The British opened an ineffectual cannonade on the American works on Dec. 28, and again on New Year's day, 1815.

The war on the ocean was kept up with vigor during 1814. On March 28 the American frigate *Essex*, Captain Porter, fell a prey to the British vessels *Phœbe* and *Cherub*, off the coast of Chili. On April 29 the American sloop of war *Peacock*, Captain Warrington, captured the British brig *Epervier*, off the coast of Florida. The American sloop of war *Wasp*, Captain Blakeley, was lost at sea, after capturing thirteen British vessels.

EVENTS OF 1815.—The Treaty of Ghent had been signed by American and English Commissioners, Dec. 24, 1814, but the

President's proclamation announcing peace was not promulgated till Feb. 18, 1815.

On Jan. 8, 1815, the whole British army of 12,000 men, led by Packenham, began an attack on General Jackson, below New Orleans. Packenham was killed, his army routed with a loss of 2000 men, and a disastrous retreat forced. The American loss was only seven killed and six wounded. This was the last land battle of the war.

On Jan. 16, 1815, the American frigate President, Commodore Decatur, was captured off Rhode Island, by a British squadron. On Feb. 20 the American frigate Constitution, Commodore Stewart, captured the British war sloop Cyane and Levant, off the coast of Portugal. On March 23 the American war sloop Hornet, Captain Biddle, captured the British brig Penguin in the South Atlantic. This ended the naval hostilities with England.

During the last year of the war of 1812, the piratically inclined people of Algiers preyed upon American commerce in the Mediterranean. Commodore Decatur sailed into the Mediterranean with a U. S. squadron and captured two Algerian vessels. He then appeared before Algiers, demanded all American prisoners, indemnity for all losses, and release of all claims against the United States. These terms were speedily met by the frightened Dey. Similar terms were imposed on Tunis, Tripoli, and Morocco. Thus the United States had the honor of being the first nation to stop the piracies of the Barbary States.

WELCOME PEACE.—The treaty of Ghent had been signed Dec. 14, 1814, and in February, 1815, the text reached the country. Notwithstanding the fact that it was a barren paper, scarcely touching on the causes of the war and securing not one of the objects for which it had been declared, it was received with universal rejoicing. The President felt that it was a happy escape for himself and party from dire financial straits, and the Federals regarded it as the lifting of a heavy load from our commercial industry and the end of a farcical and iniquitous proceeding throughout. But the latter never escaped from the political issues the war had raised. Their decay, as a power, was, thenceforth rapid. Peace eventuated in a return of prosperity and plenty to the land.

Congress had easy work the balance of the session, repealing war legislation and reducing everything, except the navy, to a peace footing. It adjourned *sine die*, March 3, 1815.

POLITICAL RESULTS.—The war had been a lesson to the Republicans. It taught them that however captivating the strict construction notions of their party had been, and however pleasant it was to indulge them as theories in time of peace, exigencies might arise when they would prove a source of weakness to their professors. As a consequence, they had advanced, up to the old Federal plane, and many of them were firmly entrenched on it. The Federals, having no cohesive force, not even a reason for their name, after their mission in successfully establishing the government had ended, and after the acceptance of the fact of its existence as well as their cardinal principles, by the Republicans, floundered about on the negative of issues presented by their opponents, and at last were ready to disintegrate. It might be said that so far as the old lines went, there was no political party after the war. The Federal name was hardly used or usable. The Republican name was used to hold together a sentiment which was widely variant from and far in advance of its authors.

FOURTEENTH CONGRESS—First Session.—Met Dec. 4, 1815. The situation had enured to the benefit of the Republicans, and they had a pronounced majority in both branches. The House organized by re-electing Henry Clay, Speaker. April 27, 1816, an amended tariff act was passed, which reduced the duties imposed by the act of 1812. Discussion of it brought a distinct announcement of the idea of protecting the American industries which had sprung up since the war and whose existence was threatened by the importation of cheaper English goods. But this idea failed to influence the bill favorably.

A NEW BANK.—Madison had vetoed a bill to recharter a National Bank, only the year before (1815). Clay took the ground that the experiences of the war showed the necessity for a national currency and for a national financial agency like a bank. Though this was again counter to the traditional strict

construction views of the Republicans, and though it met the determined opposition of the once liberal construction Federals, and of a minority of the Republicans, a National Bank charter was authorized, April, 1816, to run for twenty years, or until 1836. Strange to say it was modeled on that of 1791 which the Anti-Federals had unsuccessfully opposed, and on that of 1811, which the Republicans had successfully opposed, and the arguments for its support were a repetition of those framed and used by Hamilton, together with those supplied by the success of his first financial experiment. The bill was promptly signed by the President, and a new National Bank became a fact. The rest of the session was consumed in legislation on internal affairs. Congress adjourned April 30, 1816.

ELECTION OF 1816.—The administration favored James Monroe, Va., then Secretary of State, for President. The Congressional caucus of the last session carried out its wishes, but against an earnest party protest, which secured fifty-four votes in the caucus for W. H. Crawford, Ga. to sixty-five for Monroe. This action did not satisfy Burr and some other extremists, who attempted to break the caucus nomination by denouncing the caucus system, opposing Virginia's attempts to dominate the politics of the country, and finally favoring the nomination of Andrew Jackson. The original nomination stood, and that of Daniel D. Tompkins, N. Y., was added to it as Vice-President. The Federals nominated Rufus King, N. Y., but divided their votes for Vice-President. The result in November was their overwhelming defeat, they carrying only Massachusetts, Connecticut and Delaware.

FOURTEENTH CONGRESS—Second Session.—Met Dec. 2, 1816. No measures of party interest came up. The Electoral count, in February, showed 183 votes for Monroe for President, and 34 for King; 183 for Tompkins for Vice-President, and 34 scattering. Indiana was admitted as a State Dec. 11, 1816. Congress adjourned *sine die*, March 3, 1817. The President and Vice-President were sworn into office March 4, 1817.

VIII.

MONROE'S FIRST ADMINISTRATION.

March 4, 1817–March 3, 1821.

JAMES MONROE, VA., *President*. DANIEL D. TOMPKINS, N. Y.,
Vice-President.

*Congresses.**Sessions.*

FIFTEENTH CONGRESS.	{ 1, December 1, 1817–April 20, 1818. 2, November 16, 1818–March 3, 1819.
SIXTEENTH CONGRESS.	{ 1, December 6, 1819–May 15, 1820. 2, November 13, 1820–March 3, 1821.

*ELECTORAL VOTE.**

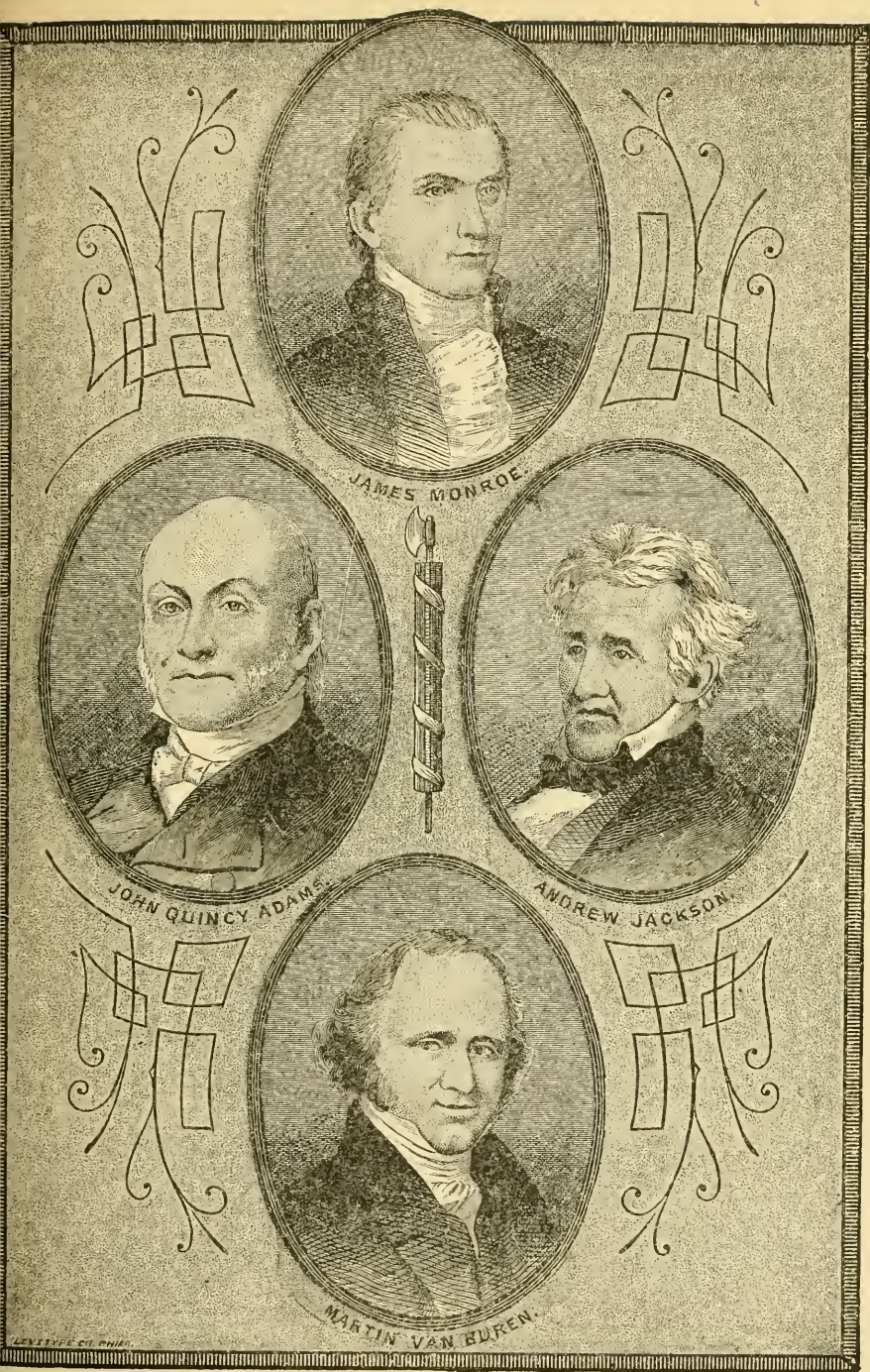
States.	Basis of 35,000.	Votes.	Republican.		Federal.	
			James Mon- roe, Va.	Daniel D. Tompkins, N. Y.	Rufus King, N. Y.	No nom- ination. sc.
Connecticut.....	7	9	..	..	9	sc.
Delaware.....	2	4	..	..	3	sc.
Georgia.....	6	8	8	8	..	..
Indiana.....	1	3	3	3	..	..
Kentucky.....	10	12	12	12	..	..
Louisiana.....	1	3	3	3	..	..
Maryland.....	9	11	8	8	..	..
Massachusetts.....	20	22	..	..	22	sc.
New Hampshire... .	6	8	8	8	..	..
New Jersey.....	6	8	8	8	..	..
New York.....	27	29	29	29	..	..
North Carolina.....	13	15	15	15	..	..
Ohio.....	6	8	8	8	..	..
Pennsylvania.....	23	25	25	25	..	..
Rhode Island.....	2	4	4	4	..	..
South Carolina.....	9	11	11	11	..	..
Tennessee.....	6	8	8	8	..	..
Vermont.....	6	8	8	8	..	..
Virginia.....	23	25	25	25	..	..
Totals.....	183	221	183	183	34	

THE CABINET.

Secretary of State.....	John Quincy Adams, Mass.	
Secretary of Treasury.....	Wm. H. Crawford, Ga.....	Continued.
Secretary of War.....	George Graham, Va.	
Secretary of Navy.....	B. W. Crowningshield, Mass.....	"
Attorney-General.....	Richard Rush, Pa.....	"
Postmaster-General.....	R. J. Meigs, Ohio.....	"

THE INAUGURAL.—Monroe ushered in what was popularly known as "The era of good feeling." The asperities of

* There were 4 vacancies. Of the scattering votes, John E. Howard received 22; James Ross, 5; John Marshall, 4; Robert G. Harper, 3.



the war were passing away. Party differences were subsiding, or rather there were no longer two confronting parties, for the last election had settled the matter of organized Federal opposition. That party passed away, seeing its primary glory repeated in the triumph of the Republicans, and many of its ruling tenets adopted by them as a matter of principle, or put into practice by them as a matter of necessity. Monroe's inaugural was so liberal in tone that it satisfied men, of whatever shade of political opinion. Like Washington, he made a tour of the Northern States (June, 1817), which added greatly to his popularity. To help "The Era," business was meeting with a rebound, and the people were prosperous amid most welcome peace.

FIFTEENTH CONGRESS—First Session.—Met Dec. 1, 1817, with a large Republican majority. The Federals were so few in number, or so lukewarm in opposition, that the House organized by the unanimous election of Clay to the Speakership. Discussion of the Tariff resulted in extending the act of 1816 for seven years. Propositions to use the dividends of the National Bank, instead of appropriations, and to recognize the revolting colonies of Spain in South America, as Republics, were voted down. Mississippi entered the Union Dec. 10, 1817. Congress adjourned April 20, 1818.

THE RECESS.—During the summer Jackson made his celebrated invasion of Florida, then belonging to Spain, in order to punish the Indians who had retreated from Georgia. Here he captured and put to death the notorious Arbuthnot and Ambrister, whom he charged as outlaws. They happened to be British subjects, and this fact, united with the danger of re-opening the feuds of the late war, made the matter a delicate one to handle. But the most important political feature of the time was the shaping of sentiment in the direction of a new party. Monroe had followed the new school of Republican leaders, as Clay and Calhoun, through their advocacy of a Protective Tariff, but he could not follow Clay in his advocacy of internal improvement, though his first inaugural inclined to it. Clay's position had always been conspicuous and his leadership pronounced. He and Calhoun had changed the tardy and damaging peace

policy of Madison to one of war, and Clay especially had stood head and shoulders above all others in advocating a stronger army and navy. During the last session he had gone still further, and suggested a new use for the Bank, as well as a new foreign policy with reference to the South American Republics. The Federals and liberal Republicans looked with favor on his advanced doctrines, but the old school of strict interpreters looked on them with alarm. These latter defeated his favorite measures of the last session, and thereby threw him on his own never failing resources. It was more than ever evident that the germs of a new party were pushing in the loins of the dominant organization.

FIFTEENTH CONGRESS—Second Session.—Met Nov. 16, 1818. The matter of Jackson's conduct of the Indian (Seminole) war came conspicuously forward. It was proposed to censure him for his execution of Arbuthnot and Ambrister, but after long debate, the matter was postponed indefinitely by the Senate, though a majority against censure was obtained in the House. As long as Jackson lived, his opponents refused to be quieted about what they thought an arbitrary and high-handed procedure. The controversy resulted in one good. The government, tired of the ever recurring complications with the Indians, Spaniards, and British adventurers in Florida, determined to buy the territory, authority to do so having been given by Congress years before (1806). Then came one of those unaccountable blunders which, supplemented in after years by the pride of undoing and by the fierce sectional and aggrandizing spirit of the time, cost the country the sacrifices of a war. In consideration of \$5,000,000 and the abandonment of all claims to French Louisiana west of the Sabine by the United States, Spain ceded Florida, Feb. 22, 1819. West of the Sabine meant Texas, and the recovery of Texas meant the Mexican war (1846).

MISSOURI AND SLAVERY.—Illinois became a State of the Union Dec. 3, 1818. Long before this the policy of offsetting a free by a slave State prevailed. This at first was designed to keep up a balance of parties and to take full and legal advantage of the Constitutional clause which gave representa-

tion to three-fifths of the slave population. But it had gotten to mean vastly more, as sentiment divided on the rightfulness of slavery, and was to mean more and more as time went on. Missouri asked the Congress to admit her as a State. The one thing unusual about her situation was that she was beyond the Mississippi, whither the recognized lines of division—Mason and Dixon line of $36^{\circ} 30'$, and the Ohio River—between the Slave and Free States did not extend. An amendment was offered to the bill to admit her, drawn in the language of the ordinance of 1787 for the government of "The Territory Northwest of the Ohio River," prohibiting slavery or involuntary servitude in Missouri, except as a punishment for crime. The amendment was so sudden and unexpected that parties sat for a time with bated breath and never recovered their lines on the question. It became a test of Free States against Slave States, and the former proved strongest in the House, carrying the amendment. The latter proved strongest in the Senate, and defeated it. This was the injection of slavery into politics, and the beginning of its extinction. A common, or almost, Colonial existence for it had been gradually narrowed to a line, south of which it had come to be regarded civilly as a necessary and entailed evil, industrially as a source of profit, and politically as a potential force.* The Congress adjourned *sine die*, March 3, 1819.

SIXTEENTH CONGRESS—First Session.—Met Dec. 6, 1819. Clay was again elected Speaker by an almost unanimous vote. The advance made by his liberal construction views may be measured by the passage in the House of a Tariff bill which

* Historically, the first sectional debate over slavery arose in 1793, on the presentation of a petition to Congress from a "Philadelphia Society," appealing to it "to use its influence to stop the traffic in slaves." At that time members arrayed themselves in debate, not according to party, but according to States, and some Southern debaters, of ultra turn, went so far as to protest, even to the extent of civil war, against interference with slavery. All saw the possibility of the question becoming, at no remote date, a political if not a dangerously partisan and sectional one. The apprehensions of the hour were quieted by the passage of the first Fugitive Slave law, Feb. 12, 1793. This date is significantly coincident with the invention of Whitney's cotton gin, which gave to slave labor a profit never before realized, and cemented it into an institution to be defended at all hazard.

definitely affirmed the Protective idea, but which the Senate rejected. As the discussion of this bill was dispassionate, and the large Republican majority fairly divided on it, it is a proper place to get such a view of the politics of the Tariff as will extend even to the present day. The Protective idea as projected into the Tariff legislation of that time was justified by those who favored a liberal construction of the Constitution. They found in the power "to regulate commerce and provide for the common defence" a warrant not only to raise necessary revenue by means of a Tariff, but a right to make that Tariff a protective one, that is, a means of fostering domestic manufactures and thus creating a home market for home agricultural products. As a corollary to this hung, or grew, the plan of Internal Improvement, which depended not more on a liberal construction of the Constitution, but which was thought by its opponents to belong to the States. On the contrary, those who clung to a rigid construction of the Constitution granted the right of the government to provide for its expenses and pay its debts by means of money raised by a Tariff on imports, but they regarded a Tariff, so arranged as to protect American manufactures against foreign competition, as a usurpation of the powers conferred, or intended to be conferred, by the Constitution.*

MISSOURI COMPROMISE.—Maine applied for admission into the Union. She was populous, ready, and anxious to escape her Massachusetts allegiance. But the Free States would then preponderate in the Senate. Missouri again asked for leave to form a State government. Maine was voted in by the House. Missouri was granted permission, but with the amendment of the last session, prohibiting slavery, the vote being entirely sectional. The Senate threw the responsibility back on the House by combining the bills, as originally presented (the

* The terms "Free Trade," "Tariff for Revenue" and "Tariff for Revenue only" were not then as common as now. Then the question of Tariff, in the affirmative, was a question of Constitutional construction and a national policy; in the negative, a question of Constitutional construction and a State policy. Now, so generally do the liberal construction views prevail, the question is no longer one of right or wrong construction of the Constitution, but one of policy entirely, a policy, however, which still divides sentiment and supports parties.

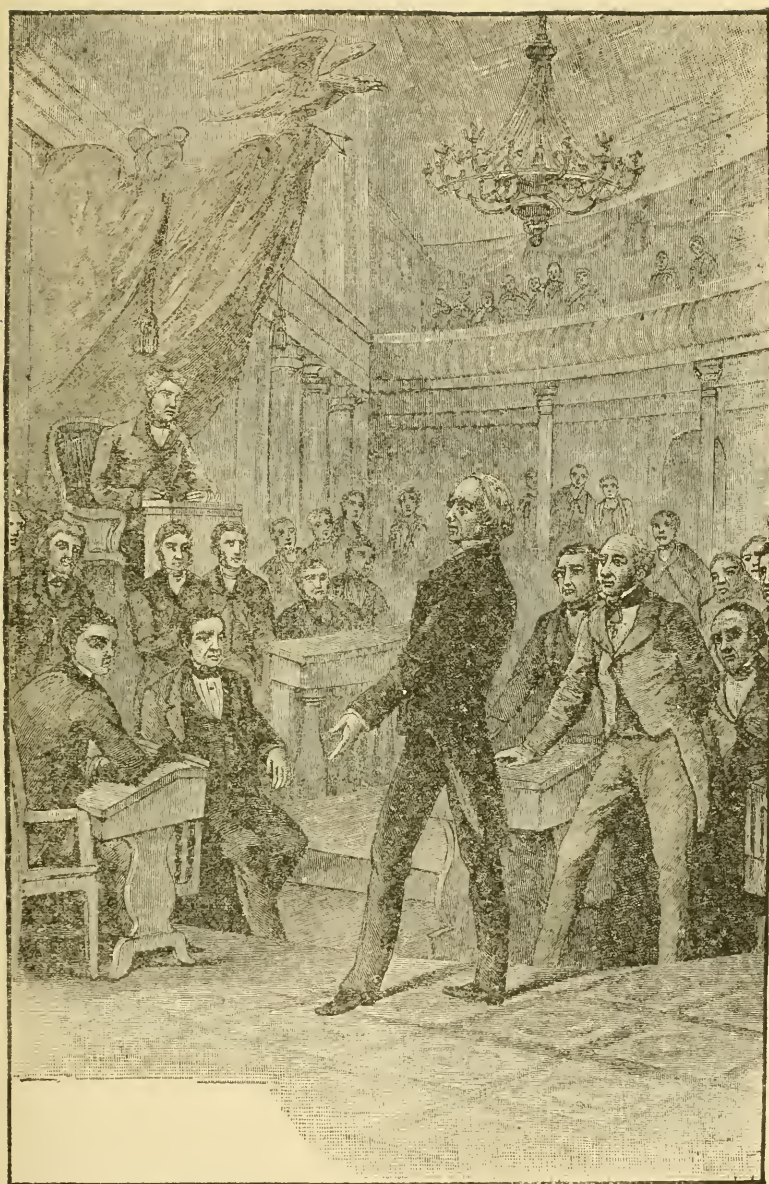
Missouri bill with slavery), and passing them. This action the House rejected. Clay, ever full of expedients, came forward with his compromise—the historic “Missouri Compromise of 1820.” It brought about the admission of Maine, March 15, 1820, and gave leave to Missouri to form a State government with slavery. It also prohibited slavery in all territory of the United States north of $36^{\circ} 30'$, in other words, it extended the already familiar Mason and Dixon line through to the Pacific,* or at least as far as the western boundary of Missouri. Congress adjourned May 15, 1820.

ELECTION OF 1820.—This election passed off without nominations by either party. The electors chosen cast their votes by common consent for Monroe and Tompkins, one however voting for John Q. Adams.

SIXTEENTH CONGRESS—Second Session.—Met Nov. 13, 1820. Clay's resignation of the Speakership gave opportunity for a square test of strength between the liberal and strict schools of Republicans. A warm fight for his successor resulted in the choice of John W. Taylor, N. Y., who was equally advanced with Clay in the matter of Protective Tariff and Internal Improvement, and who was opposed, far more earnestly than Clay, to the extension of slavery in the Territories.† The heat of this contest was transferred to Missouri's claim for admission as a State, she having now prepared a State government, with a clause in the Constitution prohibiting free negroes from entering her bounds. As a free negro was a citizen in some of the Northern

* Clay's compromise barely got through the Congress. In the Senate it was carried by Senators from the Southern and Slave States, against fifteen Senators from the Free States. In the House it was carried by a vote of 86 to 82, thirty-five of the latter being from Slave States and its bitterest opponents. Randolph denounced it as a “dirty bargain,” and called those “Northern men with Southern principles” who were ashamed of them or afraid to stand up for them “doughfaces,” a term which was in convenient and sarcastic use for forty years. The compromise bill was then regarded by its opponents as unconstitutional. The seeds of repeal were in its passage.

† So offensive was this election to the extreme Southern members, or rather so significant was it of the growth of liberal construction ideas in the Republican ranks, that they chose to see in it a menace to the institution of slavery, and actually debated a proposition to secede from the Union.



HENRY CLAY ADDRESSING THE U. S. SENATE.

States, this was regarded, in its unqualified form, as unconstitutional and offensively restrictive. Debate over the matter took all the latitude incident to discussion of the slave question and involved all its bitterness. Not until Clay again came forward with measures of peace did the contention subside. His proposition admitted the State, provided the Constitution were so amended as to recognize all the citizens of other States. Her Legislature did this in June, 1821, and she became a State Aug. 10, 1821.

The electoral vote was counted in February, and the status of Missouri came up. Denying the right of Congress to interfere with slavery within her borders, the Southern members claimed that she was already a State, and so determined to count her electoral vote. The Northern members, claiming authority of Congress over all Territories for any purpose, until fully qualified to enter as States, determined that her electoral vote should not be counted. After an angry discussion, another compromise was effected, which counted the vote with an "if." "If" her vote were counted, James Monroe would have 234, out of 235, and John Adams 1, for President, and Daniel D. Tompkins would have 221 for Vice-President, with 13 scattering. "If," on the contrary, her vote were not counted there would be a total of only 232, and the Monroe and Tompkins vote would be reduced to 231 and 218, respectively. Congress adjourned *sine die*, March 3d, 1821. The candidates-elect were sworn into office March 5, 1821, the 4th falling on Sunday.

IX.

MONROE'S SECOND ADMINISTRATION.

March 5, 1821—March 3, 1825.

JAMES MONROE, VA., *President*. DANIEL D. TOMPKINS, N. Y.,
Vice-President.

<i>Congresses.</i>	<i>Sessions.</i>
SEVENTEENTH CONGRESS.	{ 1, December 3, 1821—May 8, 1822.
	{ 2, December 2, 1822—March 3, 1823.
EIGHTEENTH CONGRESS.	{ 1, December 1, 1823—May 27, 1824.
	{ 2, December 6, 1824—March 3, 1825.

*ELECTORAL VOTE.**

States.	Basis of 35,000.	Vote	Republican.		No opposition
			James Mon- roe, Va.	Daniel D. Tomp- kins, N. Y.	
Alabama.....	1	3	3	3	
Connecticut.....	7	9	9	9	
Delaware.....	2	4	4	Sc.	
Georgia.....	6	8	8	8	
Illinois.....	1	3	3	3	
Indiana.....	1	3	3	3	
Kentucky.....	10	12	12	12	
Louisiana.....	1	3	3	3	
Maine.....	7	9	9	9	
Maryland.....	9	11	11	10	
Massachusetts.....	13	15	15	7	
Mississippi.....	1	3	3	3	
Missouri.....	1	3	..	..	Disputed.
New Hampshire....	6	8	7	7	1 for J. Q. Adams.
New Jersey.....	6	8	8	8	
New York.....	27	29	29	29	
North Carolina.....	13	15	15	15	
Ohio.....	6	8	8	8	
Pennsylvania.....	23	25	25	25	
Rhode Island.....	2	4	4	4	
South Carolina.....	9	11	11	11	
Tennessee.....	6	8	8	8	
Vermont.....	6	8	8	8	
Virginia.....	23	25	25	25	
Totals.....	187	235	231	218	

THE CABINET.

Secretary of State.....	John Quincy Adams, Mass.....	Continued.
Secretary of Treasury.....	W. H. Crawford, Ga.....	"
Secretary of War.....	John C. Calhoun, S. C.....	"
Secretary of Navy.....	Smith Thompson, N. Y.....	"
Attorney-General.....	Richard Rush, Pa.....	"
Postmaster-General.....	R. J. Meigs, Ohio.....	"

SEVENTEENTH CONGRESS—First Session.—Met Dec. 3, 1821. The organization was effected by electing P. P. Barbour, Va., Speaker. The fanciful "era of good feeling" held, so far as opposition to the Republicans went, but they were now a divided and inharmonious party. The fight over the speakership showed that the strict or old school elements were willing to die in their trenches rather than suffer themselves to be carried further by the liberal or new school element. The former won the Speaker, but the latter passed a bill to care for the National (Cumberland) Road. At this juncture Monroe broke

* Of the scattering 8 were cast for Richard Stockton; 4 for Daniel Rodney; 1 for Robert G. Harper; 1 for Richard Rush. There were three vacancies.

with the liberals, took a decided step backwards and vetoed the bill. His veto message discussed the constitutional side of the question very elaborately, and concluded with the announcement that no power was conferred on Congress to pass laws for internal improvements of this kind. The President reached the above conclusion only after long hesitation, for his messages heretofore rather favored the position of the liberals, a strong element in his Cabinet still favored it, and he even advised, in his veto, an amendment to the Constitution conferring directly the powers on Congress which the liberal interpreters claimed it was endowed with by implication. However, his position, now that it was definitely ascertained, fortified that of the strict school, and they summarily disposed of bills involving the same principle looking to an internal canal system and a Tariff with stronger protective features.

Nor was the country in a happy mood. Great financial distress prevailed. The government was forced to retrench, and even to borrow. The division in the Republican ranks was gradually forcing its way down among the masses, and as is common in such cases, its party feeling was keener than between old opponents. The Congress adjourned, May 8, 1822.

SEVENTEENTH CONGRESS—Second Session.—Met Dec. 2, 1822. Again the liberals forced their Internal Improvement and Protective Tariff ideas to the front to meet with defeat at the hands of the rigid interpreters. All however united to help the administration along in its now difficult work of keeping financially afloat. An adjournment *sine die* took place, March 3, 1823.

EIGHTEENTH CONGRESS—First Session.—Met Dec. 1, 1823, and organized by electing Henry Clay Speaker. This election was significant. It showed that the country had swung to the liberal side of the Republican party. It meant that thereafter that side would push its measures with greater vigor and under better auspices.

MONROE DOCTRINE.—It will be remembered that Clay in the Fifteenth Congress had proposed as a Foreign Policy the recognition of the South American Republics, then in a state of

revolt from Spain. The President in his message to the present Congress dwelt largely on this question of recognition, and formulated what has ever since been accepted as "the Monroe Doctrine." It announced the principle of (1) "No interference in wars of European powers in matters relating to themselves." (2) Defense of our own political system against any attempt of foreign powers to establish theirs in any part of this hemisphere. (3) No interference with existing foreign colonies. (4) Interference by foreign powers with colonial dependencies that have declared and maintained their independence, and been recognized by this government, to be regarded as an unfriendly disposition toward the United States. (5) "It is the true policy of the government to leave the parties (Spain and the revolting Republics) to themselves, in the hope that other powers will do the same," this, since "Spain cannot subdue them," and since, if left alone, they would never voluntarily adopt a foreign political system.

TARIFF OF 1824.—In the same message Monroe inclined to the popular side on matters of Protection and Internal Improvement. He was a good President in that he was observant of situations and respected majority wishes. Two months were consumed in heated debate on this measure, which, while the rates on leading articles were not as high as under the act of 1812, involved more directly the principle of protection to American manufactures, by preventing the competition of the cheaper manufactures of Europe, than any preceding act. Lines were drawn closely between the liberal and strict schools of interpreters of the Constitution, and, strange to say, these lines now showed quite a solid array of Southern States* against as solid an array of Northern States. The former supplemented their old argument against the Constitutionality of the Protective idea, by the new ones that it was unjust to them, and, moreover, sectional in spirit. Thus early they projected into the contention the thought that legislative protection to manufacturing industry was legislative hardship to planting industry, and that encouragement of free paid labor was discouragement of slave unpaid labor. The bill passed by a close vote, a few of its

* Clay's own State, Kentucky, was for the bill.

ablest opponents, as Webster, coming from the New England States. These, however, chiefly contested the propriety of high protective duties and not the Constitutional right to impose them, denying that the distress of the country was as great as described by the friends of the bill, and doubting if any legislation could be made to stimulate industry and manufacturing enterprise. The bill was approved by the President and thoroughly engrafted "The American System" in our national politics. The duties on leading articles were: Sugar, 3 cents per pound; coffee, 5 cents per pound; tea, 25 cents per pound; salt (bulk), 20 cents per pound; pig iron, 20 per cent.; bar iron, \$30 per ton; manufactures of glass, 30 per cent. and 3 cents per pound; manufactures of cotton, 25 per cent.; manufactures of woollens, 30 per cent.; silk, 25 per cent. It was followed by another bill involving the same liberal views, which provided for surveys of routes upon which to base a system of national canals. Congress adjourned, May 27, 1824.

ELECTION OF 1824.—In the last Presidential election the Republican party had no opposition, but it had a head. Now it furnished its own opposition, being without a head. The contest began during the session of the previous Congress by bids for popular favor, expediency measures and votes, and outlines for a future which would be less gloomy than the then present.

An attempt to revive the obsolete Congressional caucus nominations, in the interest of Wm. H. Crawford, Ga., failed. A Constitutional amendment had been mooted to choose electors by popular vote. The campaign became historic as "the scrub race for the Presidency." The liberal school of Republicans supported Henry Clay, Ky., and John Quincy Adams. The strict school supported Wm. H. Crawford, Ga., and Andrew Jackson, Tenn. John C. Calhoun, S. C., had a general support for the Vice-Presidency and was elected. None of the candidates for the Presidency received a majority of "the whole number" of electoral votes, though Jackson had the most. The election therefore went into the House of Representatives.

EIGHTEENTH CONGRESS—Second Session.—Met Dec.

6, 1824. This session saw the disruption of the Republican party, and the dawn of the Whig party. Its only political work was the counting of the electoral vote and the subsequent election of a President. The count showed 99 for Jackson; 84 for John Quincy Adams; 41 for Wm. H. Crawford; 37 for Henry Clay. For Vice-President, Calhoun had 182 votes, as against 78 scattering. He was, therefore, declared Vice-President. In the contest over the Presidency in the House, Clay, who was out of the fight,* threw his strength, or as much of it as he could control, to Adams, which gave him 13 States, as against 7 for Jackson and 4 for Crawford. Though the election of Adams was perfectly regular and constitutional, it forced the liberal and strict schools of interpreters wide apart, and the latter, carrying their fight to the country in the shape of a rebuke to those Representatives who had slaughtered Jackson, soon had the vantage ground. Congress adjourned *sine die*, March 3, 1825. The President and Vice-President elect were sworn into office, March 4, 1825.

X.

JOHN Q. ADAMS' ADMINISTRATION.

March 4, 1825—March 3, 1829.

JOHN QUINCY ADAMS, MASS., *President*. JOHN C. CALHOUN,
S. C., *Vice-President*.

Congresses.

Sessions.

NINETEENTH CONGRESS. { 1, December 5, 1825—May 22, 1826.
 { 2, December 4, 1826—March 3, 1827.

TWENTIETH CONGRESS. { 1, December 3, 1827—May 26, 1828.
 { 2, December 1, 1828—March 3, 1829.

* In such contests the three candidates having the highest number of votes are the only candidates before the House, and in voting each State shall have only one vote. Twelfth Amendment to Constitution.

*ELECTORAL VOTE.**

States.	Basis of 40,000.	Votes.	Republicans.					Vice-President.	
			A. Jack- son, Tenn.	J. Q. Ad- ams, Mass.	W. H. Crawford, Ga.	H. Clay, Ky.	J. C. Calhoun, S. C.	N. San- ford, N. Y.	
Alabama	3	5	5	..	..	..	5	..	
Connecticut	6	8	..	8	..	..	..	sc.	
Delaware	1	3	..	1	2	..	1	sc.	
Georgia	7	9	..	..	9	..	..	sc.	
Illinois	1	3	2	1	..	..	3	..	
Indiana	3	5	5	..	..	..	5	sc.	
Kentucky	12	14	..	..	..	14	7	7	
Louisiana	3	5	3	2	..	..	5	..	
Maine	7	9	..	9	..	..	9	..	
Maryland	9	11	7	3	1	..	10	sc.	
Massachusetts	13	15	..	15	..	..	15	..	
Mississippi	1	3	3	..	..	..	3	..	
Missouri	1	3	..	..	..	3	..	sc.	
New Hampshire	6	8	..	8	..	..	7	sc.	
New Jersey	6	8	8	..	..	..	8	..	
New York	34	36	1	26	5	4	29	7	
North Carolina	13	15	15	..	..	..	15	..	
Ohio	14	16	..	..	..	16	..	16	
Pennsylvania	26	28	28	..	..	..	28	..	
Rhode Island	2	4	..	4	..	..	3	..	
South Carolina	9	11	11	..	..	..	11	..	
Tennessee	9	11	11	..	..	..	11	..	
Vermont	5	7	..	7	..	..	7	..	
Virginia	22	24	..	..	24	..	..	sc.	
Totals	213	261	99	84	41	37	182	30	

THE CABINET.

Secretary of State Henry Clay, Ky.
 Secretary of Treasury . . . Richard Rush, Pa.
 Secretary of War James Barbour, Va.
 Secretary of Navy S. L. Southard, N. J. Continued.
 Attorney-General William Wirt, Va. "
 Postmaster-General John McLean, Ohio "

NATIONAL REPUBLICAN PARTY.—This party, foreshadowed for some time, was now ready for a name. The division in the Republican ranks, encouraged by the free play of

* There was one vacancy. The scattering votes were, N. Macon, 24; A. Jackson, 13; Martin Van Buren, 9; Henry Clay, 2. At this election the popular vote began to be considered, for a great many States had abandoned the plan of choosing electors by their Legislatures, and a majority of them were about to do so. South Carolina adhered to the plan till 1868. The popular vote at this election was Andrew Jackson, 155,872, 10 States; John Q. Adams, 105,321, 8 States; Wm. H. Crawford, 44,282, 3 States; Henry Clay, 46,587, 3 States. Contest finally decided in the House. See p. 497.

sentiment during "The era of good feeling," and facilitated by the efforts of leaders of both schools of construction to impart their personalism to a following, now became a permanent breach. Adams entered on his administration with the Crawford supporters, who were the straightest sect of rigid interpreters, against him. His success had also set the Jackson following against him. They differed from the Crawford supporters only in the respect that they went with Jackson in his Federal and Protective Tariff ideas. But they could now unite forces and stand squarely against the administration. Clay's strength, which had gone to Adams' support in the House and helped to elect him President, naturally favored the administration. But Adams had made Clay his Secretary of State, a position then much courted as inviting to the Presidency. This gave the now united and embittered opposition a chance to charge collusion between Adams and Clay. Crimination and recrimination followed. Both sides became more compact and determined. Besides the sharp personalities involved, the President, in his inaugural and in his first message to Congress, had mapped a set of principles which, as to Protection, Internal Improvement, and liberality of Constitutional Construction in general, would answer as a bond of agreement for his own followers and those of Clay. Thus solidified, they set out as National Republicans (though known in the campaign of 1828 as Adams' men), a name excellently chosen, for as Republicans, yet as liberal or national interpreters of the Constitution, the title was accurate and full of meaning. But by a fatality not unusual with party titles, the name did not stick for many years, being pushed aside to make room for the meaningless title of Whig.

DEMOCRATIC PARTY.—The Crawford and Jackson following were united only in their opposition to Adams' administration and to the new National Republican party. Crawford was sick and could not look out for his own Presidential chances. Jackson forced the situation, got a nomination three years in advance (October, 1825) from the Legislature of Tennessee, and thus became a centre about which all opposition to the administration could cluster. While Jackson's personalism was neces-

sary to attract the Crawford support and cement the alliance, his followers were (in the campaign of 1828) "Jackson men." Thus, claiming to adhere more closely to the old Republican traditions than either Adams or Clay, they were more unmindful of the old Republican name, having dropped it altogether. But when it became necessary to get away from Jackson's personalism and give the party a national status, the name Democrat* was popularly and officially assumed. It was an easy transition to this title. Men like Calhoun and others, who never liked the name Republican, had all along preferred to be designated as Democrats. It was, therefore, not new; had been, in fact, a part of the Republican title, and was a titular revival, rather than invention. Thus went out of existence the distinctive Republican party and Republican name, though the Democrats claimed to perpetuate its principles, in a rigid construction of the Constitution. Yet even in this they too were, for a time at least, divided, for the extreme Southern, or State rights wing, sometimes called the Crawford faction, held to the doctrine of the Kentucky resolutions of 1799, which, we have seen, squarely broached the right to nullify objectionable Federal laws. A test of their doctrine was soon to be made under the lead of Calhoun.

NINETEENTH CONGRESS—First Session.—Met Dec. 5, 1825, with a bare majority of liberal Republicans, who organized by electing John W. Taylor, N. Y., Speaker. The Senate had a majority of administration members, but Calhoun so arranged the committees as to enable the opposition to obstruct, or defeat nearly every political measure known to be favored by the President. This led the majority on the floor to retaliate by taking the power of appointing committees away from the presiding officer, temporarily. The opposition was so strong and defiant

* The present Democratic party began to take its name in 1831, and became fully recognized in 1832-33. I have before me papers of both the National Republican and Jackson parties in 1831. One called the "Republican" had the ticket headed "Democrat-Republican candidate for President in 1832, Andrew Jackson." On the other side in 1831, the papers were headed, "National Republican candidate for President in 1832, Henry Clay." I was myself the secretary of a National Republican club in 1832, and have the minutes now before me."—*Reminiscences of an old Whig.*

that no measures of moment passed the Congress, except those relating to appropriations. But a great many important bills were debated, among which was one to amend the Constitution, so as to permit the people to vote directly for the President; a "Tenure of Office Bill," compelling the President to lay before the Senate his reasons for making removals from office; another to so amend the Constitution as to prevent any member of the Congress from accepting a Federal office during his term; and lastly a bill which proposed a Congress of American States to agree on a plan to prevent future European colonies and armed influence in the country. This last became notable, as drawing from the President, who had been a member of Monroe's cabinet, a reiteration of "The Monroe Doctrine," and a limitation of it, as Monroe's own idea, to our own border. His idea also being, that interference with nations on our own continent or hemisphere, even to protect them, would be unjustifiable, except under the provisions designed to be agreed upon by some such tribunal as the proposed Congress of American States. Congress adjourned May 22, 1826.

NINETEENTH CONGRESS—Second Session.—Met Dec. 4, 1826. The two parties—National Republican and Democratic—still squarely faced each other, both nearly equally strong, both voting down the measures of the other, among which was one to increase the Tariff, and another which deserves attention as the first effort to divide a part of the national revenue among the States.* Congress adjourned *sine die*, March 3, 1827.

TWENTIETH CONGRESS—First Session.—Met Dec. 3, 1827. Organized by electing Andrew Stevenson, Va., a Democrat, Speaker. This was a curiously constituted Congress. It was Democratic. What may be called the Adams and Jackson issues—they were scarcely Administration and Anti-Administration, nor yet National Republican (or Whig) and Democratic—

* This was afterwards done during Jackson's administration. The same question of a division of the surplus revenue among the States is now attracting wide attention. The policy of doing it was announced in the Pennsylvania Republican platform of 1882.

had been carried to the country. The Democrats carried every Southern State except Louisiana. They were no less fortunate, owing to Jackson's Protective Tariff record, in New York, Pennsylvania * and Illinois. Thus while they secured a majority in the Congress, it was united only for general party purposes. On the matter of a Protective Tariff it was divided, and enough Democrats from Northern States supported the National Republicans to bring about the celebrated Tariff Act of May 19, 1828.

TARIFF OF 1828.—This act had nothing peculiar about it, except that it increased the duty on manufactures of wool, and some other manufactures, to what was deemed a protective extent. But its importance was due to the fact (1) that it was designed to emphasize the "American system," and influence the approaching Presidential election. (2) To the fact that it was a turning-point of the hitherto hostile New England sentiment, Webster having changed ground and entered upon its advocacy. (3) To the fact that opposition to it was more than ever sectional, the South regarding it as robbery of the many for the benefit of the few, as a blow at the planting interests, as a discrimination against unpaid labor, and as unconstitutional. (4) To the fact that it became the basis of that partisan hostility which rapidly culminated in nullification.

The session was prolific of party debates, but barren of results, other than those indirect ones which were designed to work to the benefit or detriment of prospective candidates for the Presidency. Congress adjourned, May 26, 1828.

ELECTION OF 1828.—The common consent candidates of the respective parties were Adams and Jackson. No others were possible, for really these had had the field for four years. The great point with Adams, or the National Republicans, was to so emphasize the Protective Tariff and Internal Improvement ideas of the administration as to take away from Jackson whatever strength his Tariff record gave him. With Jackson the contest

* A Convention of Protectionists, of national import, had been held at Harrisburg, Pa., in July, 1827, which took the ground that the country needed greater protection than the act of 1824 gave.

was altogether different. He considered himself aggrieved by the result of the previous election, and his campaign was conducted—in the Democratic name—so as to vindicate the principle of choice by the popular vote, in other words the Democratic principle. A misfortune of the situation was that the entire candidacy was sectional, for John C. Calhoun, S. C., was running as Vice-President with Andrew Jackson, Tenn., and Richard Rush, Pa., as Vice-President with John Quincy Adams, Mass. The result would reach further than simple party differences warranted. At the election in November the Democrats triumphed.

TWENTIETH CONGRESS—Second Session.—Met Dec. 1, 1828, with its former Democratic majority in both Houses, the doubtful members in the Senate having swung to the Anti-Administration side, or, which is the same, to the side of the incoming administration. No measures were mooted likely to hamper the new administration, though one, accepting the liberal theory of Internal Improvement, and making large appropriation therefor, went through, after provoking the then stereotyped debates as to its constitutionality. The electoral count in February showed 178 votes for Jackson and 83 for Adams, for President, and 171 for Calhoun, and 83 for Rush, for Vice-President. Congress adjourned *sine die*, March 3, 1829. The candidates elect were sworn into office March 4, 1829.

XI.

JACKSON'S FIRST ADMINISTRATION.

March 4, 1829—March 3, 1833.

ANDREW JACKSON, TENN., *President*. JOHN C. CALHOUN, S. C.,
Vice-President.

<i>Congresses.</i>	<i>Sessions.</i>
TWENTY-FIRST CONGRESS.	{ 1, December 7, 1829—May 31, 1830. 2, December 6, 1830—March 3, 1831.
TWENTY-SECOND CONGRESS.	{ 1, December 5, 1831—July 16, 1832. 2, December 3, 1832—March 3, 1833.

*ELECTORAL VOTE.**

States.	Basis of 40,000.	Democrat.			National Republican.	
		And. Jack- son, Tenn.	J. C. Cal- houn, S. C.	J. Q. Adams, Mass.	R. Rush, Pa.	
Alabama	3	5	5	5	..	..
Connecticut	6	8	..	..	8	8
Delaware	1	3	..	..	3	3
Georgia	7	9	9	2	..	.. 7 for S. C. Smith
Illinois	1	3	3	3	..	..
Indiana	3	5	5	5	..	..
Kentucky	12	14	14	14	..	..
Louisiana	3	5	5	5	..	..
Maine	7	9	1	1	8	8
Maryland	9	11	5	5	6	6
Massachusetts	13	15	..	..	15	15
Mississippi	1	3	3	3	..	..
Missouri	1	3	3	3	..	..
New Hampshire	6	8	..	..	8	8
New Jersey	6	8	..	..	8	8
New York	34	36	20	20	16	16
North Carolina	13	15	15	15	..	..
Ohio	14	16	16	16	..	..
Pennsylvania	26	28	28	28	..	..
Rhode Island	2	4	..	..	4	4
South Carolina	9	11	11	11	..	..
Tennessee	9	11	11	11	..	..
Vermont	5	7	..	..	7	7
Virginia	22	24	24	24	..	..
Totals	213	261	178	171	83	83

CABINET.

Secretary of State	Martin Van Buren, N. Y.
Secretary of Treasury	Samuel D. Ingham, Pa.
Secretary of War	John H. Eaton, Tenn.
Secretary of Navy	John Branch, N. C.
Attorney-General	John M. Berrien, Ga.
Postmaster-General	Wm. T. Barry, Ky.

NEW ADMINISTRATION.—This first Democratic administration opened amid storm and invited storm. It had to confront the fact that the extreme Democrats of the South (the Crawford following) were not heartily with it, but that their drift was toward Vice-President Calhoun, as their leader, who was now among the most rigid masters in the school of strict interpreters and a pronounced champion of the Kentucky resolutions of 1799. Indeed, both Georgia and South Carolina had already assumed, through their Legislatures, to notify the President and the country that they declared null and void any act

* Popular vote—Jackson, 647,231; States, 15; Adams, 509,097; States, 9.



JOHN C. CALHOUN.



ANDREW JACKSON.

of Congress (the really objectionable act was the tariff of 1828) which they as States adjudged unconstitutional.

In his first message, Jackson took high ground against a re-charter of the National Bank, though the charter of 1816 did not expire till 1836, regarded its usefulness as in every way past, argued that it was Anti-Democratic and despotic, and held the law authorizing it unconstitutional. He also swung quite to the side of those who opposed Protection and Internal Improvement. This alienated from him very many Democrats who were of sufficiently liberal turn to favor all these measures. However, this did not last very long, for circumstances soon compelled him to change front on Tariff and Internal Improvement measures, and to at least see that all such as had assumed the shape of law were duly enforced. His hostility to the bank, however, continued. He gave his opposition a decidedly political turn. Its destruction was the result.

Nor was the foreign outlook assuring. France was urging a settlement of her spoliation claims, even to the extent of threatening war, and England was clamorous and angry about the Maine boundary. To cap all, a new party, known as the Anti-Masonic, had risen in New York, which became a bidder for national distinction, and which, in its fervor, threatened to demoralize existing political forces.* Amid all these complications and antagonisms a President of ordinary nerve would have failed. But it seemed to be the kind of political atmosphere which Jackson liked to breathe. He was fortunate in the respect that there could be no hearty and effective combination of opposing elements, and equally fortunate in the sympathy which naturally goes out toward one who is singly enlisted against overwhelming odds. His personalism infected his entire administration, and this, in his case, was not a misfortune, for

* This organization, short-lived as it was, was peculiarly galling to such leaders as Clay and Jackson, who were both Masons. The furore which originated it came from the sudden, and as yet unaccounted for, disappearance of one Daniel Morgan, of Batavia, N. Y., who had written a book exposing the secrets of Free Masonry, in 1826. In 1832 it nominated a Presidential ticket, and then fell into rapid decline.

he had been a military hero, was of undeniably honest, but blunt intention, and was quite on a level with the masses in brusque demeanor and every-day speech.

VICTOR AND SPOILS.—The clouded and uncertain surroundings of the new administration were its justification for a general clearing out of all officials not in sympathy with it. This became the new doctrine of "Rotation in Office," or as it found popular expression from the lips of Senator Marcy, N. Y., the doctrine that "The spoils of the enemy belonged to the victor." * We have seen that Jefferson had given the hint for this doctrine, but that after applying it for the correction of certain errors on the part of his predecessor, had fallen back on the custom, which prevailed from the beginning till Jackson's time, of trusting to time to make vacancies and to the future supremacy of his party to fill them. Whether Jackson's excuse of self-defense were justified or not, his practice was accepted by all future parties, and prevailed without question, till called to account by Civil Service Reform.

TWENTY-FIRST CONGRESS—First Session.—Met Dec. 7, 1829, and organized by re-electing Andrew Stevenson, Va., Speaker, the Democrats being in a majority in both branches. Now the alienations already indicated began. The message, taking its high ground against the National Bank, which was allied with Protection and Internal Improvement, and proposing various things, among them a distribution of the surplus revenue to the States,† which were either new or upon which an agreement was impossible, they were

* "Another doctrine of Jackson was that he was 'responsible for the entire action of the Executive Department,' and, therefore, had the power to remove and appoint all officers at pleasure—a doctrine which, at a later day, during the administration of Andrew Johnson, Congress was compelled to legislate against. 'Responsible?' said Mr. Webster, replying to Jackson's protest. 'What does he mean by being responsible?' Does he mean *legal* responsibility? Certainly not—no such thing. Legal responsibility signifies liability to punishment for misconduct or maladministration. A Briareus sits in the centre of our system, and with his hundred hands touches everything, moves everything, controls everything. I ask, sir, is this Republicanism? is this a government of laws? is this legal responsibility?"—*Reminiscences of an old Whig*.

† This afterwards came about. See p. 369; also p. 350 and note.

summarily dealt with by the committees to which they were respectively referred. Party lines were strictly drawn over the question of removing the Cherokee Indians of Georgia to the west of the Mississippi, the Legislature of that State having enacted to open their lands to settlers, contrary to existing treaties with the tribe. The National Republicans opposed the bill for removal. Though it passed, it was ineffective, the Indians refusing to part with their lands.* Several enactments looking to Internal Improvements were passed, some of which the President vetoed directly. Others he retained for the legal ten days, and Congress having in the meantime adjourned they thus failed to become law. This convenient way of vetoing a bill by indirection was frequently practised by the President, and got to be known as the "Pocket Veto" method.

The most notable event of the session was the introduction into the Senate, by Foot, Conn., of an apparently harmless resolution of inquiry into the matter of public lands, coupled with a proposition to stop surveys and limit sales. As the effect of the proposition would have been to check migration and western settlement, it was opposed by western members, and gave rise to a five-month debate. This took the widest latitude. The imputation by Southern members that it had always been a New England policy to check western settlement, drew from Webster a reference to the ordinance of 1787 for the government of the territory northwest of the Ohio. As this ordinance prohibited slavery, the slave question came up, and was discussed in all its bearings, the debates being sectional, exhaustive and bitter. Hayne's allusion to the attitude of New England in the war of 1812 brought from Webster a reference to the Kentucky nullifying resolutions of 1799,† and to the recent action of

* They were afterwards forcibly removed in defiance of a decision of the Supreme Court to the effect that the treaties between them and the United States were valid.

† Hayne quoted the Virginia resolutions of 1799, written by Madison, as justifying nullification. Webster defended Madison, and showed that such interpretation could not be put upon them. But this did not destroy Hayne's reliance on the Kentucky resolutions, written by Jefferson. We have taken the trouble to show that the doctrine of nullification was not in the Kentucky resolutions which Jeffer-

Georgia and South Carolina respecting the tariff of 1828. This brought up the whole question of nullification, Hayne voicing the well-known sentiments of Calhoun. And so it drifted from Southern grievance to New England Federalism, from State rights to Federal powers, from the government as a League to the government as a Nation, covering the entire field of national and constitutional history. Benton, though a participant, justly calls it "The Great Debate in the Senate." Congress adjourned, May 31, 1830.

TWENTY-FIRST CONGRESS—Second Session.—Met Dec. 6, 1830. This Congress met at a time when the doctrine of Nullification was passing from peaceful resistance to Federal authority to open, violent resistance. It had shown its hand the preceding April, when at a dinner party in Washington the President had rebuked the Nullification sentiment which prevailed by the toast, "Our Federal Union; it must and shall be preserved." Vice-President Calhoun immediately flung the counter-toast among the guests, "Liberty, dearer than Union." These led to enough to satisfy the President that he must be on his guard, and the Nullifiers that they could not carry him with them. As to his friends in Congress, especially those of liberal sentiment, he offended them, as before, by repeating in his message his opposition to the National Bank, and by going still further and opposing Internal Improvement, except under certain limited conditions. This element went to the support of the National Republicans, and the result was such an emphatic verdict in favor of bills for improvement of harbors, rivers and roads, and for light-houses, that he relented his opposition and gave them executive approval.

Before adjournment the President was made to feel the hatred of the Nullifiers toward him. Vice-President Calhoun came out in a pamphlet severely criticising his war record, especially as it related to the Seminole affair. This touched him in a very tender spot. Angered beyond measure at its publication, smart-

son drew, but was in those of the next year (1799), in the shape of an amendment to Jefferson's. Madison protested against Hayne's use of Jefferson's name in support of what he called the "colossal heresy of nullification."

ing under the insinuation that all was not lovely among the families of his cabinet, and the further insinuation that he preferred to be advised by hangers-on at the White House—a “Kitchen Cabinet,” as they were called—he stormed as only “Old Hickory” could storm. His cabinet resigned in a body, and gave him opportunity to reorganize, which he did by making Edward Livingston, La., his Secretary of State, *vice* Van Buren; Louis McLane, Del., Secretary of Treasury, *vice* Ingham; Lewis Cass, Mich., Secretary of War, *vice* Eaton; Levi Woodbury, N. H., Secretary of Navy, *vice* Branch; Roger B. Taney, Md., Attorney-General, *vice* Berrien. Congress adjourned *sine die*, March 3, 1831.

TWENTY-SECOND CONGRESS—First Session.—Met Dec. 5, 1831. The House organized by re-electing Andrew Stevenson Speaker. His majority in the former House was 93, in this it was 1. The Senate was opposed to the Administration. The President forced his war on the United States Bank, and the Congress met him more than half way by an act reviving the charter, though the old one did not expire till 1836. He vetoed the bill, and the requisite two-thirds could not be mustered to pass it over the veto. From this time on he pursued the bank with Spartan persistency until he drove it out of existence.

TARIFF OF 1832.—The process of getting ready for the Presidential campaign seemed to require, as it had done for several previous campaigns, a revision of the Tariff. An act passed in May, 1830, had considerably scaled the rates of duty laid in the act of 1828, but not enough to destroy the Protective features of that act. The nullifying sentiment in the South must be appeased somehow. Another act was the remedy. It was the act of July 14, 1832, which reduced duties very considerably and placed coffee and tea on the free list. But it failed to effect its purpose, for as yet there had been no official or legal repudiation of the Protective idea. Bills making liberal appropriations for Internal Improvement were also passed and signed; some, however, received the adroit pocket veto.

The split between the President and Vice-President was widened by the refusal of the latter to confirm by his casting vote

in the Senate the appointment of Van Buren as Minister to England. This spiteful proceeding reacted on Calhoun in the shape of the nomination of Van Buren for the Vice-Presidency. Congress adjourned, July 16, 1832.

ELECTION OF 1832.—This contest is noteworthy as the first in which all the parties made their nominations through national conventions, and two of them a proclamation of principles through what are now known as party platforms. The Anti-Masons took the field as early as September, 1831, at Baltimore, by nominating for President William Wirt, Va.; for Vice-President, Amos Ellmaker, Pa. Their principles were involved in their formal call of a convention as "opposition to secret societies."

The National Republicans followed in December, 1831, at Baltimore. They nominated for President, Henry Clay, Ky.; for Vice-President, John Sergeant, Pa. The address of the convention to the people, or platform, defined the issues of the campaign as the tariff, internal improvement, the question of removing the Cherokee Indians, and renewal of the United States Bank charter.

The Democrats met, also at Baltimore, in March, 1832, and nominated for President, Andrew Jackson, Tenn.; for Vice-President, Martin Van Buren, N. Y. The convention published no platform of principles.*

Thus the respective parties entered the campaign. No part of the country felt as warmly toward Jackson as at his first election. The South was cold, and, in the case of South Carolina, defiant. The North, or wherever the influence of the United States Bank was strongest, was unsympathetic or pronouncedly against him. But there was little coherency in the

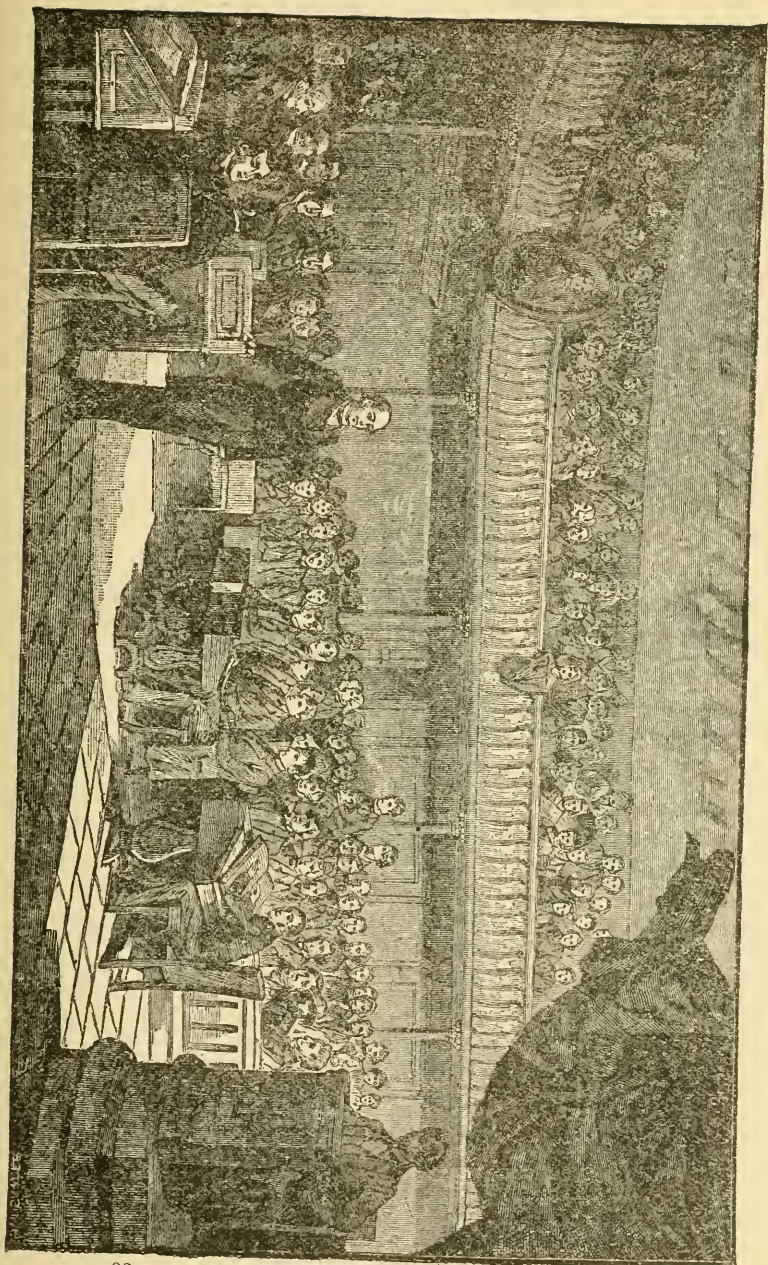
* But at a ratification meeting, held in Washington, May 11, 1832, a set of resolutions were adopted which favored internal improvement, denounced removals from office for opinion sake and contained the following on the tariff: "*Resolved*, That an adequate protection to American industry is indispensable to the prosperity of the country, and that an abandonment of the policy at this period would be attended with consequences ruinous to the best interests of the nation." None of which was very good Jackson doctrine so far as his first administration was concerned.

opposition, and the result of the election, in November, was decidedly in his favor. "The American System," which Clay's nomination had placed on trial before the country, and which the National Republicans had presented with all their eloquence and logic, was, for the time being, swamped by both the national verdict and that in the Congressional districts. South Carolina supported none of the nominees, but cast her vote for John Floyd, Va., and Henry Lee, Mass.

NULLIFICATION.—No sooner had the Presidential election passed over than a South Carolina convention, at Columbus, Nov. 19, 1832, declared the tariff acts of 1828 and 1832 "null and void and not binding upon the State, her officers and citizens." It is difficult to understand this action at this time except upon the theory that it was a direct blow of Calhoun and his friends at Jackson, for since protection * had been made the distinguishing feature of the Presidential campaign, and had not been endorsed by the country, any reasonable opponents of the protective idea must have been satisfied.† Other circumstances may, however, have conspired to bring about the ordinance at this juncture. The sentiment of nullification had been ripening for some time. The State of Georgia had practically nullified the Cherokee Indian act by refusing to obey the decrees of the United States Supreme Court. The thought that coercion of a State by the Federal troops was possible did not prevail then,

* The nullifiers, it must be remembered, claimed that a tariff act which involved the idea of protection was unconstitutional. This, they said, was the *gravamen* of the acts of 1828 and 1832. It is very probable, however, that they deemed the time a fit one to test the position of a State in the Union.

† "Jackson had pledged himself to a single term, and Calhoun had expected to be his successor. But by adroit use of resolutions in several of the State Legislatures in favor of a second term for Jackson, he concluded to run again. His quarrel with Calhoun now became a feud. Calhoun pressed his nullification idea, and Jackson resisted by the proclamation of force, Dec. 16, 1832. Clay, fearing war, introduced his "Compromise tariff bill," which passed March 2, 1833, under which duties were to be scaled at the rate of 10 per cent. annually till they reached a uniform rate of 20 per cent. This they did in 1842. During this period the country reached universal bankruptcy in 1837, a sub-treasury law had to be passed to supply the place of the suspended State banks, a bankrupt law to relieve individuals, and the tariff act of 1842 to relieve the country."—*Reminiscences of an old Whig.*



WEBSTER REPLYING TO HAYNE.

and the further thought that any such attempt at coercion would be resisted by the States through which such troops would be compelled to pass, did prevail in South Carolina. At any rate the ordinance passed, and it was backed up by resolutions to the effect that any appeal from it to the United States Supreme Court would be punishable as an offence, and that any attempt at force on the part of the general government would be followed by the secession of the State.

This Ordinance, which went into effect Feb. 1, 1833, placed the State in the attitude of forcible resistance to the laws of the United States. A certified copy of it reached the President in December, 1832, the Legislature of the State in the meantime passing laws taking back all those powers it had parted with to the central government, and rapidly placing it on a war footing. Soon after its receipt, the President, Dec. 16, 1832, issued his celebrated proclamation to the people of the State. It is important as showing how the first overt nullification, and first direct attempt at secession, was met, and that by an executive who, though not of the extreme school of rigid interpreters of the Constitution, was yet sufficiently inclined that way to be the national representative of the then existing Democracy. The Proclamation (1) exhorted the people of South Carolina to obey the laws of Congress. (2) Pointed out the illegality of their procedure. (3) Showed that the general government was one in which the people of all the States were collectively represented. (4) Affirmed that Representatives in Congress are Representatives of the United States and not of particular States, are paid by the United States and are not accountable to the State for their legitimate acts. (5) Concluded, therefore, that the government was not a League, but a government, whether formed by compact or in any other way; that it operated on individuals, not on States; that the States parted with enough of their powers to make a nation; that the claim of a right to secede was not the mere withdrawing from a contract, but was destructive of the unity of a nation; that it would be a solecism to contend that any part of a nation might dissolve its connection with other parts, to their injury or ruin, without committing an

offence. (6) Expressed his determination to enforce the laws, even by a resort to force if necessary.

Without recourse to Congress, then in session, but in the exercise of the power he already possessed as executive, he threw a naval force into Charleston Harbor and proceeded to collect the duties under the Tariff of 1832. In January, however, he was forced to ask for legislation to aid him in the enforcement of the laws. A bill was consequently prepared in the Senate which was deemed adequate. Its provisions provoked intense hostility. Debate was long and acrimonious. Notwithstanding the fact that it was shown to contain no new feature, and had the support of such conservative-minded men as Webster, it was denounced as unconstitutional, as tending to civil war, as a "Force Bill," as "the Bloody Bill," etc. It was a bill to enforce the Tariff Act of 1832. It passed, was signed by the President, and duly executed. South Carolina did not secede on account of it, and no State was injured by its passage and enforcement. All in all it was probably the best measure which could have been devised for the emergency. At any rate it made the President master of the situation, and rampant nullification subsided. Soon after the opening of Congress in December Calhoun resigned the Vice-Presidency and entered the Senate, where he took early occasion to say that his State had never intended to resist the government by force, and as an evidence of it he called attention to the fact that a recent meeting of nullifiers had been held at which it was agreed that all thought of forcible resistance should be postponed till after the Congress had adjourned.

TWENTY-SECOND CONGRESS—Second Session.—Met Dec. 3, 1832. The most important act was that spoken of in the preceding paragraph, except perhaps the compromise Tariff Act. This act, conceived by Clay in a spirit of compromise, met two requirements: (1) the verdict of the last Presidential election; (2) the wishes of those engaged in nullification, not fully, perhaps, but sufficiently to show that the friends of Protection were not necessarily the enemies of their opponents. Its weakness was that of all compromises. It was immediately heralded by the nullifiers as their vindication, and amid great rejoicing was

proclaimed as a surrender of "the American system" and a justification of the South Carolina status. It did not enact anything affirmatively, but taking the Tariff of 1832 as a basis, proceeded to emasculate it by a dry rot repeal extending over a period of ten years (till 1842), during all which time there was to be a gradual biennial reduction of duties, till in the end no higher rate than 20 per cent. should survive.

The President continued his war on the National Bank, but was headed off by its friends. The Public Land Question came up again in the shape of a bill to turn the proceeds of sales over to the States as a loan. A pocket veto settled its fate.

The count of the electoral vote in February, 1833, revealed, for President, Jackson 219, Clay 49, Floyd 11, Wirt 7; for Vice-President, Van Buren 189, Sergeant 49, Wilkins 30, Lee 11, Ellmaker 7. Congress adjourned *sine die*, March 3, 1833. Jackson and Van Buren were sworn into office March 4, 1833.

XII.

JACKSON'S SECOND ADMINISTRATION.

March 4, 1833—March 3, 1837.

ANDREW JACKSON, TENN., *President*. MARTIN VAN BUREN, N. Y., *Vice-President*.

Congresses.

Sessions.

TWENTY-THIRD CONGRESS.	{	1, December 2, 1833—June 30, 1834.
		2, December 1, 1834—March 3, 1835.
TWENTY-FOURTH CONGRESS.	{	1, December 7, 1835—July 4, 1836.
		2, December 5, 1836—March 3, 1837.

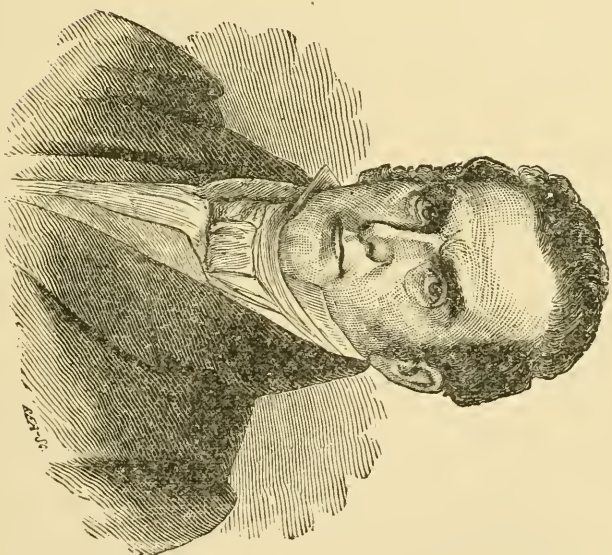
ELECTORAL VOTE.*

States.	Basis of 47,700.	Vote.	Democrat.		Nat. Republican.			Anti-Mason.	
			And. Jack- son, Tenn.	M. Van Buren, N. Y.	H. Clay, N. Y.	J. Ser- geant, Pa.	W. Wirt, Va.	Amos Ell- maker, Pa.	
Alabama	5	7	7	7	..	..	..	..
Connecticut.....	6	8	..	..	8	8	..	..
Delaware.....	1	3	..	..	3	3	..	..
Georgia	9	11	11	11	..	..	..	..
Illinois	3	5	5	5	..	..	..	..
Indiana.....	7	9	9	9	..	..	..	..

* There were two vacancies. The South Carolina vote went to John Floyd and Henry Lee. William Wilkins, Pa., got 30 of the scattering votes. The popular vote was: Andrew Jackson, 687,502; Henry Clay, 530,189; William Wirt, 33,108.



HENRY CLAY.



DANIEL WEBSTER.

Electoral Vote—Continued.

States.	Basis of 47,700.	Democrat.		Nat. Republican.		Anti-Mason.	
		Vote.	And. Jack- son, Tenn.	M. Van Buren, N.Y.	H. Clay, J. Ser- geant, Ky. Pa.	W. Wirt, Va.	Amos Ell- maker, Pa.
Kentucky.....	13	15	..	..	15	15	..
Louisiana.....	3	5	5	5	..	..	..
Maine.....	8	10	10	10	..	..	..
Maryland.....	8	10	3	3	5	5	..
Massachusetts.....	12	14	..	..	14	14	..
Mississippi.....	2	4	4	4	..	..	..
Missouri.....	2	4	4	4	..	..	..
New Hampshire....	5	7	7	7	..	..	..
New Jersey.....	6	8	8	8	..	..	..
New York.....	40	42	42	42	..	..	..
North Carolina... 13	15	15	15	15	..	..	..
Ohio.....	19	21	21	21	..	..	..
Pennsylvania.....	28	30	30	sc.	..	..	..
Rhode Island.....	2	4	..	..	4	4	..
South Carolina... 9	11	sc.	sc.	..	..	..	..
Tennessee.....	13	15	15	15	..	..	..
Vermont.....	5	7	..	..	..	7	7
Virginia.....	21	23	23	23	..	..	..
Totals.....	240	288	219	189	49	49	7

THE CABINET.

Secretary of State.....	Lewis McLane, Del.	
Secretary of Treasury....	William J. Duane, Pa.	
Secretary of War.....	Lewis Cass, Mich.....	Continued.
Secretary of Navy.....	Levi Woodbury, N. H.....	"
Attorney-General.....	Roger B. Taney, Md.....	"
Postmaster-General.....	William T. Barry, Ky.....	"

Jackson's Cabinets were very fluctuating. This one was arranged, the better to carry on his war against the United States Bank. But Mr. Duane refused to obey his order to remove the deposits from the Bank on the plea that they were unsafe there, that they had been used for political purposes, or for any reason whatever. Nor would he resign his office. He on the contrary alleged that the President's action was unnecessary, arbitrary, and unjust. He was removed, and Roger B. Taney took his place. The deposits were then transferred to favorite State banks. The National Bank, thus left without bankable resource, began to call in its loans and wind up business, in the midst of great financial embarrassment and commercial distress.

TWENTY-THIRD CONGRESS—First Session.—Met Dec. 2, 1833. Organized by re-electing Andrew Stevenson, Speaker, by a majority of 81. The war on the Bank culminated during

this session. Enough Democratic Senators united with the National Republicans to censure the President for his removal of the Bank deposits. This was tabled in the House, which then committed itself by a resolution not to vote for a re-charter of the Bank. Thus the President carried his position by indirection, and the tedious, bitter, demoralizing, and, so far as Jackson was concerned, personal, struggle ended. Even the commercial and industrial hardship entailed by the loss of so powerful a financial agent was quoted as an evidence of the truth of the President's charges against it.*

The Post-office Department, which had been conducted under the Treasury Department until 1829, and then set apart as distinct, came up for investigation. As this was an administration measure, the Department was declared by a House investigating committee to be corrupt, and a bill for its reorganization passed.

The President and Senate were in a perpetual snarl. The latter rejected his pet nominations, among them that of Taney for the Treasury, and Stevenson, the Speaker, as Minister to England. It also attempted to limit his political removals and appointments, by a species of Tenure of Office bill. Congress adjourned June 30, 1834.

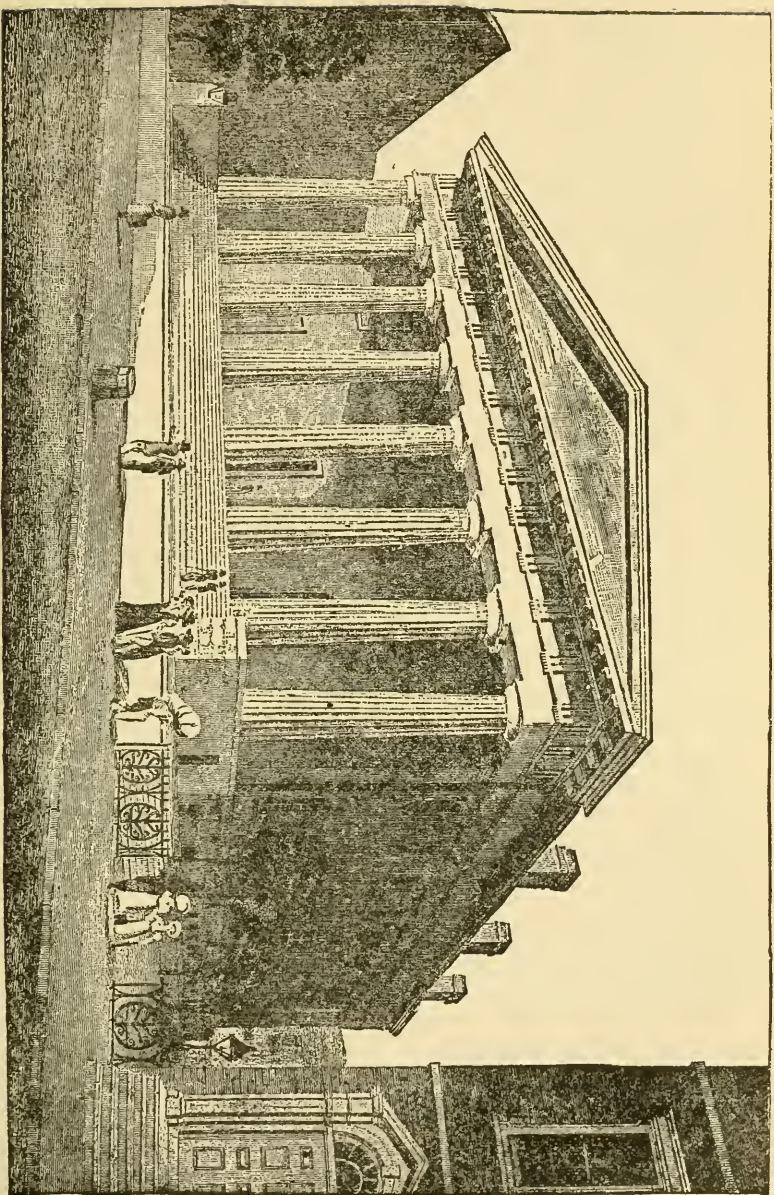
TWENTY-THIRD CONGRESS—Second Session.—Met Dec. 1, 1834. This session was mainly devoted to finance. The deposit of public moneys in the State banks was giving rise to trouble. As a system it was inconvenient and dangerous, though tenaciously adhered to by the Democrats. Its opponents proposed as a substitute a system of Sub-Treasuries at various business centres, through whose agents the Treasurer might act safely and promptly. This the Democrats voted down, only, however, to fall in with and adopt it at a later date, as their best weapon with which to fight those who favored re-chartering a National Bank. Slight encouragement was given the system of

* It is perhaps needless to say that the leading Democratic opponents of the Bank, such as Benton, rested their case on a denial of the right of the government to make anything money except gold and silver. They rigidly interpreted the coinage clause of the Constitution, and popularized the idea that Democrats then constituted "the hard money party."

Internal Improvements, by an appropriation therefor. Congress adjourned *sine die*, March 3, 1835.

TWENTY-FOURTH CONGRESS—First Session.—Met Dec. 7, 1835. Organized by electing James K. Polk, Tenn., as Speaker. Neither branch was a happy body. An amalgamated opposition to the Democrats controlled the Senate, and the Democratic majority in the House was divided into two factions, one administration, anxious to advance Van Buren's chances for the Presidency, the other anti-administration, anxious to advance those of Hugh L. White, Tenn. Fortunately no measures of party moment arose. The leading act of the session was one which passed in pursuance of the President's announcement in his message that the public debt would soon be paid, and his advice that some method of disposing of the surplus revenue should be provided. It is of moment now, in view of the fact that a similar proposition is being mooted, and bids fair to become a party issue.

SURPLUS REVENUE.—Clay's previous plan to distribute the surplus arising from the sale of public lands among the States was premature, because the government had need of the money. Now, the extinguishment of the public debt made a similar plan more timely. But how to get at it was a grave question. Every way seemed unsatisfactory till a plan of regulating the deposit of public moneys in the State banks was hit upon. Deposits had hitherto been made in the "pet banks." Now the surplus revenue was to be divided in proportion to the population of each State, and the share of each, as thus ascertained, was to be deposited in its designated State bank or banks, for the use of the State, the same to be regarded as in the nature of a loan for whose return, when called on, the State stood as a pledge. This ingenious act passed both Houses in June, 1836, to take effect Jan. 1, 1837. It applied to all surplus above \$5,000,000, and under it \$26,101,644 were distributed. It ceased to operate in less than a year, by act of Congress, owing to hard times. The Distribution bill was signed by the President reluctantly. The promised benefit to the States did not accrue, nor did those who favored it with the hope of advancing



THE UNITED STATES BANK (NOW CUSTOM HOUSE) AT PHILADELPHIA.

their Presidential chances reap the harvest they expected. The panic of 1837 burst upon the country all the same, and the Democratic party suffered defeat in 1840. Arkansas became a State June 15, 1836. Congress adjourned July 4, 1836.

PANIC OF 1837.—The destruction of the United States Bank, the scaling of duties under the Tariff Act of 1833, the multiplication of State banks and introduction of their variable and doubtful notes, made the financial situation uncertain, distressed business, and tended directly toward panic. This was precipitated by an order of the President, issued through his Secretary of Treasury (July, 1836), to the effect that the Treasury should cease to take State bank notes in payment for Public Lands, but should, in the future, take only gold and silver. From a Treasury standpoint this was justifiable, for the notes of the State banks had been piling up in the Treasury Department in great quantities. But as such a result had been invited by the destruction of the National Bank, with its uniform and stable currency, it looked as if the President were recoiling from it. His specie order speedily swamped the State banks, except the "pet" ones, which were banks designated to receive the national deposits, by creating a demand for gold and silver they could not meet. The panic broke on the country the next year, and the direst distress prevailed in every department of business.

ELECTION OF 1836.—This contest opened early by the nomination (1834-35) of H. L. White, Tenn., by the Legislature of Alabama. This was to head off Jackson, who sought the nomination of Van Buren. The White faction was the rest, residue and remainder of the old Crawford faction, members of the extreme school of rigid interpreters, strict State-rights men, former nullifiers, unyielding opponents of Jackson. But the Van Buren forces were not to be demoralized in this way. The era of caucus and legislative nomination had passed. A popular convention met in Baltimore in May, 1835, and placed Martin Van Buren, N. Y., in nomination for President, with Richard M. Johnson, Ky., for Vice-President. This was called a "Loco-Foco" convention, the term having come into popular use the previous winter in New York as a set-off to the term "Whig,"

which was at the same time applied to the National Republican party. The "Loco-Focos" promulgated a platform, the important plank in which was adherence to gold and silver as the only proper circulating medium.

The Whigs, Anti-Masons, "and all opposed to" Van Buren, united on William Henry Harrison, Ohio, for President, and Francis Granger, N. Y., for Vice-President, who had been the declared nominees of a State convention held in Pennsylvania (1835).

To the Alabama nomination of H. L. White for President had been added that of John Tyler, Va., for Vice-President.

Feeling that the election could be thrown into the House, where the Democratic division would insure the choice of an opposition candidate, Ohio placed John McLean in nomination for the Presidency, and Massachusetts, Daniel Webster.

Thus shaped, the election took place in November, 1836, and resulted in a majority of Van Buren electors.

TWENTY-FOURTH CONGRESS—Second Session.—Met Dec. 5, 1836. This session was not notable for bills passed, but is memorable for the attempt made by the Southern members to recover the territory west of the Sabine (Texas), which had been lost at the time of the Florida purchase (1819). Contrary to the advice contained in the President's message, against interference between Mexico and the Republic of Texas (Texas had seceded from the Mexican Republic and set up for herself), the Senate passed a bill recognizing Texan independence, which the House rejected.

A NEW POLITICAL FORCE.—It is further memorable as directly recognizing a new political force which had been incorporated in 1833 as the National Anti-Slavery Society, which had been working quietly and suavisely by means of lectures, tracts and newspapers, and which, in its preference of a broad humanity for narrow code, had given offence to the South by technical violations of the existing regulations respecting the return of fugitives. The mob violence which had been resorted to in several Northern cities for the purpose of breaking up the sources of abolition literature having failed, and there being an

alarming increase of the same in the South, the President advised Congress to pass a bill construing such literature as incendiary and prohibiting its carriage by the United States mails. The times were not yet ripe for this summary method, and the bill was rejected.

THE ELECTORAL COUNT.—Michigan was admitted as a State, Jan. 26, 1837. The electoral count in February resulted in 170 for Van Buren; 73 for Harrison; 26 for White; 14 for Webster; and 11 for W. P. Mangum, N. C., for President; and for Vice-President, 147 for Johnson; 77 for Granger; 47 for Tyler; and 23 for William Smith, Ala. There being no choice for Vice-President, the House elected Richard M. Johnson, Ky. Congress adjourned *sine die*, March 3, 1837, and on March 4 Van Buren and Johnson were sworn into office.

Jackson signalized his retiracy by a farewell address, after the manner of Washington, in which he vindicated his administrative career, and congratulated the country on its peace, prosperity, and full triumph of the Democratic principles and party. His own peace of mind had been exalted by the passage of a resolution, March 16, 1837, expunging the Clay resolution censuring his conduct in the removal of the public moneys from the National Bank.

XIII.

VAN BUREN'S ADMINISTRATION.

March 4, 1837—March 3, 1841.

MARTIN VAN BUREN, N. Y., *President*. RICHARD M. JOHNSON, KY., *Vice-President*.

Congresses.

Sessions.

TWENTY-FIFTH CONGRESS.	{	1, September 4, 1837—October 16, 1837, extra session.
		2, December 4, 1837—July 9, 1838.
		3, December 3, 1838—March 3, 1839.
TWENTY-SIXTH CONGRESS.	{	1, December 2, 1839—July 21, 1840.
		2, December 7, 1840—March 3, 1841.

*ELECTORAL VOTE.**

States.	Basis of 47,700.	Votes.	Democrat.		Whig.	
			M. Van Bu- ren, N. Y.	R. M. John- son, Ky.	W. H. Harri- son, Ohio.	F. Granger, N. Y.
Alabama	5	7	4	4	..	..
Arkansas.....	1	3	3	3	..	..
Connecticut.....	6	8	8	8	..	..
Delaware.....	1	3	..	..	3	3
Georgia.....	9	11	7	7	..	..
Illinois.....	3	5	4	4	..	..
Indiana	7	9	5	5	..	..
Kentucky.....	13	15	..	..	9	9
Louisiana.....	3	5	sc.	sc.	..	..
Maine.....	8	10	10	10	..	..
Maryland.....	8	10	..	..	10	sc.
Massachusetts.....	12	14	..	..	sc.	14
Michigan.....	1	3	..	..	..	..
Mississippi.....	2	4	4	4	..	..
Missouri.....	2	4	4	4	..	..
New Hampshire...	5	7	7	7	..	..
New Jersey.....	6	8	..	..	8	8
New York.....	40	42	42	42	..	..
North Carolina....	13	15	15	15	..	..
Ohio.....	19	21	..	..	21	21
Pennsylvania.....	28	30	30	30	..	..
Rhode Island.....	2	4	4	4	..	..
South Carolina....	9	11	sc.	sc.	..	..
Tennessee.....	13	15	..	..	15	15
Vermont.....	5	7	..	..	7	7
Virginia.....	21	23	23	sc.	..	sc.
Totals.....	242	294	170	147	73	77

THE CABINET.

Secretary of State.....John Forsyth, Ga.....Continued.
 Secretary of Treasury....Levi Woodbury, N. H.... "
 Secretary of War.....Joel R. Poinsett, S. C.
 Secretary of Navy.....Mahlon Dickerson, N. J...Continued.
 Attorney-General.....Benjamin F. Butler, N. Y... "
 Postmaster-General.....Amos Kendall, Ky..... "

THE INAUGURAL.—Van Buren's inaugural teemed with faith in his predecessor and promises to abide by his policy. It congratulated the country on its prosperity and peace, and laid down as his chart the doctrines of the Democratic party. This commitment was untimely. It made him the executor of

* Webster got the 14 votes of Massachusetts; Mangum the 11 votes of South Carolina; White 26 votes from various Southern States. For Vice-President, John Tyler got 47 and William Smith 23. The popular vote was, Van Buren, 761,549, 15 States; Harrison, 7 States; White, 2 States; Webster, 1 State; Mangum, 1 State—236,656 votes.

the wreck invited by a financial policy which would have in time carried even Jackson down. The State banks had flooded the country with a "wild-cat" currency. Values were inflated and speculation rife. The President's (Jackson's) order to take nothing but gold and silver in payment for public lands had by this time resulted in a heavy gold premium, and the impossibility of getting specie at all by the weaker banks. The folly of the law ordering the distribution of the surplus among the States was now apparent, for the surplus was in the keeping of the "pet banks," and they could not respond to the order to pay money over to the States which they had loaned out and could not promptly collect. On May 10, 1837, a general suspension of the banks took place. This stopped the treasury, for its deposits were with the banks. The panic of 1837 was on, with its cruel and unparalleled wreck of every vital business interest.

TWENTY-FIFTH CONGRESS—Extra Session.—Called Sept. 4, 1837, to consider the financial situation. House organized by electing James K. Polk, Tenn., Speaker. Both branches Democratic; House by a majority of 13. The President's message defended Jackson's "Specie Circular," but recommended the Government to break off from the banks, whether State or National, and rely on an Independent Treasury System,* with an issue of Treasury notes; further, to stop paying the deposits due the States under the act then in force. The message met with violent opposition from Whigs and many Democrats. Clay, Webster, Cushing and others made it a text for the review of Democratic finance, from the beginning of the Government down. The Democratic opponents of the message switched off into a separate party, calling themselves "Conservatives." The bills enacted sustained the Administration and marked the era of a complete separation between State and National banking. They stopped the distribution of the surplus among the States, extended the time to merchants who had borrowed National

* This was really the Sub-Treasury plan proposed by the National Republicans in the 23d Congress, and then rejected by the Democrats. It was now opposed by the Whigs, who saw, since the distress was on, an opportunity to re-establish a National bank, and, as they reasoned, thus lift the country out of panic.

moneys, and sanctioned the issue of Treasury notes to the extent of \$10,000,000.

The interest of the session was heightened by Calhoun's resolutions in the Senate against interference with slavery in the States, and to the effect "that it would be inexpedient and impolitic to abolish or control it in the District of Columbia or the Territories." He was loud in his praise of the Missouri Compromise of 1820. From this time on the subject of slavery came up in nearly every session of Congress, till 1863. Congress adjourned, Oct. 16, 1837.

TWENTY-FIFTH CONGRESS—First Regular Session.—Met Dec. 4, 1837. The coalition between the Whigs and Conservative Democrats still prevailed, and it defeated in the House the Senate bill to establish an Independent Treasury, though it came to the relief of that department by authorizing it to accept as current the notes of specie-paying banks. This innocent-looking measure really permitted the Administration to get away from the hampering effects of Jackson's Specie Order without the humiliation of formally withdrawing it.

The determination of the Southern States to regain Texas came boldly forth this session by a bill for annexation, which did not pass. It will be curious now to watch the growth of this idea of enlarged slave territory, first by direct acquisition, and then by the doctrine that, notwithstanding the Missouri Compromise, all Government territory was open to slavery; and to note that the idea kept even pace in its growth with the loss of political power occasioned by a preponderance of free States and the rapid growth of the Anti-Slavery sentiment. Congress adjourned, July 9, 1838.

TWENTY-FIFTH CONGRESS—Second Session.—Met Dec. 3, 1838. There was no political legislation of moment during this session. The Administration was as if wrapped up in a hard Democratic shell, and the drift of sentiment in Congress and the country was away from it and toward the Whigs, or some element equally liberal in its interpretation of the Constitution and willing to propound and risk something for the relief of the country. Congress adjourned *sine die*, March 3, 1839.

TWENTY-SIXTH CONGRESS—First Session.—Met Dec. 2, 1839. The organization of the House was delayed by a closely contested Congressional election in New Jersey. Five Democrats contested the seats of five Whigs. Neither set was admitted until after the choice of a Speaker, which fell to Robert M. T. Hunter, Va., a Whig, and in favor of the Sub-Treasury plan. The Whigs in this instance were aided by a few regular Democrats and by the friends of Calhoun, who for several sessions had swung free lances in both House and Senate. The final decision of the case was not had till in March, 1840, when the Democratic contestants were seated, making the full Democratic strength 122, and the Whig strength 113. The leading act of the session was one providing for the "collection, safe-keeping and disbursing of the public money." It was simply Monroe's Independent Treasury plan, and it was passed by a small majority in both Houses and signed by the President. The Whigs opposed it under the lead of Clay, but some of them, as Cushing, favored it. A heavy blow was aimed at the system of Internal Improvement by an act suspending all appropriations therefor. The practice of "pairing off" began during this session. J. Q. Adams introduced a resolution to censure it, but it was not put on its passage. The practice has grown ever since—grown to be a nuisance. John Tyler, Va., an ultra Democrat of the Calhoun school, won his way to the Vice-Presidency on the Whig ticket by his opposition to the Administration during this session. Congress adjourned, July 21, 1840.

ELECTION OF 1840.—The Whigs took the lead in National Convention at Harrisburg, Pa., Dec. 4, 1839. Clay, the ablest and most pronounced Whig in the country, was not deemed available as a candidate owing to a desire to conciliate the Anti-Mason and other opposing elements, and to the thought that one of military prowess would go through, as Jackson had done. The nomination for President was, therefore, conferred on William Henry Harrison, Ohio, and for Vice-President on John Tyler, Va. No platform.

The Democratic Convention met at Baltimore, May 5, 1840, and unanimously renominated Van Buren, leaving the States to

fill up the Vice-Presidency. A lengthy platform was adopted, affirming (1) "That the Federal Government was one of limited powers;" (2) "That the Constitution does not confer the right on the Government to carry on a system of internal improvement;" (3) nor to assume the debts of the States contracted for internal improvement; (4) "Justice and sound policy forbids the Government to foster one branch of industry to the detriment of another or one section to the injury of another;" (5) urged economy; (6) Congress has no power to charter a U. S. bank; (7) and no power to interfere with the domestic institutions of the States; (8) Government money must be separated from banking institutions; (9) this country is the asylum of the oppressed of all nations.

The Abolition or Liberty party nominated, Nov. 13, 1839, James G. Birney, N. Y., for President, and Francis Lemoyne, Pa., for Vice-President. Its platform favored (1) The abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia and Territories; (2) Stoppage of the inter-State slave trade; (3) General opposition to slavery to the full extent of constitutional power.

All parties were now ready. The campaign was the liveliest on record. The October elections inspired the Whigs. Their attack on Van Buren's financial policy was telling all along the line. The furore was intensified by the introduction of the spectacular. Log-cabins with the latch-strings hanging out, and barrels of hard cider, were made the type of "out West" generosity and happy pioneer life. The meetings were frequent and extended into every county and town. The result was a Whig victory of astounding magnitude, Van Buren carrying but five Southern and two Northern States.

TWENTY-SIXTH CONGRESS—Second Session.—Met Dec. 7, 1840. A quiet session and no work of political moment. Electoral vote counted in February, 1841, showing Harrison 234 and Van Buren 60 for President; for Vice-President, Tyler, 234; Johnson, 48; L. W. Tazewell, Va., 11; and James K. Polk, Tenn., 1. Congress adjourned *sine die*, March 3, 1841, and on March 4 Harrison and Tyler were sworn into office.

XIV.

HARRISON'S AND TYLER'S ADMINISTRATION.

March 4, 1841—March 3, 1845.

WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON, OHIO, *President*. JOHN TYLER, VA.,*Vice-President*.

(Harrison died April 4, 1841, having served one month.)

*Congresses.**Sessions.*

TWENTY-SEVENTH CONGRESS.	1, May 31, 1841—September 13, 1841. Extra Sess.
	2, December 6, 1841—August 31, 1842.
	3, December 5, 1842—March 3, 1843.
TWENTY-EIGHTH CONGRESS.	1, December 4, 1843—June 17, 1844.
	2, December 2, 1844—March 3, 1845.

*ELECTORAL VOTE.**

States.	Basis of 47,700.	Votes.	Whig.		Democrat.	
			Wm. H. Har- rison, Ohio.	J. Tyler, Va.	M. Van Buren, N. Y.	R.M. John- son, Ky.
Alabama.....	5	7	..	..	7	7
Arkansas.....	1	3	..	..	3	3
Connecticut.....	6	8	8	8	..	..
Delaware.....	1	3	3	3	..	..
Georgia.....	9	11	11	11	..	..
Illinois.....	3	5	..	..	5	5
Indiana.....	7	9	9	9	..	..
Kentucky.....	13	15	15	15	..	..
Louisiana.....	3	5	5	5	..	..
Maine.....	8	10	10	10	..	..
Maryland.....	8	10	10	10	..	..
Massachusetts.....	12	14	14	14	..	..
Michigan.....	1	3	3	3	..	..
Mississippi.....	2	4	4	4	..	..
Missouri.....	2	4	..	..	4	4
New Hampshire....	5	7	..	..	7	7
New Jersey.....	6	8	8	8	..	..
New York.....	40	42	42	42	..	..
North Carolina.....	13	15	15	15	..	..
Ohio.....	19	21	21	21	..	..
Pennsylvania.....	28	30	30	30	..	..
Rhode Island.....	2	4	4	4	..	..
South Carolina.....	9	11	..	..	11	sc.
Tennessee.....	13	15	15	15	..	..
Vermont.....	5	7	7	7	..	..
Virginia.....	21	23	..	..	23	23
Totals.....	242	294	234	234	60	48

* L. W. Tazewell got the 11 votes of South Carolina for Vice-President, and James K. Polk got 1 vote out of the column of States set down as for Johnson. The popular vote was: Harrison, 1,275,017—19 States; Van Buren, 1,128,702—7 States; Birney, 7,059.

THE CABINET.

Secretary of State.....	Daniel Webster, Mass.
Secretary of Treasury.....	Thomas Ewing, Ohio.
Secretary of War.....	John Bell, Tenn.
Secretary of Navy.....	G. E. Badger, N. C.
Attorney-General.....	John J. Crittenden, Ky.
Postmaster-General.....	Francis Granger, N. Y.

THE INAUGURAL.—Harrison's Inaugural was a genial, assuring paper, with a blow at Jackson's excessive use of the veto power and his "to the victor belong the spoils" theory, and at both his and Van Buren's attempts to make political capital out of the currency question. On March 17 he called an extra session of Congress, to convene May 31, to consider the revenue and financial situation. He died April 4, and John Tyler succeeded. This was the first time a Vice-President succeeded to the Presidency on the death of the President.

TWENTY-SEVENTH CONGRESS—Extra Session.—Met, pursuant to call, May 31, 1841. House organized by electing John White, Ky., Whig, Speaker. Whig majority in Senate 6; in House 25. The Whig majority was harmonious and had a plain duty to fulfil, as they thought, for their promises to the country had been explicit during the campaign and their policy well outlined. They therefore began by repealing the Independent Treasury Act, passing a Bankrupt Law, and an act to distribute certain proceeds of public lands among the States, all of which were signed by President Tyler. But when they came to substitute for the Independent Treasury a U. S. Fiscal Bank, even though it was an acknowledged improvement on the old U. S. Bank, the President interposed with a veto, his reason being that it was unconstitutional. This sudden swing to the President's old strict construction notions alarmed the Whigs. Not wishing to break with him they asked him to frame a bill which he could sign. After consulting his Cabinet, he presented one which was passed by both Houses, but which, to the astonishment of the Whigs and the country, he also vetoed. The Cabinet felt they had been insulted, and, with the exception of Webster, resigned. The Whigs grew indignant over their betrayal, and in an address to the country declared the President an impediment to their work of reform and repudiated him as

the head, and as a member, of the party. Congress adjourned, September 13, 1841.

TWENTY-SEVENTH CONGRESS—First Regular Session. —Met Dec. 6, 1841, amid great political uncertainty. The President's course had demoralized the Whigs, and the fall elections had gone against them. He had reorganized his shattered Cabinet out of very conservative material, and it stood, Secretary of State, Daniel Webster, Mass.; Secretary of Treasury, Walter Forward, Pa.; Secretary of War, John McLean, Ohio; Secretary of Navy, A. P. Upshur, Va.; Attorney-General, Hugh S. Legaré, S. C.; Postmaster-General, Charles A. Wickliffe, Ky. The folly of having placed him on the ticket was apparent to all, for in accepting a place there, with the implied pledge to favor Whig doctrine, he certainly renounced none of his old rigid construction sentiments which threw him into the Calhoun school, and made it impossible for him to support Van Buren and the Democratic ticket. He was certain of a kind of support, however repudiated by the Whigs, for the Democrats who saw returning success through the Whig demoralization, naturally encouraged him in every measure calculated to further stampede them.

TARIFF ACT OF 1842.—Thus inauspiciously the regular session began. The Whigs came to the front with a Tariff act to amend the act of 1833, under whose scaling terms the duties had run so low that government receipts were now less than the expenses. The bill awakened the old animosities of the school of rigid interpreters, and called forth almost the old debates of 1828 and 1832, which, it will be remembered, were against the constitutionality of the Protective idea, and which involved the question of nullification. It passed, however, but was unfortunately coupled with a clause providing for the distribution of any surplus that might arise to the States. The President vetoed it, as violative of the compromise of 1833, which, as to protection and revenue, was to run till 1842, and as to non-discrimination against the planting interests was practically without time. Another was passed without protective features. This was also vetoed. A third was passed, without the protective

and the surplus clauses, and was signed Aug. 30, 1842. This became the Tariff act of 1842. It found a prevailing rate of 20 per cent. on leading articles, and on the principle that the government must have revenue, raised the rates some 10 per cent., cottons going to 30 per cent., woollens to 40 per cent., silks to \$2.50 per pound, bar iron to \$25 per ton, and pig iron to \$9 per ton. Tea and coffee were still free, but sugar went to 2½ cents per pound. The bill to distribute the surplus was passed separately and vetoed. In the Senate debates on this Tariff, Clay and Calhoun, who stood together in the compromise Tariff of 1833, parted company, and the former charged the latter with revamping the "free trade theories of a certain party in the British Parliament."

THE SLAVERY QUESTION.—An exciting period in the session was reached when John Q. Adams, notwithstanding the previous decision of the House to refuse to entertain petitions for the abolition of slavery, presented a batch of them, on the ground that "the right of petition" was guaranteed by the Constitution. For this an unsuccessful attempt was made to vote him censurable. Scarcely had the flurry over this subsided when Joshua R. Giddings, Ohio, moved (March, 1842) his celebrated resolutions to the effect that slavery only exists by force of positive law, and is limited to the territory and jurisdiction wherein such law is found. That, being a curtailment of the rights of man, it cannot go beyond such jurisdiction by force of any common law or custom, nor be instituted anywhere except by express stipulation of the authorities interested. This, in connection with the claim that the government had exclusive jurisdiction over its unincorporated and incorporated territory, became the bulwark of those who afterwards fought to exclude slavery from the Territories. Giddings was censured by the House, resigned, and was vindicated by re-election.

Congress adjourned, Aug. 31, 1842.

TWENTY-SEVENTH CONGRESS—Second Session.—Met Dec. 5, 1842. The condition of the country was still unsatisfactory. The Treasury was empty, and \$14,000,000 behind. The government could not place a loan of \$12,000,000, author-

ized in 1841. Treasury notes were below par. The revenues were decreasing, for the Tariff Act of Aug. 30, 1842, had not yet begun to operate favorably. The dominant Whigs had lost their leader by the resignation of Clay from the Senate (March, 1842). His repeated defeats for the Presidential nomination, the inability of his party to fulfil its pledges to the people, owing to the hostile attitude of Tyler, the direct attacks of the Administration and its "corporal's guard" of followers on him, had filled him with disgust for political life. This was a terrible blow to the party, for he had unflinching courage, rare tact, grand eloquence, unquestioned rectitude of intention, and an advanced ground which brought out all the magnetism of his leadership. The best evidence of his qualities as a political captain is furnished by the fact that he built and held his party without the ordinary accessories of power and patronage. The session was barren of political results, except a warning by Anti-Slavery Whigs to the country to beware of the secret efforts going on to recover Texas, in the interest of the South.

Congress adjourned *sine die*, March 3, 1843.

TWENTY-EIGHTH CONGRESS—First Session.—Met Dec. 4, 1843. The result of the Congressional elections had been adverse to the Whigs. They had still a majority of four in the Senate; but their majority of twenty-five in the House had been turned into a Democratic majority of sixty-one. The House therefore organized by the election of John W. Jones, Va., Speaker. The President's message was a political curiosity. Contrary to all his rigid construction notions, to the freshest traditions and plainest professions of the only party now giving him comfort and support, he favored a national paper currency, and as to Internal Improvement, he went so far as to urge a system for the West. Two treaties were presented to the Senate for ratification, one rectifying the northwest boundary, the other annexing Texas. The latter was rejected, by a solid Whig vote and a strong Democratic contingent (seven in all). This thrust "Texas annexation" directly into politics. To annex at any cost became a Southern policy. A free North on the line of 36° 30' to the Pacific would prove so overshadowing as to

endanger the political supremacy of the South and its peculiar institution. Of the two public improvement bills passed during the session, one for the East, the other for the West, the President vetoed the former. Congress adjourned, June 17, 1844.

ELECTION OF 1844.—The Liberty Party was first in the field, in convention at Buffalo, N. Y., Aug. 30, 1843. Its candidate for President was James G. Birney, Mich.; for Vice-President, Thomas Morris, Ohio. Its platform announced (1) human brotherhood as the cardinal principle of democracy; (2) demanded divorce of the general government from slavery; (3) stated that the party was not sectional but national, resting on the thought that slavery was in derogation of the principle of American liberty; (4) that the faith of the nation as originally pledged in all original instruments not to extend slavery beyond its present limits had been broken; (5) that slavery is against natural rights, therefore strictly local; (6) that the general government has no authority to extend it to the Territories; (7) called on the States to enact penal laws against the return of fugitives.

The Whigs met in national convention at Baltimore, May 1, 1844, and nominated, for President, Henry Clay, Ky., and for Vice-President, Theodore Frelinghuysen, N. Y. A brief platform announced as cardinal principles (1) "a well-regulated national currency;" (2) "a tariff for revenue, discriminating with reference to protection of domestic labor;" (3) "distribution of the proceeds of sales of public lands;" (4) "a single term for the Presidency;" (5) reform of executive usurpation.

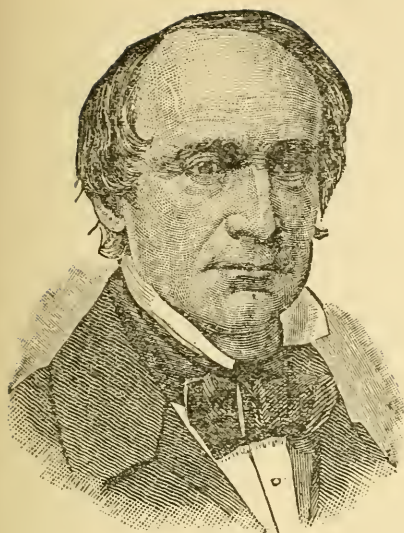
The Democratic Convention met at Baltimore, May 27, 1844. This was a postponed convention from the previous December, in order to allow the Van Buren sentiment to ferment. Calhoun was Van Buren's opponent, and the former was running on the Texas annexation tide, the latter against it, not pronouncedly, but enough so to make his slaughter desirable. Calhoun, offended at the postponement of the convention and manner of choosing delegates, did not appear with the South Carolina delegation. His influence was not less by absence. Van Buren's clear majority of the 266 delegates was turned to his defeat by

a resolution that the nomination should be made only by a two-third vote. This he could not control. He withdrew on the eighth ballot, and James K. Polk, Tenn., received the nomination for President, and George M. Dallas, Pa., for Vice-President.* The platform affirmed that of 1840, and added (1) that the Constitution does not warrant the distribution of the proceeds of public land sales among the States; (2) that the President has a right to use the qualified ("pocket") veto; (3) that all of Oregon ought to be reoccupied and Texas be annexed.

The parties thus went to the country with their candidates and principles. Texas annexation, the Oregon ("54° 40' or fight") question, and a vigorous effort to prove that under the act of 1842 Polk and Dallas were safe tariff men, were the hinging points of the Democrats. The Whigs, drove the Protective Tariff idea and relied greatly on the fame of their candidate. Silas Wright, who had refused to serve on the Democratic ticket as Vice-President, on account of the slaughter of Van Buren, and who had resigned from the Senate to run as governor of New York, unwittingly contributed to the election of the ticket he had declined to run on. He went through as governor on his individual popularity, and the National ticket followed by a bare majority. The vote of New York elected Polk and Dallas, the State and National elections being held on the same day. And to this result Clay himself was an unwise contributor, for his effort to conciliate Southern Democrats by an untimely letter favoring postponed Texas annexation alienated enough anti-slavery Whigs to have still overcome Polk's popular majority in New York. In no National election was the result so close and doubtful in so many States. In fourteen it was not known for several days, and in several of these the vote of the Liberty party was a balance of power.

TWENTY-EIGHTH CONGRESS—Second Session.—Met Dec. 2, 1844. President Tyler had swung, in every respect, over to the doctrines of the extreme Southern school of Democrats, and actively co-operated with them under the lead of his Secretary of State, John C. Calhoun. His last message favored Texas an-

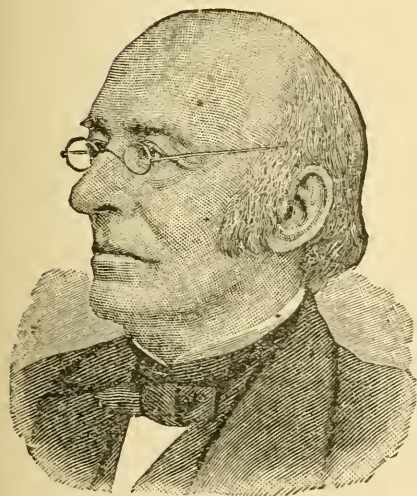
* Silas Wright, N. Y., was first nominated for Vice-President, but declined,



CALEB CUSHING.



THEODORE FRELINGHUYSEN.



WM. LLOYD GARRISON.



THOMAS H. BENTON.

nexation and the assumption of her cause with all its consequences. The South was a unit on this measure. At Ashley, S. C., a meeting had been held (May, 1844), seeking to combine the Southern States in Convention, to unite themselves in a body to Texas, if Texas was not annexed as a State to the Union. The Texas treaty of annexation which had been rejected in the Senate was now substituted by a joint resolution to annex the State, through a commission, it being understood that the incoming President (Polk) would appoint such body. But at Calhoun's instance and to the surprise of everybody, the President determined to send out (March 3, 1845) a special messenger to arrange terms. Only on Calhoun's assurance that such act would not interfere with the formal commission provided for did the resolution secure the necessary support. It passed, and in pursuance of it Texas was afterwards incorporated as a State, with slavery under her own constitution, and with the proviso that slavery should not exist in any State formed from her territory North of $36^{\circ} 30'$, and that the question of slavery in any States formed from her territory South of that line should be left to the people of such States. Her condition being that of war with Mexico, the war was assumed by the United States, it being only a question of time when the then pending armistice between Texas and Mexico should end. Calhoun did not originally favor war with Mexico. He thought Mexico could be quieted by a money consideration. As the annexation was more his act than the President's, he was, after war broke out, charged with being its author.

A bill to organize Oregon into a Territory up to $54^{\circ} 40'$, away beyond the boundary claimed by England, was passed in the House, but the Senate failed to consider it. Harbor improvement bills for both East and West were passed, but vetoed. The result of the electoral count in February showed 170 electoral votes for Polk and Dallas, and 105 for Clay and Frelinghuysen. March 3d, Florida became a State of the Union. Congress adjourned *sine die*, March 3, 1845. March 4, 1845, Polk and Dallas were sworn into office.

XV.

POLK'S ADMINISTRATION.

March 4, 1845—March 3, 1849.

JAMES K. POLK, TENN., *President.* GEORGE M. DALLAS, PA.,
Vice-President.

*Congresses.**Sessions.*

TWENTY-NINTH CONGRESS. { 1, December 1, 1845–August 10, 1846.
 { 2, December 7, 1846–March 3, 1847.

THIRTIETH CONGRESS. { 1, December 6, 1847–August 14, 1848.
 { 2, December 4, 1848–March 3, 1849.

*ELECTORAL VOTE.**

States.	Basis of 70,680.	Votes.	Democrat.		Whig.	
			James K. Polk, Tenn.	George M. Dallas, Pa.	Henry Clay, Ky.	Theodore Fre- linghuysen, N. Y.
Alabama.....	7	9	9	9	..	..
Arkansas.....	1	3	3	3	..	..
Connecticut....	4	6	..	..	6	6
Delaware.....	1	3	..	..	3	3
Georgia.....	8	10	10	10	..	..
Illinois.....	7	9	9	9	..	..
Indiana.....	10	12	12	12	..	..
Kentucky.....	10	12	..	..	12	12
Louisiana.....	4	6	6	6	..	..
Maine.....	7	9	9	9	..	..
Maryland.....	6	8	..	..	8	8
Massachusetts..	10	12	..	..	12	12
Michigan.....	3	5	5	5	..	..
Mississippi.....	4	6	6	6	..	..
Missouri.....	5	7	7	7	..	..
New Hampshire	4	6	6	6	..	..
New Jersey.....	5	7	..	..	7	7
New York.....	34	36	36	36	..	..
North Carolina	9	11	..	..	11	11
Ohio.....	21	23	..	..	23	23
Pennsylvania...	24	26	26	26	..	..
Rhode Island..	2	4	..	..	4	4
South Carolina	7	9	9	9	..	..
Tennessee.....	11	13	..	..	13	13
Vermont.....	4	6	..	..	6	6
Virginia.....	15	17	17	17	..	..
Totals.....	223	275	170	170	105	105

* The popular vote was: Polk, 1,337,243—fifteen States; Clay, 1,299,068—eleven States; Birney, 62,300.

THE CABINET.

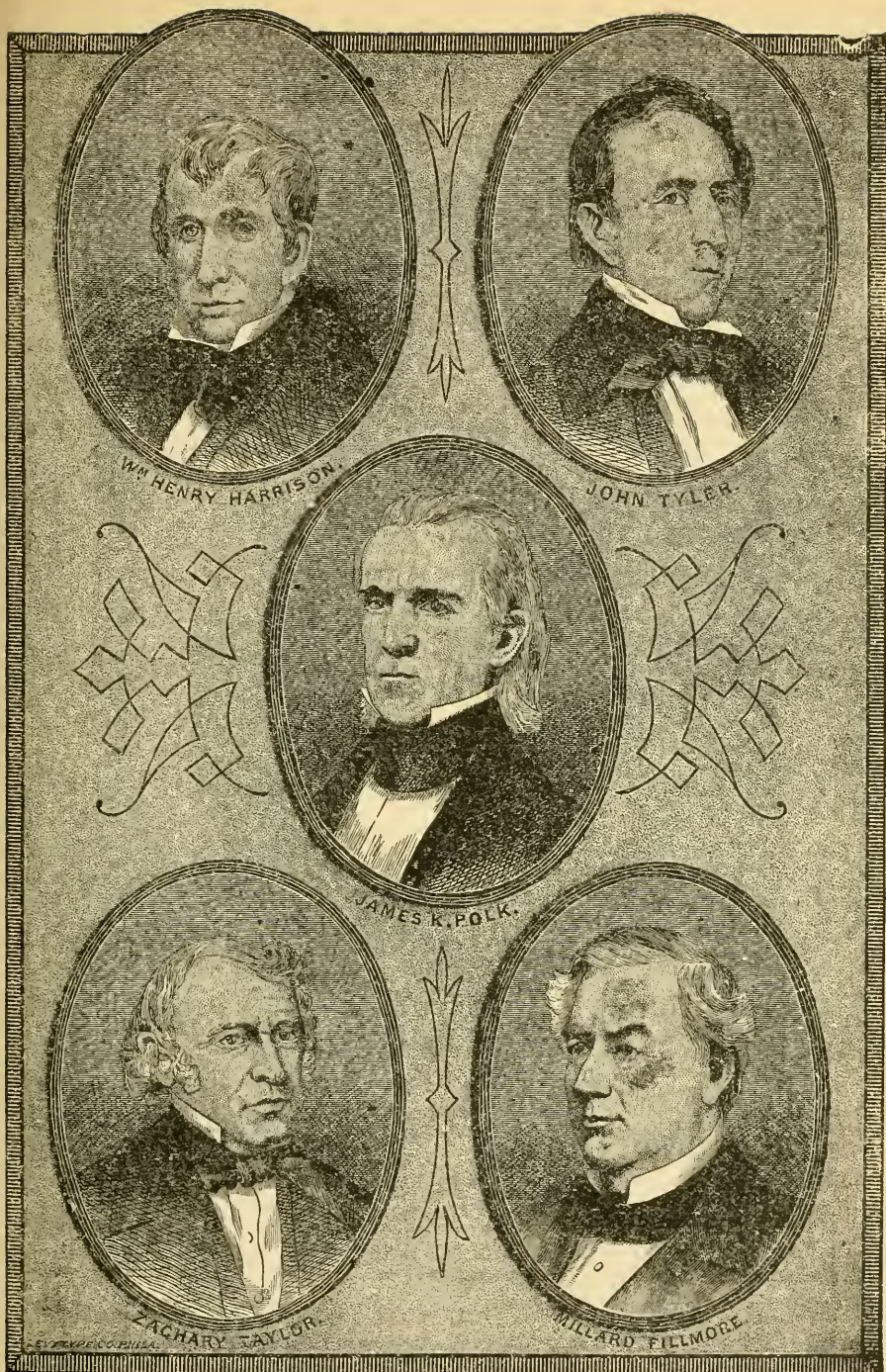
Secretary of State.....	James Buchanan, Pa.
Secretary of Treasury.....	Robert J. Walker, Miss.
Secretary of War.....	William L. Marcy, N. Y.
Secretary of Navy.....	George Bancroft, Mass.
Attorney-General.....	John Y. Mason, Va.
Postmaster-General.....	Cave Johnson, Tenn.

PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE.—The Message to Congress dwelt largely on the Texas situation, and favored war with Mexico, especially if she infringed the treaty of 1839, as to indemnity to American citizens. It referred also to the Oregon boundary, showed the public debt to be \$17,000,000, condemned all slavery agitation, favored a Sub-Treasury system, and recommended a Tariff for revenue, with protection to home industry as an incident. He applied the Jackson policy of rotation in office in the construction of his Cabinet, and in the Departments.

TWENTY-NINTH CONGRESS—First Session.—Met Dec. 1, 1845. Both branches were Democratic. House organized by electing John W. Davis, Dem., Indiana, Speaker, the vote being 120 to 70, though the full Democratic strength was 142, Whig 75, and American 6.* The relative strength in the Senate was 30 Democrat and 25 Whig.

MEXICAN WAR.—A popular convention in Texas had accepted the overture for annexation made by the United States. Mexico protested and withdrew her minister to Washington. General Taylor had been sent to the east bank of the Neuces, into neutral territory, and on Dec. 31, 1845, Congress passed an act extending authority over this territory lying between the Neuces and Rio Grande. None of these acts provoked Mexico to war. She was still in negotiable mood. Even before this, Dec. 29, 1845, Texas had passed into the American Union. The President ordered General Taylor (March, 1846) to march to the Rio Grande and hold the neutral ground. He did so, and was met by Arista, at Palo Alto, where a battle was fought. The next day was fought Resaca de la Palma, which sent Arista back

* This was the first appearance of the American party in National politics. Four of the above six were from New York, and two from Pennsylvania.



PRESIDENTS FROM 1841 TO 1853.

into Mexican territory. Now American blood had been shed on American soil, and Mexico was an offender. A *casus belli* had been found. The President sent a Message to Congress and asked for a Declaration of War. The House responded with a "declaration" and \$10,000,000 to back it up, the Whigs favoring it under protest, and on the ground that an American army must not be sacrificed, even if forced into peril or a doubtful cause by the folly of a President.*

WILMOT PROVISIO.—With the expectation that the war would soon be over and that an important cession of territory could be had, the President asked Congress for an appropriation of \$2,000,000 to be placed at his disposal to negotiate with. To this appropriation, Mr. Wilmot, Pa., on behalf of himself and many Northern Democratic friends, moved what became historic as "The Wilmot Proviso," to wit, "That no part of the territory thus acquired should be open to the introduction of slavery." In strict law the proviso was unnecessary, for Mexico had abolished slavery, and any soil acquired from her would be free soil. But Texas had reintroduced slavery before annexation to the United States, and Wilmot felt that any other territory acquired from Mexico would be overrun by slaveholders, who would soon be clamoring for the protection of their institution. And this he felt, too, in the face of the new Democratic doctrine "that no power resided in Congress to legislate upon slavery in the Territories." This proviso brought heated discussion of the slave question. Calhoun declared it to be an outrage and menace. It occupied a place in Congress for two sessions. State Legislatures acted on it. Parties took it up. From that time on it

* The Whigs denounced as a falsehood the declaration, "Whereas, by the act of the Republic of Mexico a state of war exists between that government and the United States." The Liberty party opposed the war outright, regarding it as a huge, unjustifiable scheme to acquire slave territory. Calhoun opposed it also, as needless. He felt that the same results could have been brought about with less excitement and loss, and consequently with less detriment to the slave cause, by negotiation. It was said that the President, who had been approached by many members of his own party who were averse to the war, secured their support by the promise that it would be over in a short time and that negotiations for peace had been agreed upon before the war, which only awaited the return of Santa Anna from exile to be signed.

was nothing new to hear of civil war and a dissolution of the Union on account of it. How well Wilmot guessed may be inferred from the subsequent action of Calhoun (Feb. 19, 1847), when he introduced into the Senate his celebrated Slavery Resolutions, declaring the Territories to be the common property of the several States, and denying the right of Congress to prohibit slavery in a Territory or to pass any law which would have the effect to deprive the citizen of any slave State from migrating with his property (slaves) into such Territory. Though these resolutions were not acted on, they answered the purpose intended, to wit, to form a basis on which the slave could solidify against the free States; on which a repeal of the Missouri Compromise line* could be effected, and on which the subsequent claim of non-interference with slavery in the Territories could be founded.

THE OREGON BOUNDARY.—The last Democratic platform had pronounced in favor of an Oregon Territory up to the line of $54^{\circ} 40'$, "or a fight" with England. The Whigs, now that Texas had been annexed, asked for a fulfilment of their pledges.* The Democrats of the extreme Southern school opposed any action, but enough of them came to the support of the President to warrant him in going on with negotiations. He soon found that he could not keep his party pledges of $54^{\circ} 40'$, for England refused to surrender above 49° .† The opinion of the Senate was asked, in accordance with an old Federal custom. The Whigs accepted the responsibility, joined with enough Democrats to save the administration from its party friends, and agreed to sanction a treaty based on 49° . This became the Oregon Treaty of June 15, 1846, by which war with England was averted. It was followed by a bill to organize The Territory of Oregon, without slavery. It was opposed by Southern Democrats, but passed, and was not reached in the Senate.

TARIFF OF 1846.‡—This disappointing act, passed in a

* For a full statement of this boundary trouble, see Oregon Treaty, p. 207.

† Calhoun, when Secretary of State, had proposed 49° as a line upon which an adjustment might be had. In this he was at odds with his party.

‡ "The bill passed the House and came to the Senate. Section was again arrayed

partisan spirit, against the promises of the Democrats not to disturb the act of 1842, and in obedience to the doctrine of rigid interpretation, which admitted of Tariff for revenue without the incident of protection, reduced the rates provided in the former act, from five to twenty per cent., and introduced the theory of general *ad valorem* duties. The river and harbor improvement bills, passed by both Houses, were vetoed, on the old rigid construction ground that the government had no right to appropriate money for internal improvements. Congress adjourned, Aug. 10, 1846.

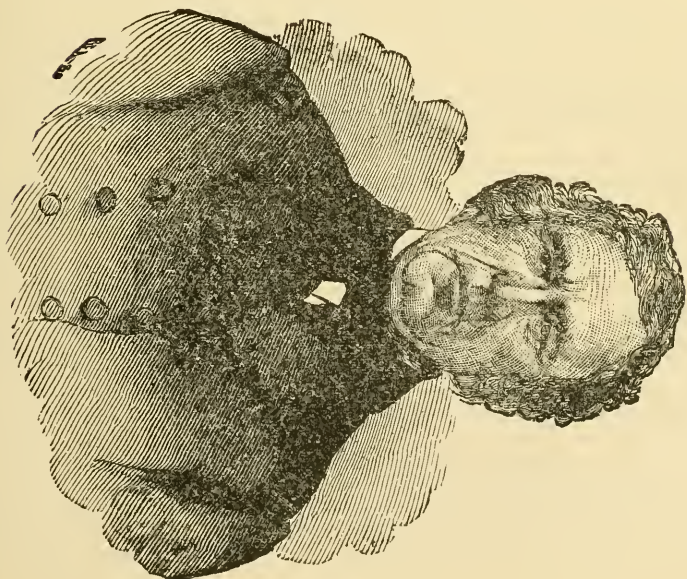
TWENTY-NINTH CONGRESS—Second Session.—Met Dec. 7, 1846. Mexican war measures occupied the time of this session. Appropriations were made to sustain the war, and purchase territory. Over the latter a spirited debate was had, which resulted in its passage in the House with the Wilmot proviso attached, and its passage in the Senate with the proviso removed. The House then acquiesced in the Senate's position. Ineffectual attempts were made to formally extend the Missouri Compromise line to the Pacific, to organize Oregon Territory, without slavery, and to appropriate money for Internal Improvement. All these measures showed a sectional vote. The Improvement bills passed, but received a pocket veto. Congress adjourned *sine die*, March 3, 1847.

EVENTS OF THE MEXICAN WAR.—Texas achieved its independence of Mexico at the battle of San Jacinto, April, 1836, and set up as an independent Republic. She sought annexation to the United States, and on July 4, 1845, her government formally approved the joint resolution of the Congress of the

against section in the debate, and before the vote was taken it was found that the Senate was a tie, and that the Vice-President would have the casting vote. George M. Dallas, a Pennsylvanian, could defeat or pass the bill. He had the presidential bee in his bonnet as bad as any man I ever knew, and, hoping that he could gain the favor of the South in aid of his aspirations, he gave the casting vote against the section of his nativity, and the tariff bill of '46 became a law. As I anticipated, it put out the fire in our furnaces, paralyzed many of our best industries, and, finally, brought the credit of the Government to a discount. It also had a disastrous effect upon the dominant party, and cost them the presidency in 1848, when General Taylor was chosen."—*Hon. Simon Cameron, in Press.*



GENERAL WINFIELD SCOTT.



GENERAL ZACHARY TAYLOR.

United States for annexation. The Republic of Texas thus became a State of the American Union; but Mexico had never acknowledged her independence, and prepared to contest for her lost territory with arms.

General Taylor was sent to Texas with 1500 troops to protect the new State against invasion. He posted himself at Corpus Christi on the Rio Grande, where he remained till March, 1846, when he went to the mouth of the river and erected Fort Brown, opposite Matamoras. On April 26, 1846, a reconnoitring party, under Captain Thornton, was surprised and captured on the Rio Grande, above Fort Brown. Sixteen of the party were killed. This was the first bloodshed of the Mexican War.

Taylor left a garrison in Fort Brown and marched to Point Isabel, which was threatened. On his return with 2000 men, he was attacked by 6000 Mexicans at Palo Alto, May 8, 1846. A bloody engagement ensued, and Taylor gained a decisive victory. On May 9 another battle was fought at Resaca de la Palma, in which the Mexicans were defeated with a loss of 1000 men. These two engagements nearly annihilated their army.

On May 11, 1846, war against Mexico was formally declared, and 50,000 soldiers were called for. The plan of campaign was entrusted to General Scott. A fleet was to round Cape Horn and attack Mexico on the Pacific coast. An "Army of the West," under General Kearney, was to invade New Mexico, centre at Fort Leavenworth, and co-operate with the Pacific fleet. An "Army of the Centre," under General Wool, was to invade Mexico from Texas. General Taylor's army, largely reinforced, was to be the "Army of Occupation."

Taylor crossed the Rio Grande, May 18, 1846, and took Matamoras. He then marched against Monterey with 6000 men. After a siege of four days he made an assault, September 24, and captured the city, with its garrison of 9000 men. He was now joined by the forces of General Wool, and together they took possession of Victoria, December 29, 1846.

General Scott had by this time arrived at Vera Cruz with a large army, and was besieging the place. All of Taylor's forces, except 5000 men, were sent to Scott's assistance. Taylor was

thus left to confront 20,000 Mexicans, under General Santa Anna, who forced a battle at Buena Vista on February 23, 1847. The Mexicans were badly defeated and compelled to retreat, leaving dead and wounded on the field. This battle left the Americans masters of Northern Mexico, and Taylor returned to the United States, leaving General Wool in command.

Kearney's "Army of the West" invaded and took possession of New Mexico at its capital, Santa Fe, August 18, 1846. He marched to the Pacific, to co-operate with the Pacific fleet and to conquer the Mexican province of California. On his way he learned that California had been conquered by a small army under General Fremont, who had co-operated with the fleet. Kearney formally annexed the territory to the United States, February 18, 1847.

Kearney then joined his main force to that of General Wool, but sent a strong detachment under Colonel Doniphan to conquer the Navajo Indians. He forced a treaty with the tribe, defeated the Mexicans at Bracito, and again at Sacramento, which last battle gave him possession of Chihuahua. He joined Wool at Saltillo, March 22, 1847, after a march of 5000 miles.

Scott was carrying on the siege of Vera Cruz, with a fleet under Commodore Conner and an army of 12,000 men. The city fell into his hands, March 26, 1847, with 500 cannon and its garrison of 5000 Mexicans. He then marched towards Mexico, the capital, and was confronted by Santa Anna, in the difficult pass of Cerro Gordo, with 12,000 troops strongly entrenched. A terrific battle ensued, in which the Mexicans lost 4000 killed and wounded, and 3000 prisoners. The Mexican army was completely broken up, and Santa Anna fled on a mule.

Scott continued his victorious advance toward the Mexican capital, taking Perote, the strongest fortress in Mexico, on April 22, 1847, and Puebla on May 5. Here his army rested till August, when the march was resumed. On August 10 the city of Mexico appeared, defended by Santa Anna with 30,000 men. On August 20 the Americans assaulted and carried the strongly entrenched camp of Contreras. On the same day they captured the strong fortress of San Antonio, and gained a bril-

liant victory at Cherubusco. These signal victories forced Santa Anna, with his entire army, within the gates of Mexico. His army had been depleted by the loss of 4000 killed and wounded, and 3000 prisoners.

Scott offered terms of peace. Santa Anna accepted, but began to employ the interval in strengthening the fortifications of the city. Scott discovered his treachery, ended the armistice, and attacked and captured the strong position of Molino del Rey on September 8. On the 13th he attacked and captured the lofty and strongly fortified hill of Chapultepec, the key to the city of Mexico. The Mexican capital was now open, and he entered it, Sept. 14, in triumph, Santa Anna and the authorities having fled.

These speedy and decisive triumphs brought the peace of Guadalupe Hidalgo, February 2, 1848, and the same was proclaimed by President Polk, July 4, 1848.

By the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, the United States settled all contention between Mexico and Texas, as to the territory of the latter, and in addition acquired the immense domains embraced in California, Arizona and New Mexico, on the payment of \$15,000,000 to Mexico, for the ceded territory, and on assuming the debts due by the Mexican government to citizens of the United States. The object of the war was therefore fully obtained, in so far as that object related to the acquisition of areas, at a cheap price, and located south of the latitude of $36^{\circ} 30'$, which was the dividing line between the institutions of slavery and freedom. But a destiny, which no legislation could control, was soon to open for these large areas. The discovery of gold in California invited thither, and with great rapidity, a population which was hostile to slavery, and stimulated interests of far greater moment than those of ownership in man. California entered the Union as a free State, thus defeating the object of the Mexican war, as to the richest of its conquests.

THIRTIETH CONGRESS—First Session.—Met Dec. 6, 1847. The Whigs were in a majority in the House, and organized it by electing Robert C. Winthrop, Mass., Speaker. The Democrats controlled the Senate. The President's message extolled the working of the new Sub-Treasury system, spoke of

the continued success of the Mexican war, and stated that negotiations for peace were then pending. These negotiations resulted in the treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo (Feb., 1848), which made the Rio Grande the boundary and gave New Mexico and Upper California to the United States for \$15,000,000. This immense acquisition of territory brought up the slavery question again, and during the debates on the erection of Oregon Territory without slavery, and the proposition to extend the Missouri Compromise line to the Pacific, Calhoun took occasion to say, "The great strife between the North and South is ended. The North is determined to exclude the property of slaveholders, and of course slaveholders themselves, from its territory. The separation of the North and South is completed. The South is bound to show that dearly as she prizes the Union, there are questions she regards as of more importance than the Union. It is not a question of territorial government, but a question involving the continuance of the Union."

A compromise bill passed the Senate, organizing Oregon, California and New Mexico, leaving slavery questions to be decided by the Supreme Court. The House rejected this, and sent the Senate the Oregon bill above mentioned. The Senate accepted this, but amended it so as to extend the Missouri Compromise line to the Pacific. The House regarded this as dangerous, since it would cut the country into two distinct sections with different, if not hostile, institutions, and would, moreover, be equivalent to extending slavery to vast free areas, the Mexican territory being all free under Mexican laws. It therefore refused to extend the line. The Senate receded, and the Oregon bill passed, without slavery. The vital question in all these debates was the right of Congress to legislate on slavery in the Territories, a question which was pushed in many ways till it culminated in the Kansas-Nebraska affair, the Dred Scott decision, and the desperate step of secession. The House took decided ground in favor of Internal Improvement by a resolution aimed at the rigid interpreters, claiming that the government had a right to improve rivers and harbors, under the clause to regulate commerce and provide for the common defense. Wisconsin

entered the Union, May 29, 1848. Congress adjourned, Aug. 14, 1848.

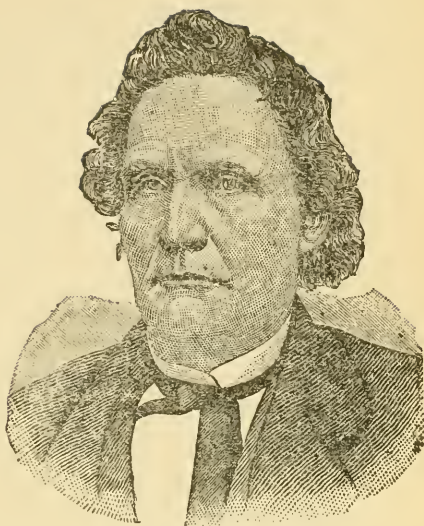
ELECTION OF 1848.—The Democrats took the field first in National Convention at Baltimore, May 22, 1848. The two-third rule, which defeated Van Buren in the previous convention, was affirmed, and has since prevailed in the conventions of that party. Lewis Cass, Mich., was nominated for President, and William O. Butler, Ky., for Vice-President. A great contention arose over the power of the government to regulate slavery in the Territories, and a test resolution to the effect that the Congress had no power to interfere with slavery either in the States or Territories was voted down. The platform affirmed that of 1844, and went on to (1) congratulate the country on the results of the Mexican war; (2) commended the qualified veto; (3) denounced a Tariff, except for revenue, and hailed "the noble impulse given to the cause of free trade by the repeal of the tariff of 1842 and the creation of the more equal, honest and productive tariff of 1846;" (4) congratulated the Republic of France; (5) endorsed Polk's administration.

The Whig National Convention met at Philadelphia, June 7, 1848, and nominated General Zachary Taylor, La., for President, and Millard Fillmore, N. Y., for Vice-President. Taylor's recent military achievements in Mexico gave him the preference over such other candidates as Clay, Webster and Scott. Test resolutions favoring the Wilmot Proviso were voted down. The Whigs were no more ready for open commitment to anti-slavery than the Democrats had shown themselves, in their convention, to be ready for open commitment to a pro-slavery policy. The convention did not adopt a platform, but resolutions passed at a grand ratification meeting, on the 9th of June, answered the same purpose. They were mainly heroic, inviting the country to a trial of well-known Whig principles under the laurel-crowned chieftain whose name was held in such high honor by every American.

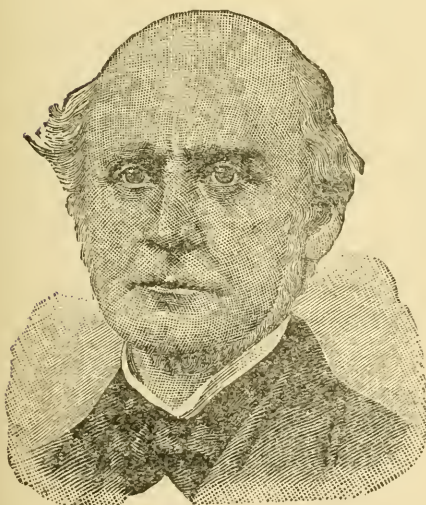
The Free Soil Democrats met in convention at Buffalo, Aug. 9, 1848, and nominated for President Martin Van Buren, N. Y., and for Vice-President Charles Francis Adams, Mass. This faction



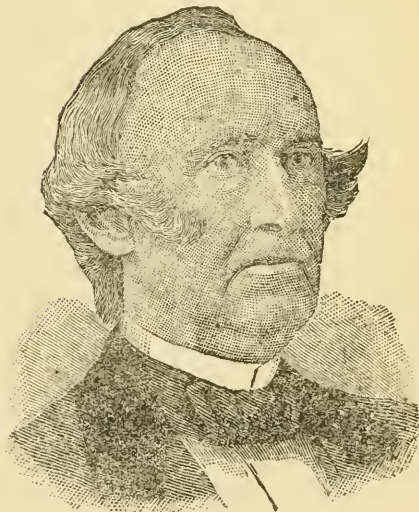
LEWIS CASS.



THADDEUS STEVENS.



CHAS. FRANCIS ADAMS.



WENDELL PHILLIPS.

of Democrats, called "Barnburners" by their opponents, had sent a delegation to the Baltimore convention, pledged to oppose the further extension of slavery in the Territories. A counter delegation, called "Hunkers," also sent a delegation pledged to non-agitation of the slavery question. The convention sheared each of its strength by dividing the vote between them. This being equivalent to no vote at all, the Free Soilers withdrew and set up candidates of their own. They promulgated a lengthy platform which sought (1) to secure free soil to a free people; (2) withheld support from both the regular parties because one (the Democratic) had stifled free sentiment, and the other (Whig) had been afraid to pronounce itself; (3) affirming the ordinance of 1787, and the proviso of Jefferson that after 1800 no slavery should exist in the Territories; (4) that slavery exists only by State law and that "Congress has no more power to make a slave than to make a king;" (5) that the only way to prevent slavery in territory now free is to prevent it in all territory; (6) favoring Internal Improvement; (7) Watchword, "Free Soil, Free Speech, Free Labor, Free Men."

The campaign was not a bitter one, except as the Democrats made it bitter among themselves. The effort to establish slavery in the newly-acquired Mexican territory, and to push the slavery question so as to commit the government either to non-interference with it or to direct sanction of it in all territory, estranged many Democrats. The Southern Democrats themselves were not a unit, for many of them preferred Taylor, from a slave State and without a platform, to Cass, from a free State and with a platform which did not directly favor or mention slavery. The old Liberty party blended with the Free Soil party. As in the former campaign, New York was the political turning-point. And as the Liberty party, by dividing the Whigs, had given it to Polk in 1844, so now the Free Soilers, by weakening the Democrats, gave it to the Whigs. The election in November was a Whig victory.

THIRTIETH CONGRESS—Second Session.—Met Dec. 4, 1848. Parties were very fidgety during this session. In view of the prominence given to slavery agitation, the old party lines

began to chafe considerably. Thus the Northern Democrats, almost in a body, voted in the House to organize the Territories of California and New Mexico without slavery, or, as it was then termed, with the Wilmot Proviso. This the Senate amended by providing for their organization with slavery. The Senate attempted to force its position by making the bill a part of the appropriation bill, thus presenting to the House the alternative of a moneyless government or two slave Territories. The response was an appropriation bill and the old Mexican free laws till July 4, 1850. The Senate withdrew its "rider," and the appropriation bill passed. A violent debate sprung up in the House over a resolution condemning the exhibition and sale of slaves in the city of Washington. The electoral count in February showed for Taylor and Fillmore 163 votes, and for Cass and Butler 127 votes. Congress adjourned *sine die*, March 3, 1849. The candidates-elect were sworn into office March 5, 1849, the 4th being Sunday.

XVI.

TAYLOR'S AND FILLMORE'S ADMINISTRATIONS.

March 5, 1849—March 3, 1853.

ZACHARY TAYLOR, LA., *President*. MILLARD FILLMORE, N. Y.,
Vice-President.

*Congresses.**Sessions.*

THIRTY-FIRST CONGRESS. { 1, December 3, 1849—September 30, 1850.
2, December 2, 1850—March 3, 1851.

THIRTY-SECOND CONGRESS. { 1, December 1, 1851—August 31, 1852.
2, December 6, 1852—March 3, 1853.

*ELECTORAL VOTE.**

States.	Basis of 70,680.	Vote.	Whig.		Democrat.	
			Zachary Tay- lor, La.	Millard Fill- more, N. Y.	Lewis Cass, Mich.	W.O. But- ler, Ky.
Alabama	7	9	..	..	9	9
Arkansas	1	3	..	..	3	3
Connecticut	4	6	6	6	..	..
Delaware	1	3	3	3	..	..

* The popular vote was: Taylor, 1,360,101—15 States; Cass, 1,220,544—15 States; Van Buren, 291,263.

Electoral Vote—Continued.

States.	Basis of 70,680.	Vote.	Whig.		Democrat.	
			Zachary Tay- lor, La.	Millard Fill- more, N. Y.	Lewis Cass, Mich.	W.O. But- ler, Ky.
Florida	1	3	3	3	..	..
Georgia	8	10	10	10	..	..
Illinois	7	9	..	..	9	9
Indiana	10	12	..	..	12	12
Iowa	2	4	..	..	4	4
Kentucky	10	12	12	12	..	..
Louisiana	4	6	6	6	..	..
Maine	7	9	..	..	9	9
Maryland	6	8	8	8	..	..
Massachusetts	10	12	12	12	..	..
Michigan	3	5	..	..	5	5
Mississippi	4	6	..	..	6	6
Missouri	5	7	..	..	7	7
New Hampshire	4	6	..	..	6	6
New Jersey	5	7	7	7	..	..
New York	34	36	36	36	..	..
North Carolina	9	11	11	11	..	..
Ohio	21	23	..	..	23	23
Pennsylvania	24	26	26	26	..	..
Rhode Island	2	4	4	4	..	..
South Carolina	7	9	..	..	9	9
Tennessee	11	13	13	13	..	..
Texas	2	4	..	..	4	4
Vermont	4	6	6	6	..	..
Virginia	15	17	..	..	17	17
Wisconsin	2	4	..	..	4	4
Totals	230	290	163	163	127	127

THE CABINET.

Secretary of State	John M. Clayton, Del.
Secretary of Treasury	William M. Meredith, Pa.
Secretary of War	Geo. W. Crawford, Ga.
Secretary of Navy	William B. Preston, Va.
Secretary of Interior	Thomas H. Ewing, Ohio.*
Attorney-General	Reverdy Johnson, Md.
Postmaster-General	Jacob Collamer, Vt.

THIRTY-FIRST CONGRESS—First Session.—Met Dec. 3, 1849. The Senate was Democratic, 35 to 25. In the House were 110 Democrats, 105 Whigs and 9 Free Soilers. The latter held a balance of power, and stubbornly exercised it through sixty-two ineffectual ballots for Speaker. Only by agreeing that the highest number of votes for any one candidate should elect, was a Speaker chosen in the person of Howell Cobb, Ga., a Democrat of the extreme Southern school, and a slavery exten-

* This "Home Department," since called "the Interior Department," was created by the Thirtieth Congress.

sionist. The annual message deprecated the sectional feeling regarding slavery, spoke of the folly of disunion as a remedy, and took the Jackson stand, that at all hazards the Union must be maintained.

CALHOUN'S NEW DOCTRINE.—The postponed question of the extension of the Missouri Compromise line to the Pacific came up early. Calhoun, always aggressive and masterly, proposed to cover the whole question by extending the Constitution of the United States to all the newly-acquired Mexican Territory.* Webster met this situation by showing that the Constitution was designed only for States, and that it could not operate even in the States without an act of Congress to enforce it. Further, that the sanction which that instrument gave to slavery where it existed would not create slavery where it did not exist, for slavery was a creation of the several States and not of the general government. While Calhoun's proposition was under debate the President's views were presented. They favored the admission of California directly,† as she was ready, and the erection of New Mexico and Utah into Territories, unmixed with slavery, leaving the matter to be decided by their people when they asked for admission as States.

COMPROMISE OF 1850.—Clay now came forward with a set of compromise measures, which in one shape or another were adopted during the session, and in the aggregate became known as the Compromise of 1850. They, in general, provided for the admission of California; for the erection of New Mexico and Utah Territories, unmixed with slavery, the same to be decided by the people when they came to form States; the adjustment of the Texas boundary and the payment of a money indemnity to that State; a more vigorous fugitive slave law; the abolition of the slave trade, but no interference with it in the District of Columbia. The Whigs and Free Soilers regarded Clay's Compromise as a weak and unnecessary concession of

* Calhoun's idea was that inasmuch as the Constitution sanctioned slavery, its extension over any territory would establish slavery there.

† California had formed a State Constitution without slavery, June 3, 1849, and had made formal application for admission as a State, Feb. 13, 1850.

free soil principles, and the extreme pro-slavery Democrats regarded it as a surrender of the late doctrine that Congress had no right to prohibit a slaveholder from going where he pleased in the Territories and taking his property with him. The measures therefore satisfied but few of the leaders, yet they served the purpose of temporarily postponing the agitation and perhaps averting, for the time, secession and civil war, threats of which, on the part of the South, were rife. California became a State, without slavery, Sept. 9, 1850.* The Fugitive Slave Law, the result of the Compromise, was a severe measure, much more so than the old one. It greatly encouraged the pursuit of fugitives, made it compulsory on all citizens to aid in their arrest, and compelled U. S. Commissioners to remand them without trial. Its execution led to indignant protest on the part of Northern citizens and to the protection of free negroes, charged with being slaves, by special State enactments. That part of the Compromise prohibiting interference with slavery in the District of Columbia was not accepted, and slavery was abolished therein by act of Sept. 15, 1850. The Congress adjourned, Sept. 30, 1850.

TAYLOR'S DEATH.—After an illness of four days, due to exposure in the sun on Independence day, President Taylor died, July 9, 1850. Vice-President Fillmore was sworn into office on July 9, and duly inaugurated July 10, 1850. His Cabinet was confirmed by the Senate, as follows :

Secretary of State, Daniel Webster, Mass.; Secretary of Treasury, Thomas Corwin, Ohio; Secretary of War, Winfield Scott, *ad interim*, and Charles M. Conrad, La., permanently; Secretary of Navy, William A. Graham, N. C.; Secretary of In-

* The political importance of California to the South was great. Long before, the free States preponderated in the House. But the Senate thus far was equally divided between North and South. California turned the scale. Her admission as a free State gave 32 free State Senators to 30 slave State Senators, and there was no other State ready for admission south of 36° 30', nor likely to be for a long time. Besides California was the first fruit of the Mexican conquest, and the policy which controlled her admission was likely to hold as to the remainder of the Mexican Territory. It was a disappointing situation for the pro-slavery leaders, and the beginning of that policy which sought to break down all old barriers and compromises, invited the Kansas difficulty, and formed a prelude to a separate Confederacy.

terior, A. H. H. Stuart, Va. ; Attorney-General, John J. Crittenden, Ky. ; Postmaster-General, Nathan K. Hall, N. Y.

POLITICAL SITUATION.—While this sad transition was a peaceful one, and boded no disaster to the dominant party as did that from Harrison to Tyler, there were many things going on, more or less portentous. In the session of Congress just adjourned (First session Thirty-first Congress) the slavery measures of the extreme Southern Democrats had been even more opposed by Northern Democrats than by the Whigs. This was not only following up their charge that the pro-slavery element of the party had betrayed them in the previous Presidential campaign, but it showed a disposition to break away from the ultra doctrine of slavery extension to which the slaveholding members sought to commit the entire party.

The Whigs had not, as was expected, committed themselves in their National Convention to the Wilmot proviso. They therefore did not attract the members of the Liberty party, nor those of its successor, the Free Soil Democrats. On the contrary they lost many of their leaders to the pro-slavery Democrats. Thus while the Democratic party was being torn to pieces by losses of its Free Soil element, it was being recuperated by accessions of the pro-slavery Whig element. The Whigs losing, gained nothing, and their decay as a positive political force dates from the death of Taylor.

We have seen how rapidly the pro-slavery whirlpool was made to revolve under the bold yet skillful management of Calhoun, and how at every revolution the country had to face some new situation, till, failing to force the line of 36° 30' through to the Pacific, thus making a free and slave section, it took the form of broad denial of the right of the government to interfere with slavery in any place, or at all. The accession of pro-slavery Whigs to the Democrats changed the aspect of affairs somewhat. It stopped, for the time being, the threats of secession and war, and introduced a new, more conservative and popular idea, over which to wrangle. It will be remembered the Democrats, in their last National Convention at Baltimore, had voted down a resolution to the effect that the government

had no authority over slavery in the Territories, the corollary being, that the people of each Territory should be let alone to treat the matter as they pleased. The pro-slavery Whigs now took hold of this doctrine and forced it on the attention of the Democrats and the country. It was the doctrine which afterwards became known as Popular, or Squatter, Sovereignty, which figured so prominently in the Kansas affair, and which served to draw Douglas, Geary, Reeder and other leaders outside of the then existing Democratic lines. It was the doctrine also which the hardy miners of California applied in their own State, to the surprise, if not disgust, of those who originated it. The pro-slavery sentiment which had thus proved a wedge to force asunder the Whig party, and had nothing more to fear from it as an organization, had to address itself to a more thorough control of the Democratic party. But in the meantime there would be an advance of opposition sentiment, and a final gathering up of political fragments into something more formidable, as a political force, than had yet been dreamed of.

THIRTY-FIRST CONGRESS—Second Session.—Met Dec. 2, 1850. The session was quiet and gloomy. The administration had nothing new to urge, and parties agreed to hold their own in comparative peace. Adjourned *sine die*, March 3, 1851.

THIRTY-SECOND CONGRESS—First Session.—Met Dec. 1, 1851. The Congressional elections had turned on the Compromise measures of 1850, and the people endorsed them, as a happy quietus to slavery agitation, by returning a majority of Democrats of rather conservative turn. Both branches were, therefore, Democratic, the Senate by 8 and the House by 50. The House organized by electing Linn Boyd, Ky., Democrat, Speaker. The application of the Platte country (afterwards Nebraska and Kansas) for a Territorial government threatened for a time to open the slavery question, but the matter was dropped before debate took acrimonious turn. There was but little disposition shown on the part of the majority to antagonize the administration, and in general the session work was routine.

ELECTION OF 1852.—The Democrats led the field in National Convention at Baltimore, June 1, 1852. This was a supreme effort of the Southern or pro-slavery Democrats to commit the party to their doctrine of slavery extension, and to a rigid interpretation of the powers of the general government, the latter being then and afterwards best known as "State Rights" doctrine. The nominee for President was Franklin Pierce, N. H.; and for Vice-President, William R. King, Ala. The platform reaffirmed the greater part of that of 1848, and added: (1) No more revenue than is necessary to defray the expenses of the government. (2) No National Bank. (3) Separation of government moneys from banking. (4) The country is an asylum for the oppressed: therefore, no abridgment of citizenship and the right to own soil. (5) Congress has no right to interfere with or control the domestic institutions of the States. (6) Endorsement of the Compromise measures of 1850, and resistance to all attempts to renew the slavery agitation. (7) Adhesion to the Kentucky and Virginia resolutions of 1798. (8) The war with Mexico was necessary and its results approved. (9) No monopoly for the few at the expense of the many, and the Union as it is and should be.

The Whigs met in National Convention at Baltimore, June 16, 1852, and nominated for President, Winfield Scott, Va.; for Vice-President, William A. Graham, N. C. The platform claimed: (1) A sufficient power in the government to sustain it and make it operative. (2) Revenue from tariff, with "suitable encouragement to American industry." (3) Internal Improvement. (4) Endorsed the Compromise measures of 1850, "the Fugitive Slave Law included." The platform was fair to the party—though extremely conservative—except the endorsement of the Compromise measures of 1850, "including the Fugitive Slave Law," which endorsement, as the sequel proved, was a part of the plan of the extreme pro-slavery leaders to commit both political parties to their policy of slavery extension, and which reacted on the Whig party with twice the effect it did on the Democratic party, so soon as the nature of those Compromise measures became fully known.

The Free Soil Democrats held their National Convention at Pittsburg, Pa., August 11, 1852, and nominated for President, John P. Hale, N. H.; for Vice-President, George W. Julian, Ind. Its platform announced: (1) That government was established to secure the inalienable rights of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. (2) That the Constitution expressly denies to the general government all power to deprive any person of life, liberty or property without due process of law; that, therefore, it has no more power to make a slave than a king, or to establish slavery than establish a monarchy. (3) No more slave States, no slave Territory, no national slavery, no national legislation for the extradition of slaves. (4) The Fugitive Slave Law of 1850 denounced as repugnant to the Constitution, common law, Christianity, and of no binding force. (5) The Compromise measures of 1850 disapproved. (6) Both political parties repudiated.

The election in November resulted in a Democratic victory, the Whigs carrying only Massachusetts, Vermont, Kentucky and Tennessee, though the result in most of the others was very close.

THIRTY-SECOND CONGRESS—Second Session.—Met Dec. 6, 1852. The bill for the organization of the Territory of the Platte, rejected at the last session, came up in the shape of a bill to organize the Territory of Nebraska, which included Kansas. It was rejected by the Senate, at the instance of Southern members, the time not being ripe for open assumption of the position to which the Compromise measures of 1850 logically led. The electoral count, in February, showed 254 votes for Pierce and King, and 42 for Scott and Graham. Congress adjourned *sine die*, March 3, 1853. President Pierce was sworn into office, March 4, 1853, and Vice-President King some time afterwards, he being sick on March 4.

XVII.

PIERCE'S ADMINISTRATION.

March 4, 1853—March 3, 1857.

FRANKLIN PIERCE, N. H., *President*. WILLIAM R. KING, ALA.,
Vice-President.*Congresses.**Sessions.*

THIRTY-THIRD CONGRESS.	{ 1, December 5, 1853—August 7, 1854. 2, December 4, 1854—March 3, 1855.
THIRTY-FOURTH CONGRESS.	{ 1, December 5, 1855—August 18, 1856. 2, August 21, 1856—August 30, 1856, extra session. 3, December 1, 1856—March 3, 1857.

*ELECTORAL VOTE.**

States.	Basis of 93.423	Votes.	Democrats.		Whigs.	
			Franklin Pierce, N. H.	William R. King, Ala.	Winfield Scott, Va.	William A. Graham, N. C.
Alabama.....	7	9	9	9	..	..
Arkansas.....	2	4	4	4	..	..
California.....	2	4	4	4	..	..
Connecticut.....	4	6	6	6	..	..
Delaware.....	1	3	3	2	..	..
Florida.....	1	3	3	3	..	..
Georgia.....	8	10	10	10	..	..
Illinois.....	9	11	11	11	..	..
Indiana.....	11	13	13	13	..	..
Iowa.....	2	4	4	4	..	..
Kentucky.....	10	12	..	..	12	12
Louisiana.....	4	6	6	6	..	..
Maine.....	6	8	8	8	..	..
Maryland.....	6	8	8	8	..	..
Massachusetts.....	11	13	..	..	13	13
Michigan.....	4	6	6	6	..	..
Mississippi.....	5	7	7	7	..	..
Missouri.....	7	9	9	9	..	..
New Hampshire.....	3	5	5	5	..	..
New Jersey.....	5	7	7	7	..	..
New York.....	33	35	35	35	..	..
North Carolina.....	8	10	10	10	..	..
Ohio.....	21	23	23	23	..	..
Pennsylvania.....	25	27	27	27	..	..
Rhode Island.....	2	4	4	4	..	..
South Carolina.....	6	8	8	8	..	..
Tennessee.....	10	12	..	..	12	12
Texas.....	2	4	4	4	..	..
Vermont.....	3	5	..	..	5	5
Virginia.....	13	15	15	15	..	..
Wisconsin.....	3	5	5	5	..	..
Total.....	234	296	254	254	42	42

* The popular vote was, Pierce, 1,601,474—27 States; Scott, 1,386,578—4 States
Hale, 156,149.

THE CABINET.

Secretary of State.....	William L. Marcy, N. Y.
Secretary of Treasury.....	James Guthrie, Ky.
Secretary of War.....	Jefferson Davis, Miss.
Secretary of Navy.....	James C. Dobbin, N. C.
Secretary of Interior.....	Robert McLelland, Mich.
Attorney-General.....	Caleb Cushing, Mass.
Postmaster-General.....	James Campbell, Pa.

POLITICAL SITUATION.—The administration opened with surface indications of peace. The country had ratified the Compromise measures of 1850, on the theory that they afforded an escape from slavery agitation, but without knowing that they were fuller of the germs of agitation than any measures yet propounded. Both parties had been committed to them in their platforms, at the instance of their pro-slavery members; they therefore stood committed to the logical results of those measures, or else to demoralizing retreat. The discovery of what they contained appalled the Whigs. They never recovered from the shock, lost their organization, never ran another Presidential Candidate. They literally died of too much Compromise, or, as was piquantly said at the time, “of an attempt to swallow the Fugitive Slave law.” President Pierce in his first message thoroughly committed the administration to the Compromise measures. The pro-slavery Democrats were therefore in a very enviable situation. They could force their construction of the situation with the hands of the Whig party tied, and with the assurance that the Democratic organization was firmly with them.

THIRTY-THIRD CONGRESS—First Session.—Met Dec. 5, 1853. The Democrats had a majority in the House, over all opposition, of 74, and in the Senate of 14. The House organized by re-electing Linn Boyd, Ky., Speaker. Discussion of the Kansas-Nebraska bill occupied the greater part of the session. It opened the slavery agitation in a new form, and it was not to cease till quieted by arms. The Nebraska bill of the previous sessions took the form of a bill to create two Territories out of the Platte country, the Territories of Kansas and Nebraska. Both lay north of 36° 30', the Missouri Compromise line of 1820; and therefore both were free Territories according to the provi-

sions of that Compromise. But the new pro-slavery doctrine—new since the Compromise measures of 1850—was, that these measures of 1850 invalidated those of 1820, and committed the government to non-interference with slavery in the Territories. Therefore the slavery question was an open one as to all territory, with no right on the part of Congress to legislate for or against it.

The Senate Bill (Kansas and Nebraska), under the amendment of Mr. Douglas, therefore provided, "that so much of the Compromise bill of 1820 preventing slavery north of $36^{\circ} 30'$, as was inconsistent with the Compromise of 1850 establishing non-intervention by Congress with slavery in either States or Territories, was inoperative and void, it being the true intent and meaning of this act not to legislate slavery into any Territory or State, nor to exclude it therefrom, but to leave the people thereof perfectly free to form and regulate their domestic institutions in their own way, subject only to the Constitution of the United States."

This amendment is noteworthy. It admitted what the pro-slavery Democrats and Whigs already knew, that the Compromise measures of 1850, logically construed, repealed the Compromise of 1820. It hampered them, however, for with the repeal of the Compromise of 1820 and their claim to go where they pleased with slave property, they had all the public territory open to slavery. The Douglas idea was that introduced into the Democratic party by pro-slavery Whigs, to wit, the idea of squatter or popular sovereignty, a leaving of slavery to the voice of the people of the Territory or proposed State.

While the bill as thus amended was not what the South wanted, it secured the united support of pro-slavery Democrats and Whigs, but it divided the Northern Democrats into two even bodies (44 each), one of which supported it, and the other opposed it. The Northern Whigs opposed it and the Free Soil Democracy. The Democratic breach soon closed, but the Whig breach widened, and the Northern wing left their name to be perpetuated for a little while by their Southern brethren, they in the meantime assuming the title of anti-Nebraska men, soon to be merged into Republican.

The passage of the bill, May 25, 1854, opened the eyes of the entire country to what was concealed in the apparently innocent Compromise measures of 1850, and transferred the scene of combat from Congress to the plains of the West, where it was carried on amid confusion and bloodshed for years. The squatter sovereignty idea placed the free and slave States on their merits as colonizers. The section that could send the greatest number of *bona fide* settlers into the new fields was bound to win in the end. Could the South, which had always out-manceuvred the North in slave diplomacy, cope with that more populous section in this practical adjudication of the delicate question? Congress adjourned, August 7, 1854.

THIRTY-THIRD CONGRESS—Second Session.—Met Dec. 4, 1854. The session resulted in no measure of political significance. Adjourned *sine die*, March 3, 1855.

A NEW POLITICAL FORCE.—The Native American idea is almost as old as the country. In 1790 naturalization could be had after two years' residence. In 1795 it required five years' residence. A great majority of foreigners, either Frenchmen direct or Irish and Scotch driven from home for sympathy with France, naturally affiliated with the Republican party, which was always ready for a war with England. This fact induced the Federal measure of 1798, extending the period for naturalization to fourteen years. In 1802 the Republicans, in order to reinforce their party, fixed the time at five years, where it has since stood. They were not disappointed, for this legal consultation of a tendency, backed by the encouragement it ever received in their declaration of principles, has always secured to them a majority of the foreign vote, especially in the cities. To counteract, or correct, this, an organized movement was begun in New York as early as 1835. In 1844 the Native Americans carried that city, electing their Mayor by a good majority. This success caused the movement to spread to adjoining States. It embraced members of all parties, and became prominent in local municipal contests. Its presence in Philadelphia resulted in the murderous riots of 1844. In 1852 it reappeared as a secret organization, officially as the American party, but popularly as the

"Know-Nothing" party, from the reticence of its members as to their principles. Of it Hon. A. H. H. Stuart, Va., said: "The vital principle of the American party is *Americanism*—developing itself in a deep-rooted attachment to our own country—its Constitution, its union, its laws—to American men, American measures, American interests." Its cardinal principle was: "Americans must rule America;" its countersign was the order of Washington at a critical time during the Revolution, "Put none but Americans on guard to-night." By holding a balance of power in many cities and States, its vote decided several important elections, and as the extent of its influence could not be foreknown, political results were at times genuine surprises to party leaders. It received large accessions from the Whigs, especially of the South, after the passage of the Kansas and Nebraska bill, who could not go with their Northern brethren into the anti-Nebraska movement, nor yet with the Democrats into a pronounced pro-slavery movement. In 1855 it carried as many as nine State elections. It was therefore a power which had been startlingly felt in the Congressional elections of that year, and was to be still further felt in the session about to be held.

THIRTY-FOURTH CONGRESS—First Session.—Met Dec. 3, 1855. In the Senate the Democrats had a majority of nine. In the House the magnificent Democratic majority of the previous Congress had been wiped out and turned into one of anti-Nebraska men, of whom there were 117, as against 79 straight Democrats and 37 pro-slavery Whigs. Owing to the fact that many of the majority were Know-Nothings, a protracted contest arose over the speakership. A choice was not made till February, 1856, when a resort was had to the method adopted by the Thirty-first Congress, that of a choice by the highest number of votes. N. P. Banks, Mass., was then chosen on the 131st ballot. He was a pronounced anti-Nebraska man, and therefore the majority were represented in the Speaker. This was the stormy beginning of one of the stormiest sessions ever held.

KANSAS TROUBLE.—The Kansas question came up immediately and occupied the entire session. As we have seen the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Act (1854), with the

Squatter Sovereignty Amendment, threw open these Territories to competitive settlement by North and South, or by anti-slavery and pro-slavery men. The South had the advantage of proximity—Missouri being next to Kansas. The Missourians swarmed over the border and elected a congressional delegate, Nov. 29, 1854, who was accepted by the Congress. They did the same in 1855, and elected a Legislature, which met at Pawnee in July of that year, and enacted a State Constitution, strongly pro-slavery in its terms.

The anti-slavery settlers were all this time pouring in through Iowa and Nebraska—they had been prohibited from passing through the State of Missouri—against the armed protest of the pro-slavery occupants—Border Ruffians as they were called—and the condition of the Territory was one of war, with but little doubt as to the result, for the anti-slavery settlers came to make investment and to stay, while the pro-slavery occupants clung less tenaciously to the soil, and wasted time and energy in the excitement which the new field furnished. The anti-slavery or free State settlers met in convention at Topeka, Sept. 5, 1855, and enacted a free State constitution. They denounced the existing Legislature as not of Kansas, but the work of Missourians who had crossed the border to create it, elected a delegate to Congress, who was rejected, and on Jan. 15, 1856, elected State officers, and asked to be admitted as a State. Their work was rejected by Congress.

The local conflict grew louder and more sanguinary. The President interfered, Jan. 24, 1856, by a message endorsing the pro-slavery Legislature, and, Feb. 11, 1856, by a proclamation denouncing the attempt to form a free State government as an act of rebellion. He ordered the governor of the Territory (Shannon) to enforce the laws of the pro-slavery Legislature with the United States troops. This only added to the excitement. The free State Legislature, which met at Topeka, July 4, 1856, was broken up by United States troops, acting under the President's order. By this time a congressional committee, sent to the scene, reported that no free, fair election had ever been held in the Territory. On the strength of this, and in order to

balk the effort to force a government on the people without a fair expression of their sentiments as to whether it should be slave or free, the House refused to appropriate money for the army if it were to be used to sustain the pro-slavery Legislature of the Territory.

It would be impossible to conceive of the excitement in both Houses over the question, and throughout the country. In the Senate Charles Sumner was knocked down and beaten (May 22, 1856), by Representative Brooks, South Carolina, for a speech which criticised his relative, Senator Butler, South Carolina. Congress adjourned Aug. 18, 1856.

THIRTY-FOURTH CONGRESS—Extra Session.—Called Aug. 21, 1856. This session was called to meet the emergency occasioned by the adjournment of Aug. 18, without an appropriation for the army. The House still insisted on its proviso that the army should not be used to force a pro-slavery government on the people of Kansas; but a change of governors having been announced—Shannon was superseded by Geary*—it receded, and the army appropriation bill was passed. The extra session adjourned Aug. 30, 1856.

ELECTION OF 1856.—The Know-Nothing organization, which had been so successful in the State and local elections of 1855, would now try its hand in national affairs as The American Party. It took the field first, and met in national convention, at Philadelphia, Feb. 22, 1856. There were 227 delegates present. All the States were represented except Maine, Vermont, Georgia, and South Carolina. Many of the delegates (probably a fourth) were not so much "Americans" as anti-slavery men. Millard Fillmore, New York, was nominated for President, and Andrew J. Donelson, Tennessee, for Vice-President. The platform announced: (1) Perpetuation of the Union. (2) Preference of native-born citizens for office. (3) No office for any one who recognizes obligation to any foreign prince, potentate, or power. (4) Non-interference by Congress with questions belonging to individual States, nor by States with each other. (5) The right

* Geary arrived Sept. 9, 1856, and succeeded in bringing about a suspension of local hostilities without directly using the United States forces.

of native-born and naturalized citizens of any Territory to frame their own constitution and laws, and regulate their social affairs in their own way. (6) A residence of twenty-one years as necessary to naturalization. On account of the failure of the convention to recognize the right of Congress to re-establish the Missouri Compromise line, the anti-slavery delegates withdrew, and threw their strength to the coming Republican party.

The Democratic Convention met at Cincinnati, June 2, 1856, and nominated James Buchanan, Pennsylvania, for President, and John C. Breckinridge, Kentucky, for Vice-President. The platform endorsed preceding ones, and added, (1) Opposition to Americanism. (2) No more revenue than is necessary to defray expenses. (3) No general system of Internal Improvement. (4) Strict construction of Federal powers. (5) No National Bank. (6) No interference with Slavery in the Territories, the people to have the right to settle that question for themselves (this was an endorsement of the Squatter Sovereignty idea). (7) Approval of the Kansas-Nebraska bill.

REPUBLICAN PARTY. *—This new candidate for national favor received a name, said to have been suggested by Governor Seward, N. Y., in the latter part of 1855 or early part of 1856. It was a substitute for the title of "Anti-Nebraska Men," then applied to those who had opposed the Kansas-Nebraska act, and who were, in general, opposed to slavery and its extension. It raised a standard around which could rally the old Liberty party, the Free Soil Democracy, the Anti-Slavery Whigs, and all who were finding it irksome to follow the Democratic party as it grew more rigid in its interpretation of the Constitution, inclined more and more to make a political dogma of State Rights, and refused to separate its own existence from that of slavery in the State, and slavery extension in the Territory.

The Republican party held its first National Convention at Philadelphia, June 17, 1856, and nominated John C. Fremont, Cal., for President, and William M. Dayton, N. J., for Vice-

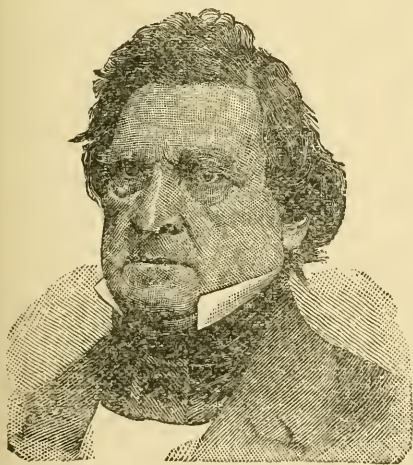
* Called the "Black Republican" party by its opponents, on account of its sympathy for the colored race.



JOHN P. HALE.



JOHN C. FREMONT.



WILLIAM L. MARCY.



ROBERT J. WALKER.

President. Its platform showed that its members were liberal interpreters of the Constitution. It announced: (1) That the Constitution, the rights of the States, and the Union of the States, shall be preserved. (2) "No person shall be deprived of life, liberty or property without due process of law," and denial of the authority of Congress, or of a Territorial Legislature, or of any association of individuals, to give legal existence to slavery in any Territory of the United States, under the present Constitution. (3) Congress, in the exercise of its Constitutional power over Territories, ought to prohibit "those twin relics of barbarism, polygamy and slavery." (4) Denounced the Kansas policy of the administration, and all effort to set up a pro-slavery government there, in defiance of the will of the people. (5) The immediate admission of Kansas with her Free State Constitution. (6) Government aid for a Pacific Railroad. (7) A system of Internal Improvement.

The Whigs, or what was left of them, met at Baltimore, Sept. 17, 1856. They, in common with the Know-Nothings, denounced the Democratic and Republican parties as sectional, and then, without further endorsing or discussing the Know-Nothing principles, agreed to support Fillmore and Donelson, because they regarded the country as already in a state of civil war, and believed that their election would be the best means of restoring peace. The Whig name now disappears from the party lists.

After an exciting campaign, involving a wide discussion of principles, the election in November showed 1 State (Maryland) for Fillmore; 11 free States for Fremont; 14 slave States and the rest of the free (19 in all) States for Buchanan.

THIRTY-FOURTH CONGRESS—Second Session.—Met Dec. 1, 1856. The result of the Presidential election had served to tighten party lines. The Anti-Nebraska Men (now Republicans) were numerically the strongest body (108) in the House, but could not command a majority as against the Democrats (83) and Americans (43) or Know-Nothings. The Senate stood 40 Democrats; 15 Republicans; 5 Americans.

THE KANSAS QUESTION.—The dispersion of the Free

State Legislature at Topeka, Jan. 6, 1857, by Federal troops, and the arrest of its officers and many members, again brought the question prominently before Congress. The House passed a bill declaring the acts of the Pro-Slavery Legislature oppressive and void, which the Senate tabled. A change of governors from Geary, who had lost caste with the Pro-Slavery Legislature, to Robert J. Walker, Miss., gave respite from discussion for the time being.

TARIFF OF 1857.—While this session showed a spirit of generosity in encouraging railroad enterprises in the West by grants of public lands, it struck the country a cruel blow on the very last day of the session (March 3) by enacting the tariff of 1857. This measure reduced duties all along the line of imports, and on leading articles almost to such rates as were wont to prevail before the war of 1812, and had prevailed at no time since except at the end of the sliding scale (1841) provided by the act of 1833.*

The electoral count in February showed 174 votes for Buchanan and Breckinridge; 114 for Fremont and Dayton; 8 for Fillmore and Donelson. Congress adjourned *sine die*, March 3, 1857. The candidates elect were sworn into office, March 4, 1857.

XVIII.

BUCHANAN'S ADMINISTRATION.

March 4, 1857—March 3, 1861.

JAMES BUCHANAN, PA., *President*. JOHN C. BRECKINRIDGE, KY.,
Vice-President.

Congresses.

Sessions.

THIRTY-FIFTH CONGRESS.	{ 1, December 7, 1857—June 14, 1858. 2, December 6, 1858—March 3, 1859.
THIRTY-SIXTH CONGRESS.	{ 1, December 5, 1859—June 25, 1860. 2, December 3, 1860—March 3, 1861.

* This year (1857) occurred a great financial panic, during which there were 5,123 commercial failures. The administration was compelled to borrow money at a discount of 8 to 10 per cent.

*ELECTORAL VOTE.**

States.	Basis of 93,423.	Vote.	Democrat.		Republican.		American.	
			James Buchanan, Pa.	J. C. Breckin- ridge, Ky.	John C. Fremont, Cal.	Wm. L. Dayton, N. J.	Millard Fillmore, N. Y.	A. J. Donelson, Tenn.
Alabama.....	7	9		9	..	..	..	..
Arkansas.....	2	4	4	4	..	..	..	..
California.....	2	4	4	4	..	..	..	..
Connecticut.....	4	6	..	..	6	6	..	..
Delaware.....	1	3	3	3	..	..	..	..
Florida.....	1	3	3	3	..	..	..	..
Georgia.....	8	10	10	10	..	..	..	..
Illinois.....	9	11	11	11	..	..	..	..
Indiana.....	11	13	13	13	..	..	..	..
Iowa.....	2	4	..	..	4	4	..	..
Kentucky.....	10	12	12	12	..	..	..	..
Louisiana.....	4	6	6	6	..	..	..	..
Maine.....	6	8	..	..	8	8	..	..
Maryland.....	6	8	..	..	..	..	8	8
Massachusetts.....	11	13	..	..	13	13	..	..
Michigan.....	4	6	..	..	6	6	..	..
Mississippi.....	5	7	7	7	..	..	..	..
Missouri.....	7	9	9	9	..	..	..	..
New Hampshire....	3	5	..	..	5	5	..	..
New Jersey.....	5	7	7	7	..	..	..	..
New York.....	33	35	..	..	35	35	..	..
North Carolina....	8	10	10	10	..	..	..	..
Ohio.....	21	23	..	..	23	23	..	..
Pennsylvania.....	25	27	27	27	..	..	..	..
Rhode Island.....	2	4	..	..	4	4	..	..
South Carolina....	6	8	8	8	..	..	..	..
Tennessee.....	10	12	12	12	..	..	..	..
Texas.....	2	4	4	4	..	..	..	..
Vermont.....	3	5	..	..	5	5	..	..
Virginia.....	13	15	15	15	..	..	..	..
Wisconsin.....	3	5	..	..	5	5	..	..
Totals.....	234	296	174	174	114	114	8	8

THE CABINET.

Secretary of State.....	Lewis Cass, Mich.
Secretary of Treasury.....	Howell Cobb, Ga.
Secretary of War.....	John B. Floyd, Va.
Secretary of Navy.....	Isaac Toucey, Conn.
Secretary of Interior.....	Jacob Thompson, Miss. Continued.
Attorney-General	Jeremiah S. Black, Pa.
Postmaster-General.....	Aaron V. Brown.

POLITICAL SITUATION.—A glance at the electoral vote shows that the persistent effort of the pro-slavery leaders to unify the Democratic party in their interest had at last succeeded.

* The popular vote was, Buchanan, 1,838,169—19 States; Fremont, 1,341,264—11 States; Fillmore, 874,534—1 State.

Buchanan's election was a triumph for the South. The large vote for the Republican nominee showed the possibilities of the new party. The popular vote of the country was largely against the Democrats. The American or Fillmore vote represented those who wished to ignore the Slavery question. As things were shaping they must swing to some positive position ere long. It but remained for the Republicans to take a firm stand on the Slavery question. The agitation was sure to go on, and that in a way which must weaken Democracy by schism, for the extreme Southern leaders were beginning to see that the "Squatter Sovereignty" idea was not one which would bring them slavery extension, but would in the end defeat their long cherished intentions. They found that they were not natural colonizers, and that to establish a plantation in Kansas, or any Territory, and stock it with slaves, was a very different thing from taking up a small tract by a free-footed young farmer, ambitious to plow, sow and reap for himself. This was where "Squatter Sovereignty" was proving deadly. Not much wonder that when the extreme Southern Democrats saw their mistake—or rather repented of their commitment to it, for they never favored it except as a means, perhaps their only means then, of capturing the entire Democratic organization—they backed away from it, charged its recognized authors or expounders, Douglas and others, with weak, unfair, and even treacherous, dealing, and finally resorted to the plan of a separate confederacy.*

DRED SCOTT DECISION.—The decision of the U. S.

* Two other methods of adding to the diminishing political importance of the South had been broached. One was to reopen the African slave trade. This would provide a means of pouring into the Territories an unlimited stream of slave immigrants, and thus competing with the greater numbers and resources of the North. The other was to conquer and annex Cuba and Central America. This was the meaning of the Lopez filibustering expedition which started from New Orleans (1851) for Cuba. And so with the Walker filibustering expedition, from the same place (1855), which operated on Central America. As encouragement to this idea of conquest and annexation, the Ostend Manifesto was proclaimed by our American ministers in England, France and Spain, citing that the safety of the United States required the acquisition of Cuba.

Supreme Court, delivered by Chief Justice Taney, March 6, 1856, in the Dred Scott case, awakened intense interest, and be-gat feelings of alarm throughout the North. Its political effect was to bring the position of the extreme pro-slavery Democrats into bold relief. When Calhoun, years before, asked that the Constitution be extended to the Territories, he had two lines of thought: (1) That the Constitution sanctioned slavery. (2) That its extension would extend slavery, for a slave was property as anything else material was property. As we have seen, he was driven from this ultra position, or rather his position became untenable, by reason of the growth of the "Squatter Sovereignty" idea. But now the Supreme Court had come squarely to his position, and even gone beyond it.* Notwithstanding the slave was by the Constitution and for purposes of representation three-fifths of a freeman, he became by the decision a chattel "without rights or privileges except such as those who held the power and the government might choose to grant him." The plaintiff, Dred Scott, was not even a plaintiff in court, but a mere thing without status, and his case was dismissed for want of jurisdiction. Further, the Compromise of 1820 was unconstitutional, and no act of Congress could be passed under the Constitution

* As this important case was the last pro-slavery effort to sustain itself by form of law, and as the drift thenceforth is toward armed arbitrament, it is well to know its history. The case opened:

DRED SCOTT	{	U. S. Circuit Court, Dist. Missouri.
<i>vs.</i>		To April T., 1854.
JOHN F. A. SANFORD.		Trespass <i>Vi et armis</i> .

The plaintiff, Dred Scott, was an original slave of J. F. A. Sanford, of Missouri. His owner resided in Illinois, a free State, with him from 1834 to 1838. He further resided with him in Minnesota Territory, free soil also, as being north of 36° 30', the Missouri Compromise line of 1820. He then removed back to Missouri with him. The slave there resisted a flogging by bringing suit for damages, on the plea that residence in Illinois and Minnesota had made him a free man. The defense was that a descendant of slave ancestors could never be free, was not a citizen, had no status in court. The plaintiff won in the District Court. An appeal brought it to the Supreme Court. The opinion of the Chief Justice was not unanimous, but dissenting opinions were filed. At the time of the decision many of the free States had laws, and all were operating on the principle, to the effect that a slave leaving his slave State and entering a free one was no longer a slave, but free. For the opinions in full, see Howard's U. S. Supreme Court Reports, vol. 19, p. 393.

with a view to preventing a slaveholder from entering any State or Territory with his slave property any more than from entering it with his goods and chattels of whatever description.

The legal effect of the decision was not only to wipe out the Compromise measure of 1820, which had been done constructively by those of 1850, but to wipe out those of 1850 also, which had introduced the Squatter or Popular Sovereignty idea; that is, the idea of leaving the question of slavery to be decided by the people of the Territories when they came to form State Constitutions. It, in fine, opened all the Territories and all the free States, to the advent of slavery, no matter what their local laws might say on the subject. It nationalized the institution, by degrading the slave to the level of a horse, cow, plow or carriage, and overrode every sentiment of humanity respecting him, as well as the old and well-established notion that as an institution slavery was a creature of State, or local, enactments. The decision was all too plainly a reflex of the extreme Southern sentiment to meet with sanction from the North, and as it destroyed the hope of Douglas and his now important Democratic following for a settlement of the question on the basis of Popular Sovereignty, they began to drift away from the regular party organization.

THIRTY-FIFTH CONGRESS—First Session.—Met Dec. 7, 1857. The Presidential election carried along with it a Democratic majority in both branches of the Congress. The Senate stood 39 Democrats, 20 Republicans, 5 Americans; the House 131 Democrats, 92 Republicans, 14 Americans. The tone of the parties was different also. The Republicans were squarely across the way of the Democrats. The Democrats were emboldened by recent successes, and by the fact that the administration was heartily with them. This latter they had been assured of by the message, which was all they could have wished. On the absorbing question of slavery as presented by the Kansas difficulty, the President took the ground that the State ought to be admitted at once under the Lecompton Constitution,* which sanctioned slavery.

* The pro-Slavery party had (1855) adopted the Pawnee Constitution, which was simply the Constitution of Missouri, with a criminal code added raising numerous

The House organized by electing James L. Orr, S. C., Democrat, Speaker. A contest immediately arose over a bill, framed in accordance with the President's suggestion, to admit Kansas under the Lecompton Constitution. For three months the contention was bitter, abusive, and sectional. The Republicans took the ground that the Lecompton Convention, having been called to frame a Constitution and having done so, the instrument must be ratified by the people before the State could ask for admission. In this they were supported by Douglas, Broderick, Adrian, Hickman, and other Democrats (called Anti-Lecompton Democrats), who saw their theory of popular sovereignty destroyed if the people were to be denied an opportunity to express their preferences for or against slavery in their Constitution, by direct vote on the instrument itself. The Southern Democrats stood solid for the bill and the President's position, that the delegates having been called to make a Constitution, there was no need of submitting it to the people. The bill passed the Senate. In the House it passed with the proviso that the Constitution should be first voted on by the people. A conference bill was finally agreed upon, which must be set down as an inexcusable, if not shameless, piece of legislation, inasmuch as it offered a bribe to the State to adopt the Lecompton Constitution. This bill admitted the State with the House proviso, and the additional proviso that in case it adopted the Lecompton Constitution, it should have a large grant of public lands. To the credit of the Territory this did not have the desired effect, and on the sub-

offences against slavery and imposing the death penalty. Not wishing to submit this to the people they called another Convention to meet at Lecompton to frame a Constitution. This was submitted to the people for ratification (December, 1857) by ballots printed "Constitution with Slavery," and "Constitution without Slavery." As this gave the voter who was opposed to other features of the instrument no opportunity to record his views, the Free State party refused to vote, and refused to consider it a submission of the instrument to popular verdict. They, therefore, through the Territorial Legislature, which body they had secured control of at a regular election in which both parties participated, ordered another election which would give the people an opportunity to vote for or against the Constitution, and not for or against a single clause in it. This was the election held in August, 1858, which repudiated the Constitution by nearly 10,000 majority.

mission of the Constitution to the people, Aug. 2, 1858, it was rejected by an overwhelming majority. Minnesota became a State in the Union, May 11, 1858. Congress adjourned, June 14, 1858.

THIRTY-FIFTH CONGRESS—Second Session.—Met Dec. 6, 1858. The session was barren of political results, though much discussion was had over slavery, the disposition of public lands among heads of families, afterwards known as the Homestead policy, and the appropriation of public lands for school purposes. Oregon entered the Union, Feb. 14, 1859. Congress adjourned *sine die*, March 3, 1859.

AN EXCITING SUMMER.—The supreme topic was slavery, and Kansas was the pivot on which it turned. The rejection of the Lecompton Constitution with slavery gave opportunity for another convention, at Wyandot, July, 1859, which drafted the Wyandot Constitution without slavery. This was ratified by the people, by a majority of 4,000. It was the Constitution under which Kansas was afterwards admitted, Jan. 29, 1861. This verdict of the people of Kansas in favor of a free State showed that there was nothing in the popular sovereignty idea upon which slavery could rely.

The affair of John Brown at Harper's Ferry, Oct. 17, 1859, shocked sentiment both North and South. The audacity of his effort to stir up a slave insurrection, or to advance the anti-slavery cause by seizure of a town, and by armed force, awakened at first a feeling of repulsion. But the anger it begat, in the slave States, their eagerness to arm for defense, their desire to implicate the entire North in the raid, and their swift execution of the criminal, had the effect of eclipsing his crime by sympathy for the man, and by further animosity toward slavery itself. The hanging of John Brown, Dec. 2, 1859, at Charlestown, W. Va., marks the date when the discussion of the right and wrong of slavery passed all political limits, and became general in social circles, in jurisprudence, and in religion.

THIRTY-SIXTH CONGRESS—First Session.—Met Dec. 5, 1859. The Congressional elections had resulted favorably to the Republicans, and, though without a majority in the House,

they outnumbered any other party. Analysis of the respective branches showed, in the Senate, 38 Democrats, 25 Republicans, 2 Americans; House, 109 Republicans, 86 Democrats, 13 Anti-Lecompton Democrats, 22 Americans. This situation led to a protracted dispute over the organization of the House. Balloting was carried on two months, before it resulted in the choice of William Pennington, Republican, N. J., as Speaker.

The application of Kansas for admission under the Wyandot Free State Constitution opened the slavery discussion with all its accustomed severity and prolixity. The House admitted the State, but the Senate rejected it, and engaged in a lengthy and desperate attempt to get back to the old Calhoun position that slavery in the Territories was beyond the jurisdiction of either Congress or the Territorial Legislatures; in other words, that it must follow the Federal Constitution, and was inherent in the common law regarding personal property. An effort to pass a Homestead bill drew strictly party debate. The pro-slavery Democrats opposed the policy of cheap lands to immigrants. The Kansas experience had proved that the more populous North was the best colonizer, and that any extra inducement would only lead to an increased number of Free States. A spirited party discussion sprang up over the report of the committee appointed at the instance of Mr. Covode, Pa., and known as the "Covode Investigation," to examine into the conduct of the Administration respecting the admission of Kansas as a slave State. The report found the Administration guilty of bribing members and editors to advocate the admission of the State under the Lecompton Constitution. Congress adjourned, June 25, 1860.

ELECTION OF 1860.—The Democratic National Convention met at Charleston, S. C., April 23, 1860. Delegates were present from all the States, to the number of 303. Caleb Cushing, Mass., presided. An early division of sentiment respecting slavery arose. The Southern and all extreme pro-slavery Democrats held that, under the Dred Scott decision, slavery could not be interdicted in the Territories. The Douglas Democrats held squarely to the doctrine of squatter, or popular sov-

ereignty. The dispute over these positions was so grave and lengthy that balloting for a candidate did not begin till May 1st. After fifty-seven ineffectual ballots, no choice appeared. Stephen A. Douglas, Ill., stood highest, but never rose above 153 votes, 202 being necessary to a choice, under the two-thirds rule. A Douglas, or Popular Sovereignty platform had been adopted by the convention, and thereupon many delegates from the Southern States withdrew. Seeing that no choice was possible, the convention adjourned to meet at Baltimore, June 18. The places of the withdrawn delegates had, in the meantime, been filled by those favorable to Mr. Douglas. The nominees therefore became Stephen A. Douglas, Ill., for President, and Herschel V. Johnson, Ga., for Vice-President. A portion of this convention also seceded, and met the seceded Charleston convention on the 28th. The platform affirmed the Cincinnati platform of 1856, and added clauses pledging Democracy to a Pacific Railroad, and government aid therefor; favoring the acquisition of Cuba; denouncing State enactments designed to defeat the Fugitive Slave law; acquiescence in Supreme Court decisions, but construction of them in the vein of Popular Sovereignty.

The seceders from the Charleston Convention organized in Charleston and adjourned to meet in Richmond, June 11. They then adjourned to meet in Baltimore, June 28. Here they were reinforced by the seceders from the Baltimore Convention, under the lead of Butler and Cushing. The nominees became John C. Breckinridge, Ky., for President, and Joseph Lane, Oregon, for Vice-President. The platform affirmed the Cincinnati platform of 1856, and pledged the party to a Pacific Railroad; to the acquisition of Cuba; favored the execution of the Fugitive Slave law; announced that the unorganized territory of the United States was open to all citizens with whatever kind of property; that the federal government must protect the rights of persons and property wherever its authority extends; that the right of sovereignty begins when the settlers in a territory have a population adequate to the formation of a State constitution, and is consummated by the admission of the State, and that then its people stand on a par with the people of all the

States, and the State ought to be admitted with or without slavery, as its constitution provides.

The Republican National Convention met at Chicago, May 16, 1860, in the "Wigwam," built for the purpose. Delegates were present from all the Northern States and from Delaware, Maryland, Kentucky, Missouri and Virginia, with scattering representatives from all the Southern States except the Gulf States. The work of the Convention ended in a single day by the nomination of Abraham Lincoln, Ill., for President, and Hannibal Hamlin, Me., for Vice-President. The platform announced: (1) the necessity of the Republican party; (2) maintenance of the principles of the Declaration; (3) denounced all schemes of disunion; (4) maintenance of the rights of States; (5) denounced the administration for attempting to force Kansas in as a slave State under the Lecompton constitution and contrary to the will of her people; (6) decried the extravagance of the administration; (7) the normal condition of the Territories is free, and no stock in the dogma that the constitution carries slavery there; (8) the admission of Kansas as a free State; (9) protection to American industry, a Homestead law, a Pacific Railroad, Internal Improvement.

The American party, under the title of "Constitutional Union," met at Baltimore, May 9, 1860. Twenty States were represented. John Bell, Tenn., was nominated for President, and Edward Everett, Mass., for Vice-President. Their only hope of success was in throwing the election into the House. The platform affirmed "the constitution of the country, the union of the States, and the enforcement of the laws."

The campaign was vigorously conducted. There was much argument over the respective attitudes of the parties on the slavery question. On the part of Republicans spectacular features were introduced after the manner of the Harrison campaign of 1840. Mr. Lincoln was pictured as "The Rail Splitter" of the West, with telling effect among farmers and the industrial classes. As the campaign advanced and the hopelessness of the pro-slavery Democrats increased, they began to turn their attention to the remedy which secession provided. The November

result was a choice of Republican electors from every free State, except New Jersey, which gave four for Lincoln and three for Douglas, and a consequent majority in the Electoral College. This led to prompt action on the part of South Carolina, whose Legislature was then (November) in session to choose electors. Instead of doing so that body called a State Convention, which, Dec. 17, 1860, passed the first "Ordinance of Secession."

THIRTY-SIXTH CONGRESS—Second Session. — Met Dec. 3, 1860. Probably no session of Congress was ever called upon to meet so many new and grave propositions. Certainly none had ever convened amid such serious surroundings. The only situation analogous to it was in 1832, when South Carolina attempted to nullify the Tariff Act of 1828. Then Jackson took strong ground in his message against the right of a State to contravene national legislation, and promptly applied enough force to hold the dissatisfied State to her place in the Union. Mr. Buchanan's message took the Jackson view of the situation, but when it came to applying coercive means, he doubted if a State's obedience could be compelled, for the reason that compulsion meant war, and war on a State was not authorized by the constitution.

This message, so disappointing to the Union sentiment of the country and so encouraging to the Secession sentiment, brought a stream of compromising efforts, prominent among which was one introduced by John J. Crittenden, Ky., re-establishing the old line of $36^{\circ} 30'$ as a permanent constitutional boundary between slave and free States. This did not meet the favor of the Republicans, and without their endorsement the pro-slavery Democrats refused to entertain it.

Legislation was virtually "suspended for a time to await the action of the "Peace Congress," which assembled in Washington, Feb. 4, 1861. This had been called at the request of the Legislature of Virginia (Jan. 19), and was composed of delegates from thirteen Free and seven Border States. It affirmed by a close vote the Crittenden proposition, and made several concessions, chiefly with a view of keeping the Southern border States from falling into the secession whirlpool, and of inducing

some of the less hasty cotton States to retrace their steps. Congress did not accept its measures, but passed what was known as the Douglas amendment to the constitution, which affirmed the popular sovereignty method of dealing with slavery in the Territories, and raised a guarantee of non-interference with slavery in the States. This amendment was never submitted to the States or people, owing to the rapid secession of the States and the beginning of hostilities.

As the Southern States seceded (see below), their members of Congress withdrew. The Republican majority became strong in both Houses. Kansas was admitted as a free State under the Wyandot Constitution, Jan. 29, 1861. Other Territories, as Nevada, Colorado and Dakota, were organized, without mention of slavery, so as to avoid conflict with the Dred Scott decision. The Republican majority took advanced ground relative to the powers vested in the Constitution and Congress. The doctrine that this was a nation and not a league, and that a nation had a right to protect itself from within as well as without, took firm hold. The Tariff Act of March 2, 1861, which increased duties, affirmed the principle of protection. The kindred principle of Internal Improvement by the National government was so fully established as to be placed beyond future question by any party. Loans were authorized and an issue of Treasury notes ordered, thus carrying the implied powers of the Constitution to the limit which extreme necessity demanded.

In February the Electoral count was made, showing 180 votes for Lincoln and Hamlin, 72 for Breckinridge and Lane, 39 for Bell and Everett, and 12 for Douglas and Johnson. Congress adjourned *sine die*, March 3, 1861.

SECESSION MOVEMENT.—Secession from the Union as a remedy for grievances, real or imaginary, had been made familiar by that school of statesmen who regarded the Constitution as in the nature of a compact between the States and Government, and who insisted on a strict interpretation of that instrument. They would tolerate no stretch of power on the part of the government, not even for the purpose of preservation, but claimed that in all matters of doubt the States should have the

benefit of it, and that where a grievance existed the State was to be the judge, preferring its own integrity and honor. The grievance now was that growth of anti-slavery sentiment in the country made manifest in political form by the election of Lincoln, which would forever crush further hope of slavery extension and prove a standing menace to the institution as it existed in the States.

South Carolina's call of a convention was the signal for similar action throughout the South. The movement was rapid and concerted. It did not even hesitate at the responsibility of armed trial to insure success.* The Southern Congress met at Montgomery, Alabama, Feb. 4, 1861, delegates being present from seven seceded States. It formed the Government of the Confederate States of America. Its Constitution was, in the main, the one it had repudiated, a clause recognizing slavery and one forbidding a protective tariff being the most radical differences. Officers were elected, a cabinet chosen, the machinery of independent government started, an attitude of war assumed. All government property was seized and confiscated, forts were erected, men were enlisted, equipped and drilled, and armies were actually on their feet, while the Congress and the States of the North were listlessly watching the unfolding of the terrible situation or wasting precious time in what proved to be idle schemes of compromise.

XIX.

LINCOLN'S FIRST ADMINISTRATION.

March 4, 1861—March 3, 1865.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN, ILL., *President*. HANNIBAL HAMLIN, ME.,
Vice-President.

Congresses.

Sessions.

THIRTY-SEVENTH CONGRESS.	{	1, July 4, 1861—August 6, 1861—Extra Session.
		2, December 2, 1861—July 17, 1862.
		3, December 1, 1862—March 3, 1863.

* For going and coming of the seceding States, see page 141.

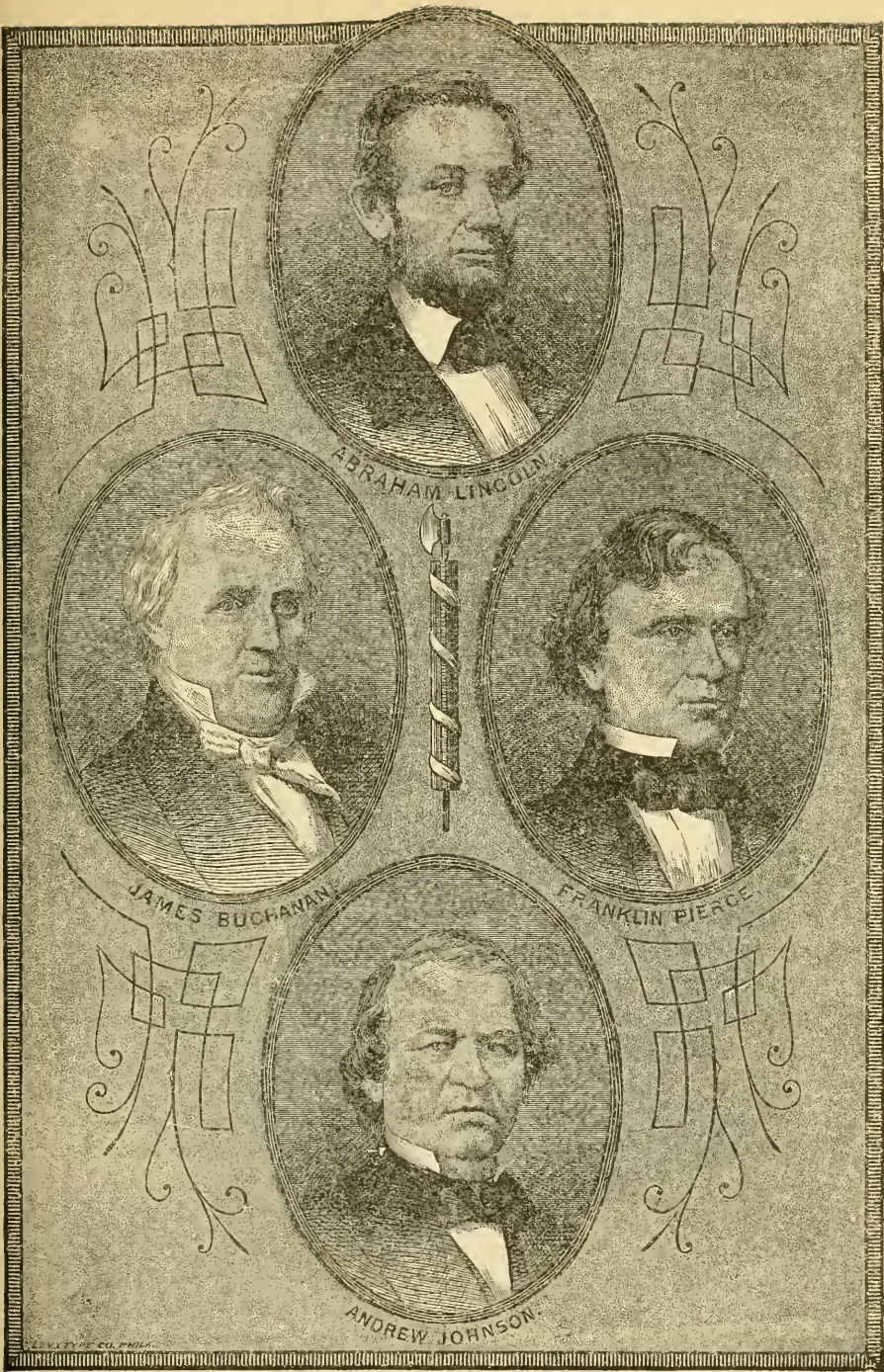
*Congress.**Sessions.*

THIRTY-EIGHTH CONGRESS. { 1, December 7, 1863—July 4, 1864.
 { 2, December 5, 1864—March 3, 1865.

*ELECTORAL VOTE.**

States.	Basis of 93,483.	Vote.	Republican.		Democrat.			Const. Union or Amer.	
			A. Lincoln, Ill.	H. Hamlin, Me.	S. A. Douglas, Ill.	H. V. Johnson, Ga.	J. C. Breckinridge, Tenn.	J. Lane, Oregon.	J. Bell, Tenn.
Alabama	7	9	..	..	..	..	9	9	..
Arkansas	2	4	..	..	..	..	4	4	..
California	2	4	4	4	..	..	..	..	..
Connecticut	4	6	6	6	..	..	..	..	..
Delaware	1	3	..	..	..	..	3	3	..
Florida	1	3	..	..	..	..	3	3	..
Georgia	8	10	..	..	..	..	10	10	..
Illinois	9	11	11	11	..	..	..	..	..
Indiana	11	13	13	13	..	..	..	..	..
Iowa	2	4	4	4	..	..	..	..	..
Kentucky	10	12	..	..	..	..	..	..	12
Louisiana	4	6	..	..	..	..	6	6	..
Maine	6	8	8	8	..	..	..	..	..
Maryland	6	8	..	..	..	..	8	8	..
Massachusetts	11	13	13	13	..	..	..	..	..
Michigan	4	6	6	6	..	..	..	..	..
Minnesota	2	4	4	4	..	..	..	..	..
Mississippi	5	7	..	..	..	..	7	7	..
Missouri	7	9	..	..	9	9	..	..	..
New Hampshire ..	3	5	5	5	..	..	..	..	..
New Jersey	5	7	4	4	3	3	..	..	..
New York	33	35	35	35	..	..	..	..	..
North Carolina ..	8	10	..	..	..	..	10	10	..
Ohio	21	23	23	23	..	..	..	..	..
Oregon	1	3	3	3	..	..	..	..	..
Pennsylvania	25	27	27	27	..	..	..	..	..
Rhode Island	2	4	4	4	..	..	..	..	..
South Carolina ..	6	8	..	..	..	..	8	..	..
Tennessee	10	12	..	..	..	..	..	..	12
Texas	2	4	..	..	..	..	4	4	..
Vermont	3	5	5	5	..	..	..	..	..
Virginia	13	15	..	..	..	..	..	..	15
Wisconsin	3	5	5	5	..	..	..	..	..
Totals	237	303	180	180	12	12	72	72	39

* The popular vote was, Lincoln, 1,866,352—17 States, N. J. divided; Douglas, 1,375,157—1 State, N. J., divided; Breckinridge, 845,763—11 States; Bell, 589,581—3 States.



PRESIDENTS FROM 1853 TO 1869.

THE CABINET.

Secretary of State.....	W. H. Seward, N. Y.
Secretary of Treasury.....	Salmon P. Chase, Ohio.
Secretary of War.....	Simon Cameron, Pa.
Secretary of Navy.....	Gideon Welles, Conn.
Secretary of Interior.....	Caleb P. Smith.
Attorney-General.....	Edward Bates, Mo.
Postmaster-General	Montgomery Blair, Md.

POLITICAL SITUATION.—When Lincoln came to Washington to be inaugurated the Southern Confederacy was formed. Of it Alexander H. Stephens, its Vice-President, said, March 21, 1861: "The new Constitution (Confederate) has put at rest forever all the agitating questions relating to our peculiar institutions—African slavery as it exists among us—the proper status of the negro in our form of civilization. This was the immediate cause of the late rupture and present revolution. Jefferson, in his forecast, had anticipated this as the 'rock upon which the old Union would split.' . . . The prevailing ideas entertained by him (Jefferson) and most of the leading statesmen of the time were that slavery was a violation of the laws of nature, that it was wrong in principle, socially, morally and politically, and that somehow or other it would prove evanescent and pass away. . . . Those ideas were fundamentally wrong. They rested on the assumption of the equality of the races. This was an error. It was a sandy foundation, and the idea of a government built on it 'when the storm came and the wind blew it fell.' Our new government rests on exactly the opposite idea. Its foundations are laid, its corner-stone rests upon the great truth that the negro is not the equal of the white man; that slavery—subordination to the superior race—is his natural and normal condition. This, our new government, is the first in the history of the world based on this great physical and moral truth."

To convert this Confederacy of form into one of fact was the Southern cause. The condition was one of war already, so far as the South was concerned. There had been for some time a systematic transfer of government arms and munitions of war from Northern to Southern arsenals, and these had speedily surrendered to insurgent demands. The naval vessels had been scattered in remote foreign parts, and were not immediately



CHARLES SUMNER.

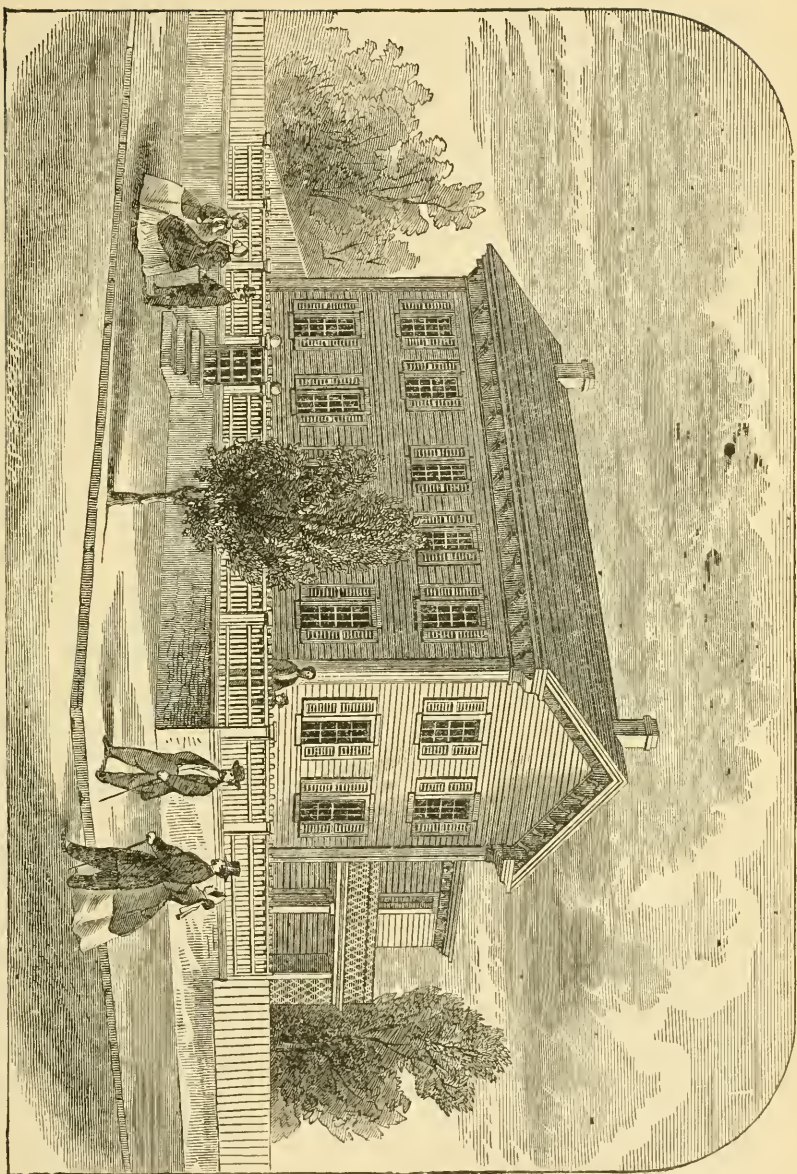


SALMON P. CHASE.

available for either defensive or offensive purposes. The Federal soldiery within the Southern States had given up their forts and stations or were besieged therein. National finance was confused, the Treasury empty, the credit worthless. Seceded States were being reinforced by the secession of others. Officers in the army, navy and in places of trust and power were resigning every day to join their fortunes with those of their States, to the consternation of the loyal members of the government and to the utter demoralization of all machinery and system. No official knew whom to confide in, how to organize, what to do. It seemed as if secession had tainted everything and undermined everything. Let Union effort take what shape it would, it was confused by the uncertainty of its surroundings, or balked by ingenious constructions of laws and Constitution. The logic of Attorney-General Black, which led to the conclusion that "the Union must totally perish at the moment when Congress shall arm one part of the people against another for any purpose beyond that of merely protecting the general government in the exercise of its proper Constitutional functions," had resulted in fatal hesitation on the part of the government and was to paralyze it still worse. Add to all the real danger to life from deeply laid and widely ramified plots, and some faint idea of the situation may dawn, as President Lincoln was forced to see it on March 4, 1861.

His inaugural was conservative, assuring to the Southern States that slavery would not be disturbed in the States if they would seek a peaceful remedy for their grievances, invited Constitutional amendments for the troubles, and closed: "In your hands, my dissatisfied fellow-countrymen, and not in mine, is the momentous issue of civil war. The government will not assail *you*. You can have no conflict without being yourselves the aggressors. *You* have no oath registered in heaven to destroy the government, while I shall have the most solemn one to preserve, protect and defend it."

The President proceeded to supply the Union garrison in Fort Sumter. This was what President Buchanan had hesitated to do, the Confederates having said they would regard it as a coer-



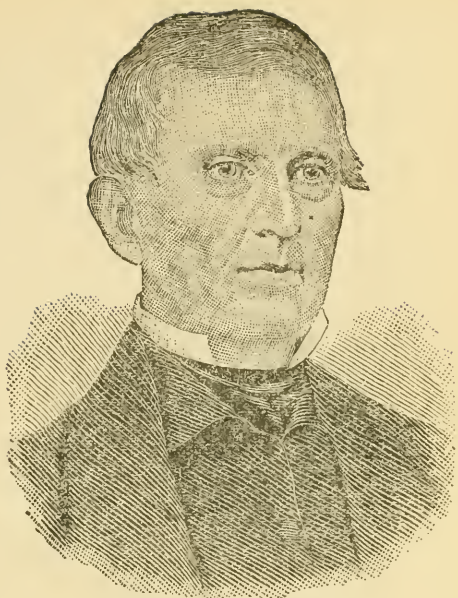
HOME OF ABRAHAM LINCOLN AT SPRINGFIELD.

cive act. They began a bombardment of the fort, April 13, 1861, and on April 14, after a fire of thirty hours, the flag was lowered in surrender. This first overt act of rebellion, and this first triumph of civil war, disillusioned the country, and resentment took the place of conciliation. For a time Democrats and Republicans united in demanding sturdy measures, not only to wipe out insult to the flag, but to force the erring States into the restraints imposed by the Constitution and laws. Armed attack must be repelled, the majesty of law vindicated, the dignity of order conserved, the unity of the nation restored, the supreme strength of the government asserted throughout its jurisdiction, and all in the now necessarily armed and forceful way invited by the magnitude, vigor and determination of the attack. The issue thus joined was the Great American Rebellion of 1861; or, The Civil War in the United States of America.

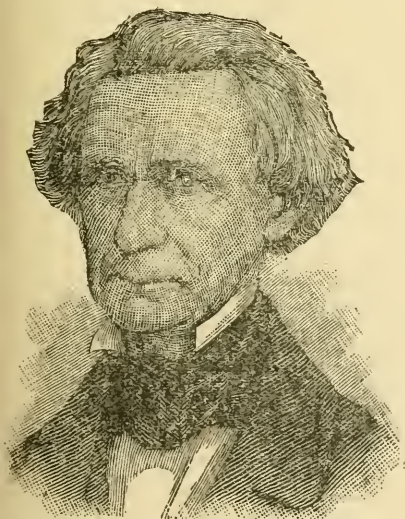
THIRTY-SEVENTH CONGRESS—Extra Session.—Called for July 4, 1861. The President had promptly recognized the condition of civil war and called for 75,000 volunteers. These were plainly inadequate, for the Confederacy of seven seceded States had grown to eleven. The doubtful border States had become a raiding ground for Confederate forces. Armies, fully equipped, strong in numbers, ably officered, fierce in determination, were swarming into strategical places and centering on the Capital of the nation. Men must be had for defensive as well as offensive measures. Materials of war must also be provided—money, guns, ammunition, equipments. Hence this extra session, in which only the Northern and border States were represented. Both branches were Republican. The Senate stood 31 Republicans, 11 Democrats, and 5 War Democrats; the House 106 Republicans, 42 Democrats and 28 War Democrats. The House organized by electing Galusha A. Grow, Pa., Republican, Speaker. Happily for the country, there was a strong preponderance of the Union element, and such prevalence of the liberal construction doctrines, in the presence of dire necessity, as freed energetic war measures from the tedious debates which they had hitherto provoked. The disastrous affair of Bull Run (July 21, 1861) proved an additional incentive to speedy and vigorous



HANNIBAL HAMLIN.



JOHN J. CRITTENDEN.



SIMON CAMERON.



STEPHEN A. DOUGLAS.

legislation, for it further disclosed the determination of the Confederates, helped the Unionists to understand the magnitude of the force they had to meet, and proved the imminency of the danger which hung over the capital.

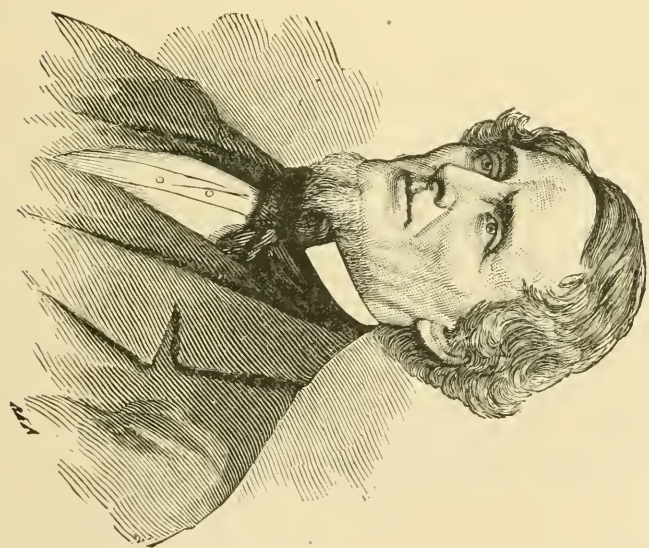
The President was therefore empowered to call out 500,000 volunteers, a national loan was authorized, appropriations were made for the army and navy, an act was passed for the punishment of conspiracy and for the confiscation of all property used against the government, and as a means for additional revenue an amended Tariff act was passed, Aug. 5, 1861, which considerably increased the duties and contained distinctive protective features. The anti-war or peace Democrats interjected measures of negotiation and compromise into all the deliberations on war measures, but the hour for procrastination had passed, and it was not deemed expedient nor proper to further parley with armed, and thus far triumphant, rebellion. After resolutions pledging further men and money to the administration, should they become necessary to aid in the suppression of the rebellion and the execution of the laws, the Congress adjourned, August 6, 1861.

THIRTY-SEVENTH CONGRESS—First Regular Session.—Met December 2, 1861. Like the preceding, this was a War Session. The Democrats had somewhat recovered from the shock occasioned by the firing on Sumter, and had drawn their lines sufficiently close to make a party issue of many of the most vigorous war measures. Over the question of "what to do with captured slaves?" they took positive ground against the bills which were passed, forbidding the return of fugitives and declaring those free who were employed against the government and for insurrectionary purposes,* and so of the bill prescribing

* This is not said of the pronounced War Democrats, who were in concert with the Republicans on active war measures, nor even of those who, in official position, used the privilege of a minority to freely and intelligently criticise the acts of a majority. It is said of those who sought to hold the organization and to commit it to a decided anti-war policy; who even went so far as to encourage opposition to the war among their constituents, and keep up the spirit of the Confederates by aiding associations like the "Knights of the Golden Circle," "Sons of Liberty," etc., whose objects were to release prisoners of war, invite raids, engage in conspiracies



ALEXANDER H. STEPHENS.



JEFFERSON DAVIS.

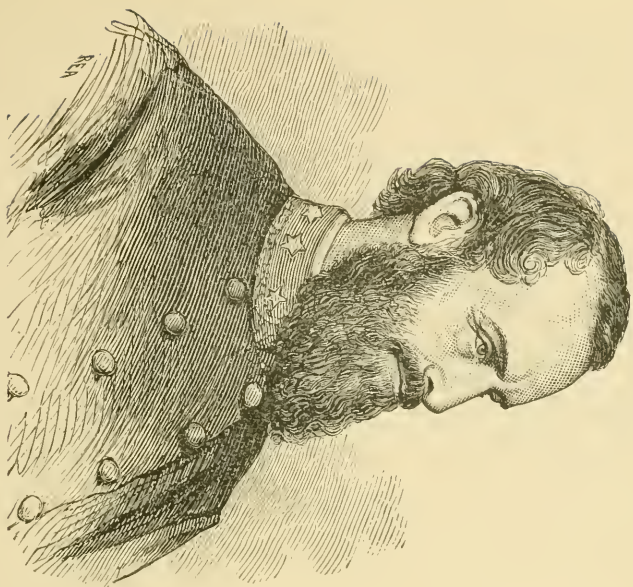
the "Iron-Clad Oath," whose design was to exclude from government service all who were engaged in rebellion or who sympathized with it. The session witnessed the passage of a bill giving public lands to the States for the endowment of Agricultural Colleges; also the passage of the Homestead Bill, which had been so frequently before Congress since the formation of the Republican party. An increase in Tariff rates was made by the act of Dec. 24, 1861. Congress adjourned, July 17, 1862.

THIRTY-SEVENTH CONGRESS—Second Session.—Met Dec. 1, 1862. A War Session, in the midst of national necessity more imperative than ever. Large appropriations were made for army and navy purposes. The Treasury was authorized to negotiate further loans. But ready money was scarce. There was no currency adequate to the huge transactions of the war, and none uniform. In this strait the Congress sanctioned a National (Greenback) Currency, after long and able discussion involving its constitutionality, the meaning of the power "to coin money and issue bills of credit," the inherent right of the government to protect itself, the analogy furnished by the old National Bank, the respective attitude of parties on the question from the beginning.

Nor was the situation simplified when the question of more men came up. This involved the draft as a means of procuring soldiers, with all the technical objections which a strict construction of the constitution gave rise to. The act which passed provoked the hostility of anti-war Democrats throughout the entire North, and in several States the Courts held it unconstitutional. Its enforcement in New York gave rise to the riots of July, 1863, which were only suppressed by armed interference of the Federal authorities.

Another measure, made necessary by the exigency of the hour, was the act to suspend the writ of *Habeas Corpus*. This also excited the opposition and enmity of all who wished to be free to vindicate the Confederate cause, either by writing or speaking in its favor, or by any other act short of actual enlistment under to resist drafts—as in New York—enlist men for the Southern army, and give aid and comfort to the enemy in various ways.

STONEWALL JACKSON.



ROBERT E. LEE.



its banners. The peace Democrats vehemently opposed its passage, and it was perhaps the most unpopular of the stringent war measures, saving always the draft act. Dec. 31, 1862, the act to admit West Virginia passed, which took effect June 19, 1863. Congress adjourned *sine die*, March 3, 1863.

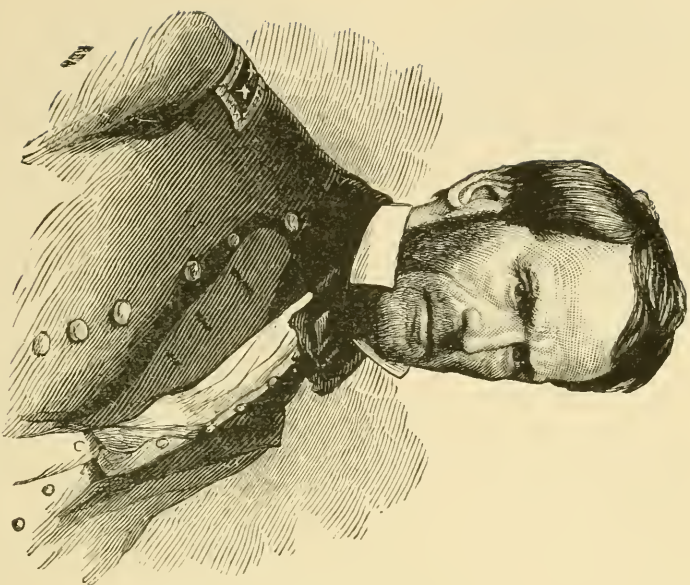
ABOLITION OF SLAVERY.—All the pledges of the free States were of an intent not to interfere with Slavery in the States where it existed. All the negotiations and compromises of 1861 embraced the same idea. Mr. Lincoln, in his inaugural, gave it out that Slavery in the States had nothing to fear from his administration, if the issue of disunion were not further, or violently, pushed. The anti-slavery sentiment was not essentially an abolition sentiment. Even the revulsion of feeling occasioned by the firing on Sumter had not served to lift it to the point of interference with the institution of Slavery within State limits.

But the question of Slavery, ever complex, was, after the beginning of the war, more complicated than ever. It was forcing itself on the officers of the army at every step. In the field slavery was a part of the Confederate service, contributing to the strength of its armies, helping it to resist the Union troops, aiding it to win victories. It therefore was hostile, as much so as the armies themselves, or as cannon, muskets, ammunition, tents, stores, whose destruction war justified.

This the Administration saw. But it saw other things too: (1) A probability of holding the doubtful Border States and making their allegiance firmer by compensating them for their slaves in case they abolished slavery. This the President recommended to Congress, March 2, 1862. It was approved, but not accepted by the Border States as being impracticable. In fact it met the opposition of the entire Democratic party.

(2) He saw that to take any more decided step at that time would be to alienate the conservative anti-slavery sentiment of the Free States. That is, he did not yet regard the country as educated to the point of necessary or compulsory abolition.

(3) He saw that if the rebellion were allowed to drag because of a want of energy on the part of the administration, or fear to cripple any and all the resources which helped to sustain it,



GENERAL W. T. SHERMAN.



ADMIRAL D. G. FARRAGUT.

the more determined anti-slavery sentiment of the Free States would rise against him and demand abolition as necessary to the suppression of civil war.

Congress had moved very cautiously, being content with a measure forbidding the return of fugitives, and one declaring free those slaves who were captured while aiding rebellion. General Fremont, in the Department of Missouri, had, Aug. 31, 1861, declared the slaves of rebels free, but the President overruled his order. General B. F. Butler, in Virginia, had declared slaves "contraband of war," and liable to confiscation. Most of the field officers were either returning them to their masters, or hesitating about what to do with them.

Rebellion was increasing in vigor, and slaves were part of that energy. By the laws of war the contraband property of the enemy is confiscate. By act of Congress "the property of persons engaged in treason or rebellion against the United States" was liable to seizure and confiscation. The time had come when the weapons of the enemy of whatever kind must be wrenched from his grasp, when the "Union must be saved with slavery," or, that failing, "without it."

On Sept. 22, 1862, the President issued his proclamation to the effect that he would emancipate "all slaves within any State or designated parts of a State, the people whereof shall be in rebellion against the United States on the 1st day of January, 1863." "If such sections are in good faith represented in Congress on that day, it shall be deemed conclusive evidence that such State and the people thereof are not in rebellion against the United States."

No attention was paid to this. It was followed, Jan. 1, 1863, by the celebrated Emancipation Proclamation, for which the country now seemed ready, "as a fit and necessary war measure for suppressing rebellion." It applied only to the States and portions of States actually in rebellion, and which were unrepresented in Congress, or were not in the possession of the Union armies. Two years afterwards (February 1, 1865) the Thirteenth Amendment to the Constitution passed the Congress, and was ratified by three-fourths of the States, so as to become effective



COMMODORE FOOTE.



MAJOR ANDERSON.

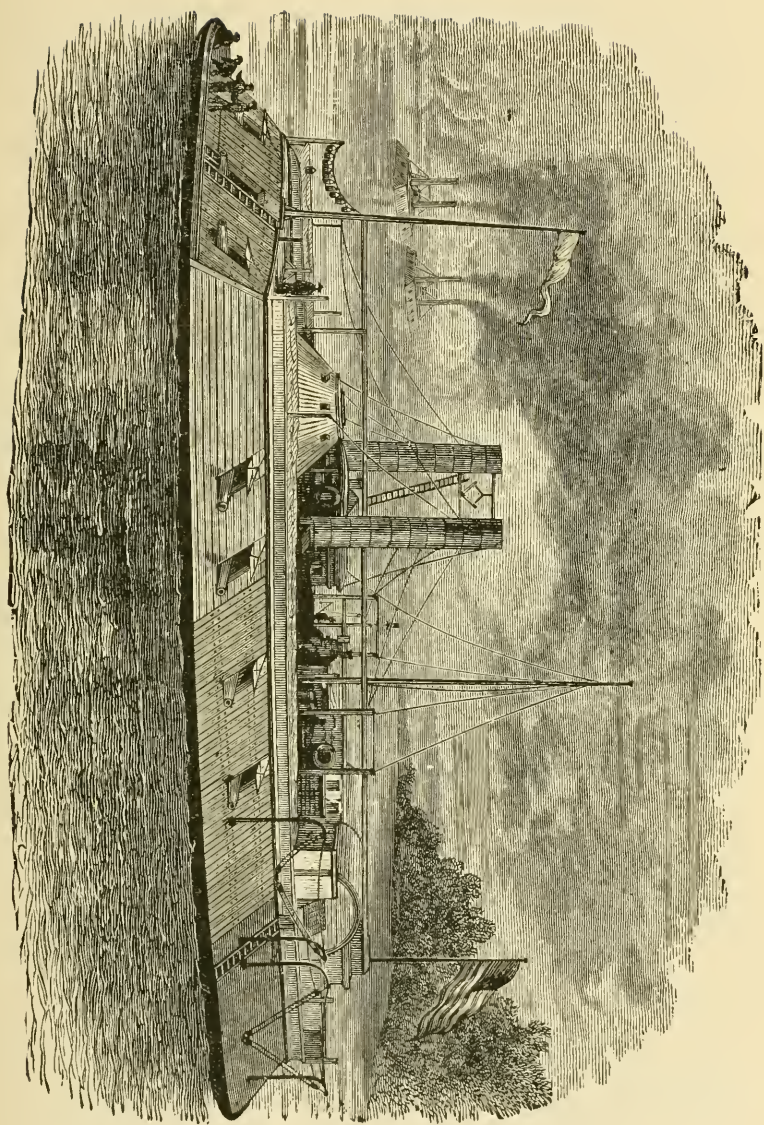
by Dec. 18, 1865. It is in almost the precise words of the historic ordinance of 1787 relative to the territory northwest of the Ohio. This amendment ended African slavery in the United States of America.

THIRTY-EIGHTH CONGRESS—First Session.—Met Dec. 7, 1863. The House organized by electing Schuyler Colfax, Republican, Indiana, Speaker. The Senate contained 36 Republicans and 14 Democrats; the House 102 Republicans and 83 Democrats. Nine of the latter were from the Border States. The Union Democrats had mostly gone entirely over to the Republicans. Some, however, had gone back into the regular Democratic organization, which was now pretty squarely on an anti-war basis. The session was prolific of war measures, on most of which party lines were strictly drawn. That which excited most bitter debate was the repeal of the Fugitive Slave Law of 1850 by a vote of 27 to 12 in the Senate, and 86 to 60 in the House. The Thirteenth Amendment to the Constitution passed the Senate, but did not pass the House by the requisite two-thirds till the next session. Among the revenue bills were those creating a system of Internal Revenue by a tax on domestic manufactures, one imposing a tax on incomes over \$600 which was very unpopular and short-lived, and one creating the system of National Banks. All these were comparatively new measures, justified by the condition of the country and a state of war, yet at variance with the strict construction notions on which the Democrats based a determined opposition. On June 30, the Tariff Act of 1864 was passed, which increased the rate of duties, and made them still more protective. Congress adjourned, July 4, 1864.

ELECTION OF 1864.—The Republican National Convention met at Baltimore, June 7, 1864, and renominated for President, Abraham Lincoln,* Ill., and for Vice-President, Andrew Johnson, Tenn. The nomination of the latter was a recognition of the Union men of the South. The platform: (1) Pledged

* Mr. Lincoln had inclined to the one term idea, but by advanced endorsement for a second term among the Legislatures of the Northern States, as in the case of Jackson for his second term, he concluded to stand.

IRONCLAD RIVER GUNBOAT.

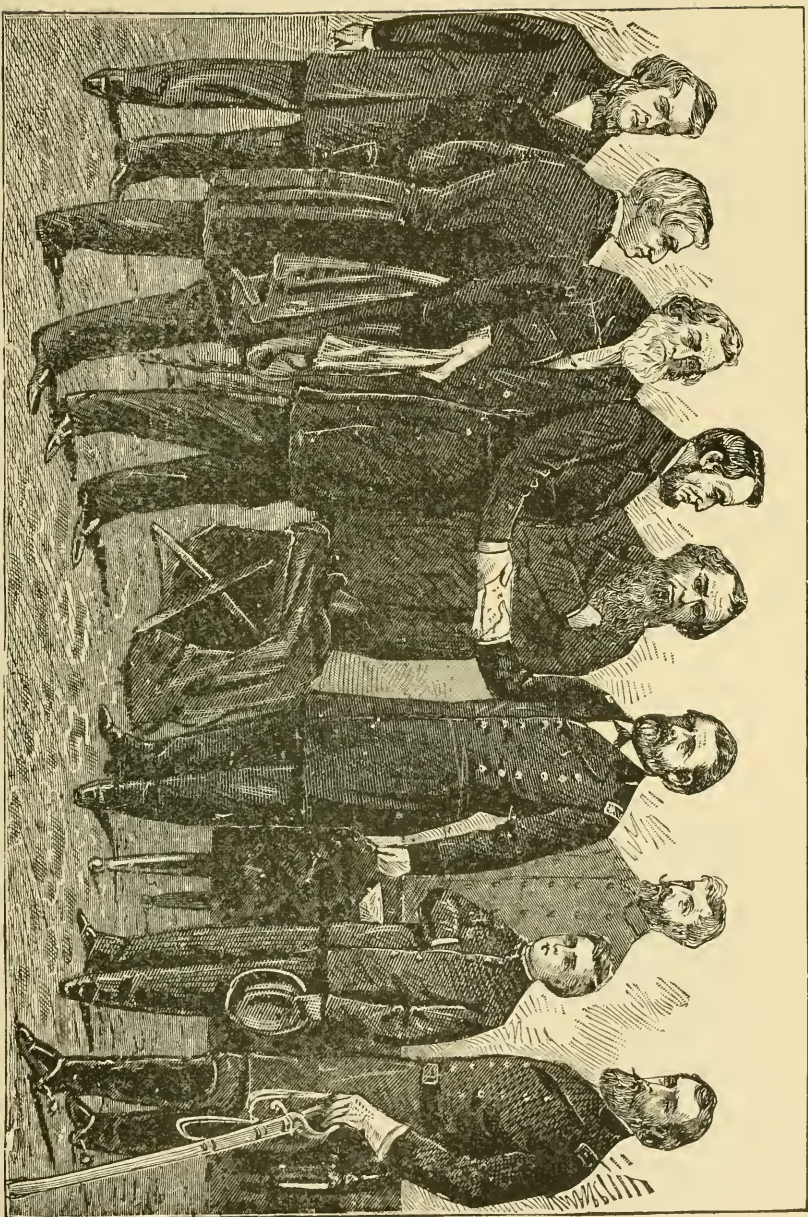


the party to aid the government in the suppression of rebellion. (2) No peace except one based on unconditional surrender of all armed rebels. (3) An amendment to the Constitution prohibiting slavery. (4) Thanks to soldiers for maintaining the flag. (5) Approval of the course of administration. (6) No violation of the laws of war. (7) Favored foreign immigration and a Pacific Railroad. (8) The national faith pledged to the redemption of the public debt must be kept inviolate. (9) Approval of the "Monroe doctrine."

The Democratic National Convention met at Chicago, Aug. 29, 1864, and nominated for President, George B. McClellan, N. J., and for Vice-President, George H. Pendleton, Ohio. The convention was dominated by the reactionary or peace wing of the party, called by their opponents "Copperheads." The platform announced: (1) Adhesion to the Union under the Constitution. (2) Demanded, "after four years of failure to restore the Union by war," a cessation of hostilities and a peace convention. (3) Denounced military interference with elections as revolutionary. (4) Objects of the party are to preserve the Union and the rights of the States unimpaired. (5) Denunciation of the war measures in general. (6) Administration denounced for disregard of duty to prisoners of war. (7) Sympathy of the party for soldiers and sailors.

A Convention of Radical Men met at Cleveland, Ohio, May 31, 1864, and nominated John C. Fremont, Cal., for President, and John C. Cochrane, N. Y., for Vice-President. They adopted a platform nearly like that of the Republicans, but with a clause endorsing the one term principle. This was designed to head off the renomination of Lincoln, who had given offense to them by his tardy action respecting slavery. The candidates withdrew in favor of the Baltimore nominees.

The position taken by the Democrats in their platform to the effect that the war was a failure, and that its cessation was demanded by the country, presented an issue which the Republicans met squarely, and with confidence. The result was a popular verdict in their favor, not only in the Presidential but in the Congressional contests.



GRANT COMMISSIONED AS LIEUTENANT GENERAL.

THIRTY-EIGHTH CONGRESS—Second Session.—Met Dec. 5, 1864. Necessary war measures were passed, the Thirteenth Amendment to the Constitution by the House, and the bill creating the Freedmen's Bureau. The status of the rebellious States came up in the proceedings attending the electoral count in February. Both Houses regarded them in such a condition as to make a valid election for President within their borders and under our laws impossible. Their vote was, therefore, not considered. The count showed 212 votes for Lincoln and Johnson, and 21 for McClellan and Pendleton. Congress adjourned *sine die*, March 3, 1865. On March 4, Lincoln and Johnson were sworn into office.

XX.

LINCOLN'S SECOND ADMINISTRATION, AND
JOHNSON'S.

March 4, 1865—March 3, 1869.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN, ILL., *President*. ANDREW JOHNSON, TENN.,
Vice-President.

*Congresses.**Sessions.*

THIRTY-NINTH CONGRESS.	{ 1, December 4, 1865–July 28, 1866. 2, December 3, 1866–March 3, 1867.	
FORTIETH CONGRESS.	{ 1, March 4, 1867–March 30, 1867. 2, July 3, 1867–July 20, 1867. 3, November 21, 1867–Dec. 2, 1867. 4, December 2, 1867–July 27, 1868. 5, December 7, 1868–March 3, 1869.	} Extra session with recesses.

*ELECTORAL VOTE.**

States.	Basis of 127,381.	Vote.	Republican.		Democrat.	
			Abraham Lincoln, Ill.	Andrew Johnson, Tenn.	Geo. B. McClellan, N. J.	Geo. H. Pendleton, Ohio.
†Alabama.....	6	8	..	..	..	..
†Arkansas.....	3	5	..	..	..	..
California.....	3	5	5	5	..	..
Connecticut.....	4	6	6	6	..	..
Delaware.....	1	3	..	..	3	3
†Florida.....	1	3	..	..	..	..

* The popular vote was: Lincoln, 2,216,067—22 States; McClellan, 1,808,725—3 States; not voting, 11 States.

† In a state of rebellion. Not voting. 81 votes lost.



ABRAHAM LINCOLN.



WILLIAM H. SEWARD.

Electoral Vote—Continued.

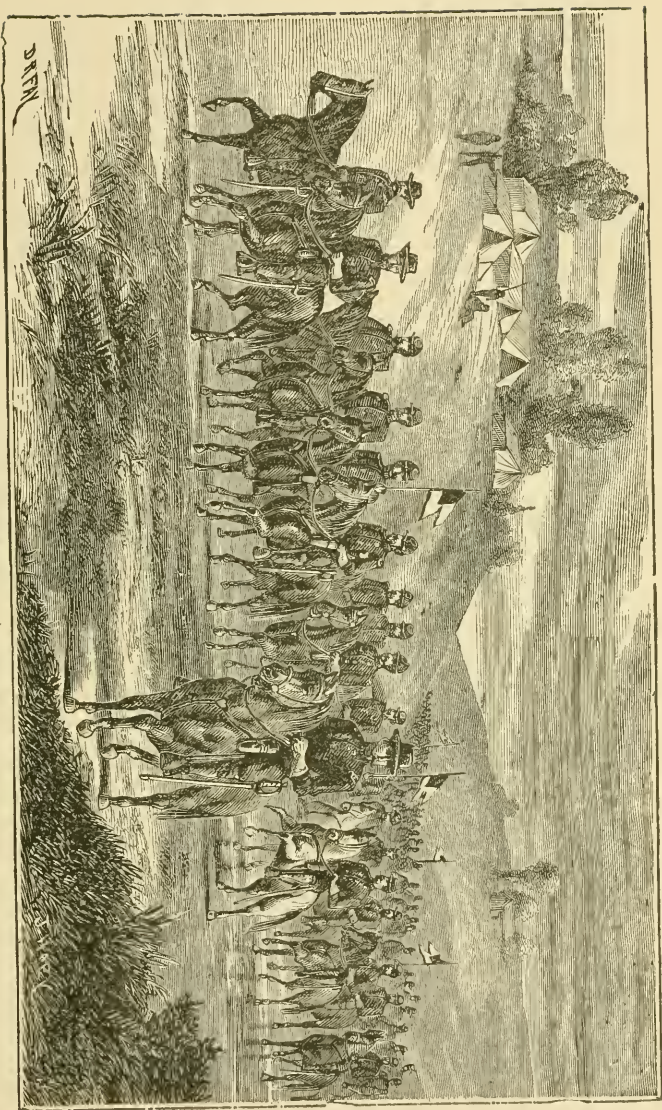
States.	Basis of 127,381.	Vote.	Republican.		Democrat.	
			Abraham Lincoln, Ill.	Andrew Johnson, Tenn.	Geo. B. McClellan, N. J.	Geo. H. Pendleton, Ohio.
*Georgia.....	7	9	..	..	..	..
Illinois.....	14	16	16	16	..	..
Indiana.....	11	13	13	13	..	..
Iowa.....	6	8	8	8	..	..
Kansas.....	1	3	3	3	..	..
Kentucky.....	9	11	..	..	11	11
*Louisiana.....	5	7	..	..	..	..
Maine.....	5	7	7	7	..	..
Maryland.....	5	7	7	7	..	..
Massachusetts.....	10	12	12	12	..	..
Michigan.....	6	8	8	8	..	..
Minnesota.....	2	4	4	4	..	..
*Mississippi.....	5	7	..	..	..	..
Missouri.....	9	11	11	11	..	..
Nevada.....	1	3	2	2	..	.. 1 vacancy.
New Hampshire....	3	5	5	5	..	..
New Jersey.....	5	7	..	..	7	7
New York.....	31	33	33	33	..	..
*North Carolina...	7	9	..	..	..	..
Ohio.....	19	21	21	21	..	..
Oregon.....	1	3	3	3	..	..
Pennsylvania.....	24	26	26	26	..	..
Rhode Island.....	2	4	4	4	..	..
*South Carolina...	4	6	..	..	..	..
*Tennessee.....	8	10	..	..	..	..
*Texas.....	4	6	..	..	..	..
Vermont.....	3	5	5	5	..	..
*Virginia.....	8	10	..	..	..	..
West Virginia.....	3	5	5	5	..	..
Wisconsin.....	6	8	8	8	..	..
Totals.....	242	314	212	212	21	21

THE CABINET.

Secretary of State.....W. H. Seward, N. Y.Continued.
 Secretary of Treasury....Hugh McCullough, Ind.
 Secretary of War.....Edwin M. Stanton, Pa.Continued.
 Secretary of Navy.....Gideon Welles, Conn. “
 Secretary of Interior....James Harlan, Iowa.
 Attorney-General.....James Speed, Ky.Continued.
 Postmaster-General.....William Dennison, Ohio... “

THE INAUGURAL.—Gettysburg, July 2, 3, 4, 1863, turned the tide of rebellion. It had fallen backwards, and was, March 4, 1865, hemmed in and under control. The President's inaugural was full of gratitude for past success, of hope for final success, and of that kindness of spirit and gentleness of disposi-

* In a state of rebellion. Not voting, 81 votes lost.



CAVALRY COLUMN ON THE MARCH.

tion which had gotten to be accepted as characteristic of the man and official. In it he said, "With malice toward none, with charity for all, with firmness in right, as God has given us to see the right, let us strive on to finish the work we are in, to bind up the nation's wounds, to care for him who shall have borne the battle, and for his widow and orphans—to do all which may achieve a just and lasting peace among ourselves and with all nations."

Seldom had a state paper borne to its readers such weighty and impressive contents. Never had one been welcomed with greater warmth of sentiment. It nerved the heart of the nation to endure its trial till that end, which it prophesied as near, should come with its cessation of bloodshed, its hush of strife, its joy of victory, its Union saved, its glorious opening of the era of freedom.

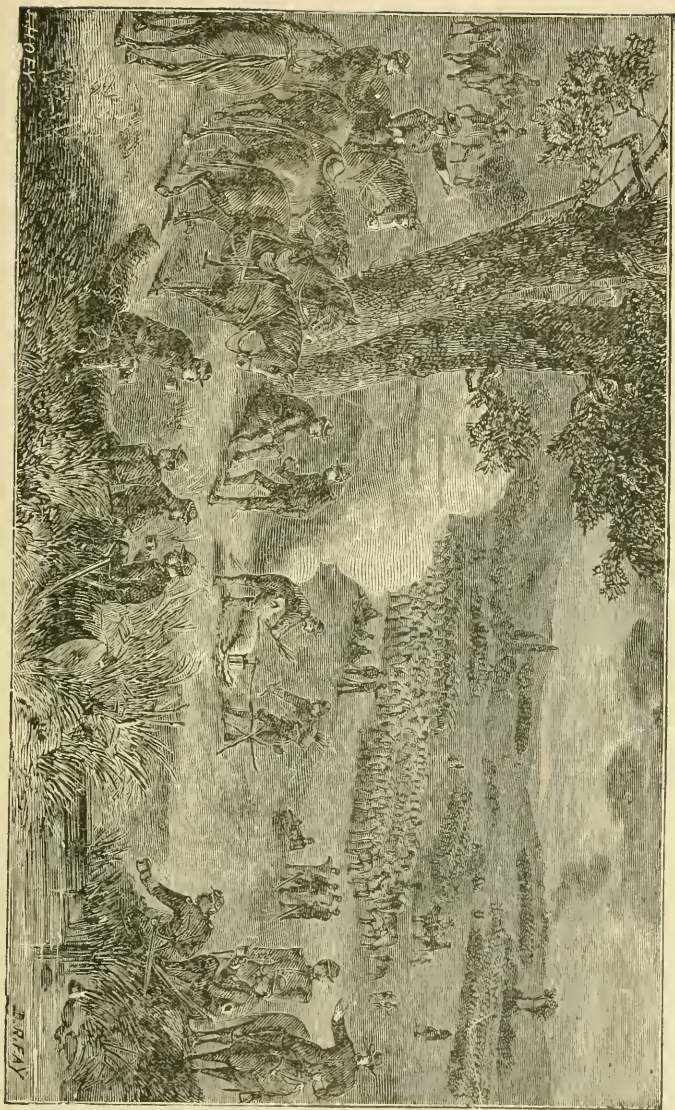
EVENTS OF THE REBELLION.—On Dec. 20, 1860, a Convention assembled at Charleston, South Carolina, declared that the State was separated from the Union forever. In a little more than a month, similar acts of secession were passed by Mississippi, Florida, Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana and Texas.

EVENTS OF 1861.—On Feb. 4, 1861, delegates from the seceding States met at Montgomery, Ala., and formed "The Confederate States of America," with Jefferson Davis as President, and Alexander H. Stephens as Vice-President.

In the same month General Twiggs, commandant of U. S. troops in Texas, surrendered his forces to the State authorities. The Government managed to hold Fortress Monroe, the Dry Tortugas, Fort Pickens, and Fort Sumter, though the *Star of the West* was fired upon in attempting to reinforce the latter, Jan. 9, 1861. There had been a general transfer of arms to the forts and arsenals in the South, and the National Treasury had been depleted.

A "Peace Convention" met at Washington, Feb. 4, 1861, at which the terms known as "The Crittenden Compromise" were rejected.

On April 12 General Beauregard, at the head of a Confederate army, surrounded and demanded the surrender of Fort



A CAVALRY BIVOULAC

Sumter, Charleston, S. C. Major Anderson, in command of the fort, refused to surrender. Beauregard opened fire and continued it till the 14th, when Anderson evacuated.

On April 15 President Lincoln called for 75,000 volunteers for three months. Congress made appropriations for war purposes. On April 17 Virginia seceded, and on the next day Virginia insurgents seized the United States Armory at Harper's Ferry. On April 17 Jefferson Davis issued letters-of-marque and reprisal to all vessels that would prey on American commerce, and on the next day President Lincoln proclaimed the blockade of the Southern ports.

On April 19 the Sixth Massachusetts Regiment, while passing through Baltimore for Washington, was attacked by a mob, and several were killed on both sides. By the middle of June Arkansas, North Carolina and Tennessee had seceded. On May 3 President Lincoln called for 64,000 additional men for the army and 18,000 for the navy.

Congress was assembled July 4, 1861. It authorized the raising of 500,000 troops and appropriated \$500,000,000 for the defence of the nation. Richmond was made the capital of the Confederacy, and Confederate armies were stationed at various points in Virginia, with their centre at Manassas Junction. On May 10 General Lyon saved Missouri to the Union by the capture of an insurgent camp at St. Louis. On May 24 Union troops crossed the Potomac and took possession of Arlington and Alexandria, Va.

The period of action had arrived. On June 3 General Kelly routed 500 Confederates at Philippi, W. Va. On June 10 the Confederates routed the Union troops at Big Bethel, Va. On June 11 General Wallace defeated and dispersed the Confederates at Romney, W. Va. On July 11 General Rosecrans defeated 3,000 Confederates at Rich Mountain, W. Va.

On July 18 General McDowell set out from Fairfax Court-House, with a Union army of 50,000 men, to meet General Beauregard with an equal number of Confederates, at Manassas Junction. The ground was stubbornly disputed at Blackburn's Ford, near Centreville; but the movement was kept up till the



A NIGHT ATTACK.

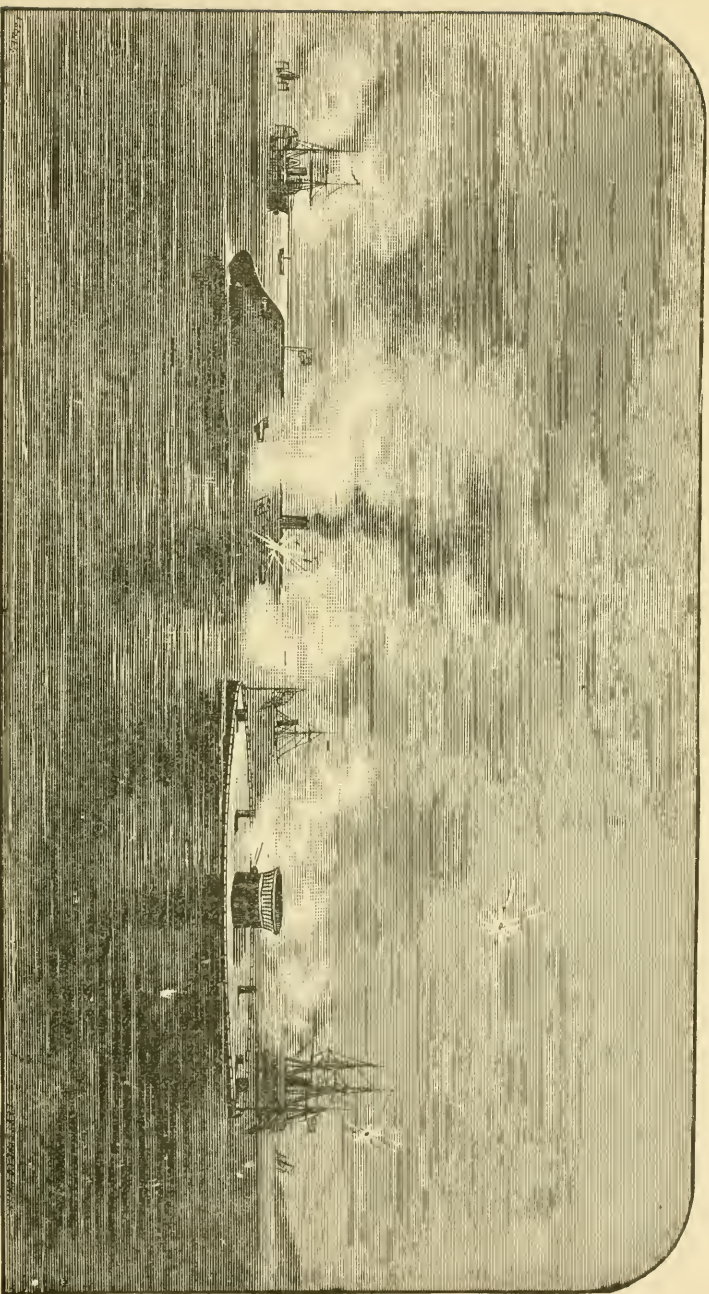
21st, when occurred the sanguinary and memorable battle of Bull's Run, near Manassas. The result was a defeat for the Union army, and a confused retreat toward Washington. On the next day General McClellan was given command of the Union forces.

War was active in Missouri. On July 5 General Sigel defeated the Confederates under Claiborne Jackson, at Carthage. On August 2 General Lyon defeated the Confederate forces, under General McCullough, at Dug Springs. On August 10 Lyon fought the disastrous battle of Wilson Creek with the forces of McCullough and Price, in which he was killed and his army compelled to retreat.

On August 26 Forts Clarke and Hatteras, on Hatteras Inlet, N. C., were captured by the Union army and navy, under General Butler and Commodore Stringham. This hold on the State was never lost. West Virginia was declared independent of old Virginia, and a loyal State, June 17, 1861. The Confederates immediately sent armies into the State to coerce it into the Confederacy. These armies were led by General R. E. Lee, H. A. Wise, and John B. Floyd. Floyd was defeated after a three days' fight at Carnifax Ferry, by the Union troops led by General Rosecrans.

In September the Confederates captured Lexington, Mo., and its garrison; but the town was retaken by Major White on Oct. 16. On Oct. 21 was fought the bloody engagement of Ball's Bluff, on the Potomac, above Washington, in which the Union forces were routed with the loss of many men and officers, among the latter being General Baker.

On Nov. 7 General Grant fought his first serious battle of the war at Belmont, Mo., against General Cheatham. He was defeated, but beat a masterly retreat. On the same day Forts Walker and Beauregard, at the Port Royal entrance, S. C., fell into the hands of the Union forces. On Nov. 1 General McClellan was made General of the Union forces throughout the States, General Scott having resigned. By the end of the year the important countries of Europe, except Russia, had recognized the Confederacy as a belligerent power.



ENGAGEMENT BETWEEN THE MONITOR AND MERRIMAC, IN HAMPTON ROADS.

EVENTS OF 1862.—On January 19, 1862, General Thomas defeated the Confederate army, under General Zollicoffer, at Mill Spring, Ky. Zollicoffer was killed. On February 8, after a spirited battle, General Burnside and Commodore Goldsborough took possession of Roanoke Island, N. C.

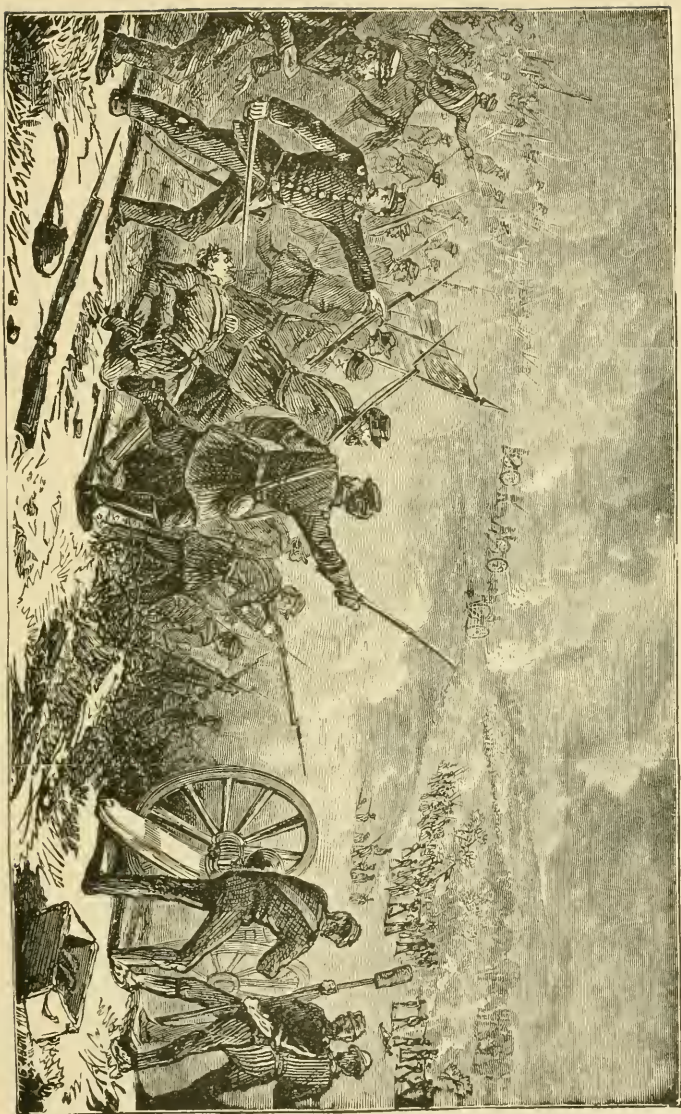
On February 6 General Grant and Commodore Foote captured Fort Henry, on the Tennessee, and on the 16th General Grant captured Fort Donelson, on the Cumberland, with its garrison of over 14,000 Confederates, including the commander, General Buckner. Generals Pillow and Floyd escaped with 5000 men.

In Missouri General Curtis fought a three days' battle, March 6, 7 and 8, at Pea Ridge with the Confederates, under Van Dorn, Price and McCullough. The Confederates were defeated, with the loss of McCullough. On March 8 occurred the contest between the Confederate iron-clad *Merrimac* and the Union frigates *Cumberland* and *Congress*, in the mouth of the James river, in which the latter vessels were sunk. On the next day, March 9, the *Monitor* attacked the *Merrimac*, disabled her and compelled her to return to Norfolk.

On March 14 General Burnside with 12,000 Union troops fought the battle of Newbern, N. C., and captured the place. On March 23 General Shields met "Stonewall" Jackson's forces near Winchester, and defeated them.

General Grant had moved up the Tennessee river to Shiloh. Here he was attacked by the Confederate forces under Beauregard and Sidney Johnston. On the first day of the battle, March 6, the Union army was worsted and driven back to the river. It was reinforced by Buell's army from Nashville and, on the next day, defeated the Confederates, who lost heavily, among their dead being General Albert Sidney Johnston. On the day of the memorable victory at Shiloh, March 7, Island No. 10, a strong post on the Mississippi, surrendered to Commodore Foote's fleet.

On April 11 Fort Pulaski, Ga., surrendered to the Union troops under Gillmore, and Huntsville, Ala., fell into the hands



BATTLE OF SHILOH.

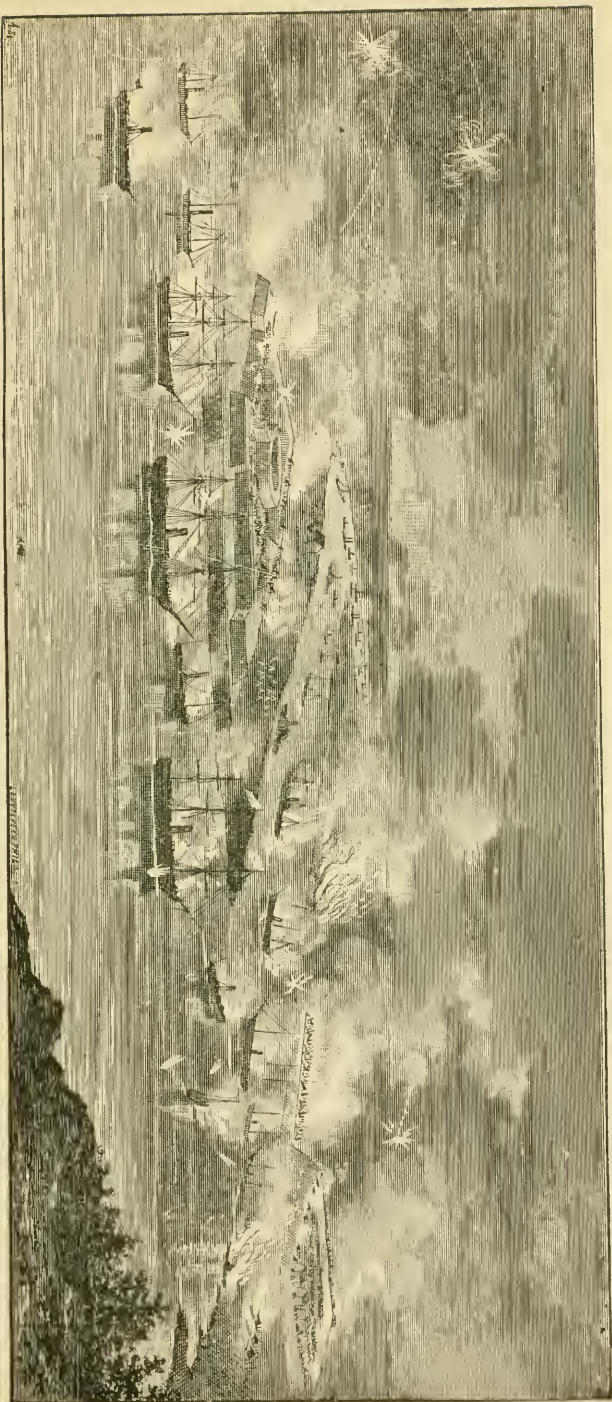
of General Mitchell. Fort Macon, N. C., surrendered to the Union army on April 25.

A fleet under command of Commodores Farragut and Porter, and a land army under General Butler, had been fitted out for the capture of New Orleans. After bombarding Forts Jackson and St. Philip, the fleet passed up the Mississippi, and appeared before New Orleans April 25. The garrison fled, and on April 28 General Butler took possession of the city.

General McClellan advanced on Richmond by way of the peninsula between the James and York rivers. His army had been carried down the Potomac on steamers, and on April 4 he began his famous march for the Confederate capital, capturing Yorktown on the way, May 3. On May 5 he fought the severe battle of Williamsburg, and was successful. The Confederates evacuated Norfolk, destroyed the *Merrimac*, and retreated toward Richmond. On the 29th the Union troops, under Fitz John Porter, captured Hanover Court-House, after a severe engagement. On May 31 and June 1 occurred the great battle of Fair Oaks, which was a draw. Three weeks after Fair Oaks, during which time the base of supplies was changed from the York to the James river, McClellan resumed his movement on Richmond. This movement resulted in a series of severe battles, called the "Seven Day Battle," June 25 to July 1, which resulted in the repulse of the Confederates at Malvern Hill. The battle of Oak Grove was fought, June 25; Mechanicsville, June 26; Gaines' Mill, June 27; Peach Orchard and Savage Station, June 29; Malvern Hill, July 1. The armies numbered 100,000 men respectively and the losses were from 16,000 to 20,000 on either side. McClellan could not force his way any further toward Richmond, retreated to his transports and thence to Washington.

On May 12 Farragut's Mississippi fleet captured Natchez, and on the 29th Corinth surrendered to General Halleck. Memphis fell into the hands of the Union forces on June 6, after a severe naval engagement.

Meanwhile the Confederates defeated General Banks at Winchester, W. Va., and drove him north of the Potomac. Fre-



NEW ORLEANS.—FLEET PASSING FORTS JACKSON AND ST. PHILIP.

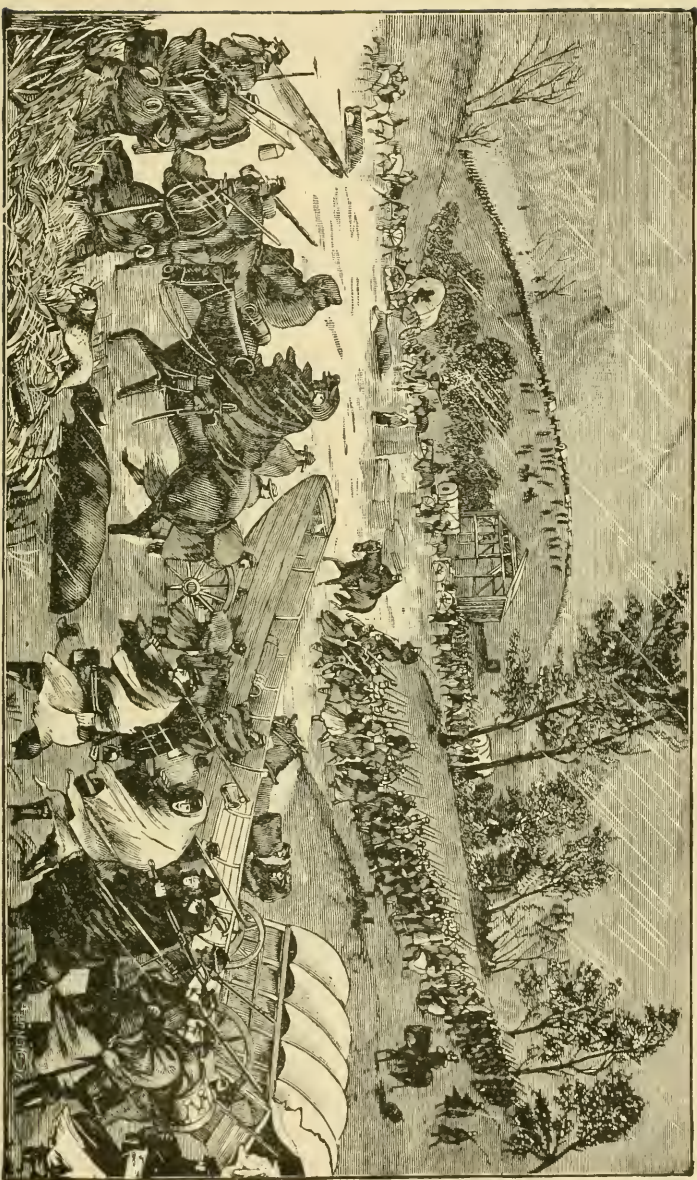
mont fought the indecisive battle of Cross Keys, and Shields was beaten at Port Republic by the Confederates under "Stonewall" Jackson.

On July 1, after the disastrous retreat of McClellan from the Peninsula, President Lincoln called for 300,000 more men, and General Halleck was made Commander-in-chief of the armies of the Union.

On August 5 the Confederates, under General Breckinridge, attacked General Williams at Baton Rouge, La., but were repulsed with the loss of their ram *Arkansas*. General Williams was killed.

The three grand divisions of the Union army, commanded by Generals Banks, Fremont and McDowell, were, June 25, consolidated into "The Army of Virginia," and the command given to General John Pope. The Confederates, flushed with victory, surged toward Washington. On August 9 was fought the indecisive battle of Cedar Mountain between the forces of Banks and "Stonewall" Jackson. At length the Confederates flanked the Union forces and the result was a series of bloody engagements, beginning with Kettle Run, August 27, and continuing with Groveton, August 29; Second Bull Run, August 30; and Chantilly, Sept. 1. The Union loss in this series of battles was estimated at 20,000 and those of the Confederates at 15,000. Pope was badly defeated, and compelled to seek safety behind the fortifications of Washington.

The armies of Virginia and Potomac were now consolidated as the "Army of the Potomac," and McClellan was again given command. The Confederates, under command of General Lee, crossed the Potomac for the invasion of the North. McClellan followed on their right in order to cover Washington and Baltimore. Lee's sweep brought on the battle of South Mountain, in which the Union forces under General Reno were victorious, though Reno lost his life. It likewise forced a severe engagement at Harper's Ferry, which resulted in the defeat and surrender of the garrison of 12,000 Union troops. The forces of McClellan and Lee came together at Antietam, in Maryland, Sept. 17. Each army was 100,000 strong, and the engagement was fierce.



ON TO RICHMOND.

Both sides lost many prominent officers, and the Union loss was estimated at 15,000, the Confederate loss at 20,000. Lee was forced to retreat. He recrossed the Potomac and made his way toward Richmond.

At the same time Lee invaded the North the Confederate Army of the West, under General Kirby Smith, invaded Kentucky, and defeated the Union forces under Nelson, at Richmond, Ky., Aug. 29 and 30. Another Confederate army, under Bragg, marched upon Louisville, but met with signal defeat at Perryville, by Union forces under Rousseau and McCook. Both Smith and Bragg were forced out of Kentucky by the end of the month of October.

The autumn of 1862 witnessed a series of brilliant operations from Corinth, Miss., as a centre. On Sept. 19 Rosecrans defeated the Confederate Generals Price and Van Dorn at Iuka. On Oct. 3 the Confederates were again badly defeated at Corinth, and again at the battle of the Hatchie by Ord and Hurlbutt.

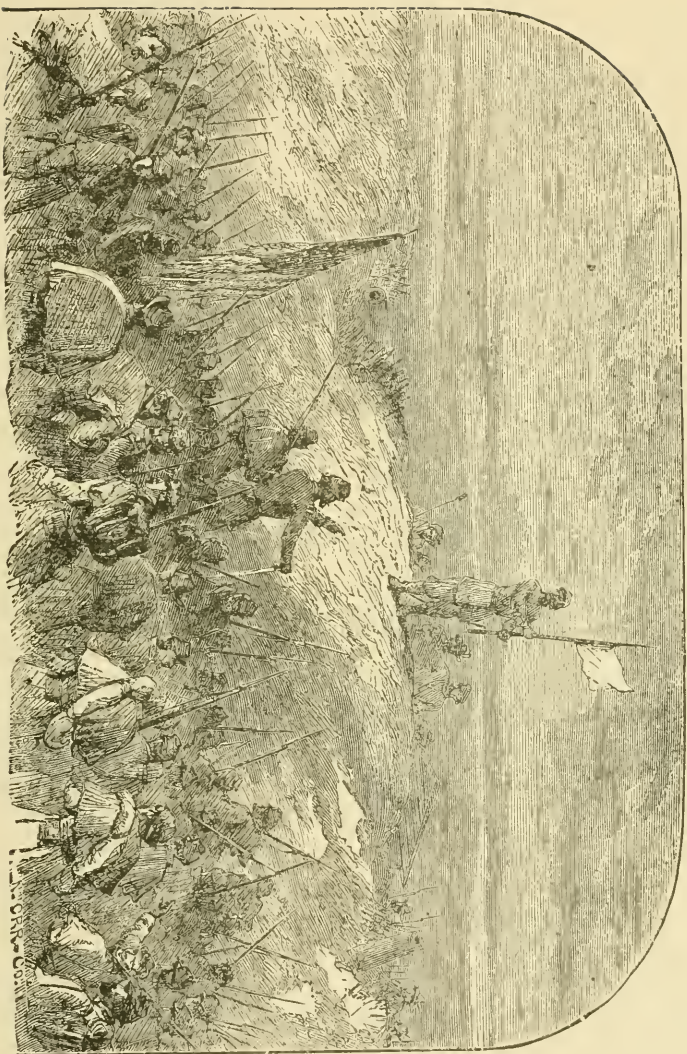
Just after the battle of Antietam the Confederates made a destructive cavalry raid as far north as Chambersburg, Pa. McClellan remained inactive and delayed crossing the Potomac in the track of Lee, till the last of October. On Nov. 5 he was relieved of command and his place given to General A. E. Burnside.

On Dec. 7 Generals Herron and Blount, in command of the Union forces in Arkansas, gained the important victory of Prairie Grove over the Confederates under General Hindman.

General Lee had stopped his retreat toward Richmond at Fredericksburg and had concentrated his forces there. Burnside attacked him, Dec. 13, 1862, and, after a hard battle, was repulsed with the loss of 8000 men. He crossed to the north side of the Potomac and went into winter quarters.

The same month witnessed the unsuccessful attempt of Sherman on Vicksburg, by way of the passes of the Mississippi.

The Union army in Kentucky had followed Bragg on his retreat and, led by Rosecrans, had come up with it at Murfreesboro, Tenn., where a desperate battle was begun on Dec. 29, 1862, and continued until Jan. 4, 1863. It is known in history



FLAG OF TRUCE AT FORT DONELSON.

as the battle of Stone River, and was one of the most desperate of the war. The Union troops were triumphant, but with a loss of 12,000 men.

The year ended with 700,000 national troops in the field, with victories and defeats about even, with the nation in a sad and reflective mood, and with a promised proclamation to end slavery in all insurgent districts unless they returned to their allegiance.

EVENTS OF 1863.—On Jan. 1, 1863, President Lincoln issued his "Proclamation of Freedom." On Jan. 11 General McClelland captured Arkansas Post, with its garrison of 5000 Confederates. In May the Confederates under Longstreet and Hill besieged Suffolk, Va., but were repulsed by 14,000 Union troops under General Peck. During the winter and spring of 1863 General Banks overran Louisiana to the Red river, defeating the Confederates in many actions and capturing many cannon and prisoners.

On April 27, 1863, General Burnside was relieved of command of the Army of the Potomac, and General Hooker succeeded. Hooker crossed the Rappahannock and engaged Lee's army at Chancellorsville. The Union army was defeated and compelled to recross the Rappahannock, May 5. "Stonewall" Jackson was killed in this engagement.

In April, 1863, General Grant defeated the Confederates twice near Port Gibson, Miss. They were also defeated at Raymond, May 12; at Jackson, May 14; at Champion Hills, May 16; at Big Black River Bridge, May 17. These were the battles which enabled Grant to gain the rear of Vicksburg, and to besiege the place.

Lee invaded Pennsylvania, in June, 1863, with his entire army. Hooker followed on his right flank, in order to protect Washington and Baltimore. On June 28 Hooker was succeeded in command by General Meade. Lee advanced rapidly to Gettysburg, Pa., where he was confronted by Meade. The battle of Gettysburg ensued on July 1, 2 and 3. The Confederates were driven to retreat, with a loss of 30,000 men. The Union forces lost 20,000. In a short while both armies were south of the Potomac again.



BATTLE OF GETTYSBURG.

The victory at Gettysburg was scarcely heralded till the nation was thrilled by Grant's great success at Vicksburg, July 4, in which he captured the entire army of 30,000 men and great numbers of cannon. On the same day the Confederates were repulsed at Helena, Ark., by General Prentiss.

On July 8 Port Hudson, on the Mississippi, surrendered to General Banks, with its garrison of 5000 men. This opened the Mississippi, from its source to its mouth, to the Union forces.

Simultaneously with Lee's invasion of Pennsylvania, the Confederate General Morgan crossed the Ohio, and invaded Indiana and Ohio. After conducting a successful raid he was captured, with his force of 800 men, in Morgan county, Ohio.

On April 7 Admiral Dupont made an unsuccessful attempt to capture Fort Sumter, Charleston, S. C. Land forces under General Gillmore co-operated with him. Charleston remained practically besieged till the arrival of Sherman's army, more than a year later.

On Sept. 1 Fort Smith, Ark., was captured by the Union forces, and on Sept. 10 General Steele completely broke the Confederate forces in Arkansas by the capture of the capital, Little Rock.

In June, 1863, the central army, the "Army of the Cumberland," under Rosecrans, drove Bragg back to Chattanooga. Rosecrans flanked Bragg, and got into his rear, compelling him to evacuate Chattanooga and retreat to Chickamauga. Here was fought a terrific battle on Sept. 19 and 20. The Confederates were victorious, and Rosecrans was compelled to fall back behind the fortifications of Chattanooga, in a demoralized condition. He was surrounded by Bragg, who occupied Missionary Ridge on the east and Lookout Mountain on the west, and his army was threatened with annihilation by starvation or attack.

Meanwhile Lee maintained a strong position at Manassas, whence he had driven the Union army in October. On November 7 the battle of Kelly's Ford was fought by a portion of the Union army under Sedgewick and French, in which the Confederates lost 2000 prisoners.

Grant was now given command of the armies of the West and

BATTLE OF MISSIONARY RIDGE

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he hastened to the rescue of Rosecrans at Chattanooga. He was joined by Sherman from Vicksburg and Hooker from the Army of the Potomac. Soon he had the combined armies in fighting trim, and on Nov. 23 was joined the memorable battle of Chattanooga, which resulted in the total defeat of Bragg and his Confederates, and their retreat southward. Immediately afterward, Longstreet was forced to give up his siege of Knoxville, and to retreat into the mountains of West Virginia.

The year 1863 witnessed the decline of the Rebellion. Union victories far outnumbered those of the Confederates; Missouri, Arkansas, Kentucky, Tennessee; parts of Florida, Mississippi and Louisiana; the control of the Rio Grande and Mississippi rivers; had been lost to the Confederates. Colored troops were called into requisition. A draft for 300,000 men was ordered by the Government. New York city ran into riot, which was quelled after the loss of 100 men and \$2,000,000 of property.

EVENTS OF 1864.—The campaign of 1864 opened with a raid by the Union General Averill, in which he destroyed thirty miles of the track of the Virginia railway, west of Lynchburg. This was followed in February by a bold raid under General Kilpatrick, who entered the outer defences of Richmond.

Sherman invaded Mississippi from Vicksburg and destroyed much property. Seymour marched from Port Royal, S. C., in February, for the invasion of Florida. He defeated the Confederates at Jacksonville, but was defeated at Olustee, and compelled to retire to Jacksonville.

The fleet under Porter, and the armies under Banks and Smith, joined for the invasion of Louisiana. Fort De Russey was captured March 13, but the Union army suffered defeat at Sabine Cross Roads, April 8, and was compelled to retreat toward New Orleans. On its retreat the Confederates were defeated at Pleasant Hill and Cane River. The fleet, also, returned to New Orleans.

On April 12 the Confederate General Forrest, after a destructive raid in Tennessee and Kentucky, in which he captured Union City and Paducah, assaulted and captured Fort Pillow, on the



GRANT AND SHERMAN.

Mississippi. The garrison, composed mostly of colored troops, was massacred.

In February, 1864, General Grant was made commander-in-chief of the Union armies. On May 3 he issued orders for a move on Richmond by the Potomac army under General Meade, and for a movement from Chattanooga on Atlanta by the Central army under General Sherman. His headquarters was in the field, with the Army of the Potomac. Following the advance on Richmond, the Army of the Potomac crossed the Rapidan May 5, 1864. It immediately met Lee's army, and the "Battle of the Wilderness" was fought, May 5, 6 and 7, with a loss of 2265 Union soldiers killed, 10,220 wounded and 2902 missing. The Confederate loss was probably as large. The battle was indecisive, except in the respect that it had drawn Lee out of his entrenchments and neutralized his fortifications. Butler had landed his army at City Point. Grant resolved to meet him on the James river. Grant swung his entire army to Spottsylvania Court-House, fifteen miles south. Lee was forced to follow, or lose Richmond. At Spottsylvania a terrible battle was fought. It began on May 10, and was fought with desperation, but with equal results. However, so confident was Grant of his situation, that he sent the celebrated dispatch which contained the words, "I propose to fight it out on this line if it takes all summer." From the 10th to the 21st of May Spottsylvania was the scene of a succession of desperate battles, in which the Union forces lost 2271 killed, 9360 wounded, and 1970 missing. Lee lost 4000 prisoners, and probably as many as the Union army in killed and wounded.

Grant tried another flanking movement, and swung southward to the North Anna. He crossed this river in the face of fierce opposition, and swung again to the Pamunkey, and reached a base of supplies by water. On May 28 he was at Cold Harbor, twenty miles from Richmond. Here was fought one of the most desperate battles of the war, June 3, in which the Union losses were 7000. The enemy's losses were not so great, they having fought from inner and fortified lines.

Grant resolved on another flank movement, and this time he



GRANT AND MEADE IN THE WILDERNESS.

threw his army south of the James river, resolved to attack Richmond on the south, by way of Petersburg. By May 16th his army was south of the James, and an attack was made on Petersburg, which failed. Grant then besieged the place, and his lines became the final lines of the war, Lee having thrown his entire army into the place.

Meanwhile Sherman had begun his move from Chattanooga on Atlanta, Ga. He compelled the Confederate General Johnson to evacuate Dalton, gained the important battles of Resaca, Dallas, Allatoona Pass, Kenesaw Mountain and the several engagements around Atlanta, June 20-28. On Sept. 2 he took possession of the city, having compelled Hood's army to retreat.

On June 10 the Union forces under Sturgis were defeated at Guntown, Miss., by Forrest's Confederate cavalry, but, soon after, General Smith, who succeeded Sturgis, defeated the Confederates and restored supremacy in that section.

On June 15 the *Kearsarge* attacked and sunk the Confederate cruiser *Alabama*, near Cherbourg, France.

General Early, with 15,000 Confederate troops, made a raid into Maryland, in the direction of Baltimore. They were defeated in their aim, but carried off considerable plunder. They were pursued to Winchester, Va., and there defeated, July 20. Another Confederate force crossed into Pennsylvania and burned the town of Chambersburg, July 30.

Grant had drawn a close cordon around Petersburg. He had seized the Weldon railroad and other means of communication with the South, for the recovery of which many fierce battles had been waged by the Confederates. On July 30 he sprang a mine which had been dug under the fortifications of Petersburg. The explosion was followed by an assault on the works, which was repulsed with heavy losses.

The navy, under Farragut, was busy during July and August. He defeated and captured most of the Confederate fleet in Mobile Bay, Aug. 5; captured Fort Gaines, Aug. 8; and Fort Morgan, Aug. 23.

Grant had detached Sheridan to operate in the Shenandoah



BATTLE OF LOOKOUT MOUNTAIN.

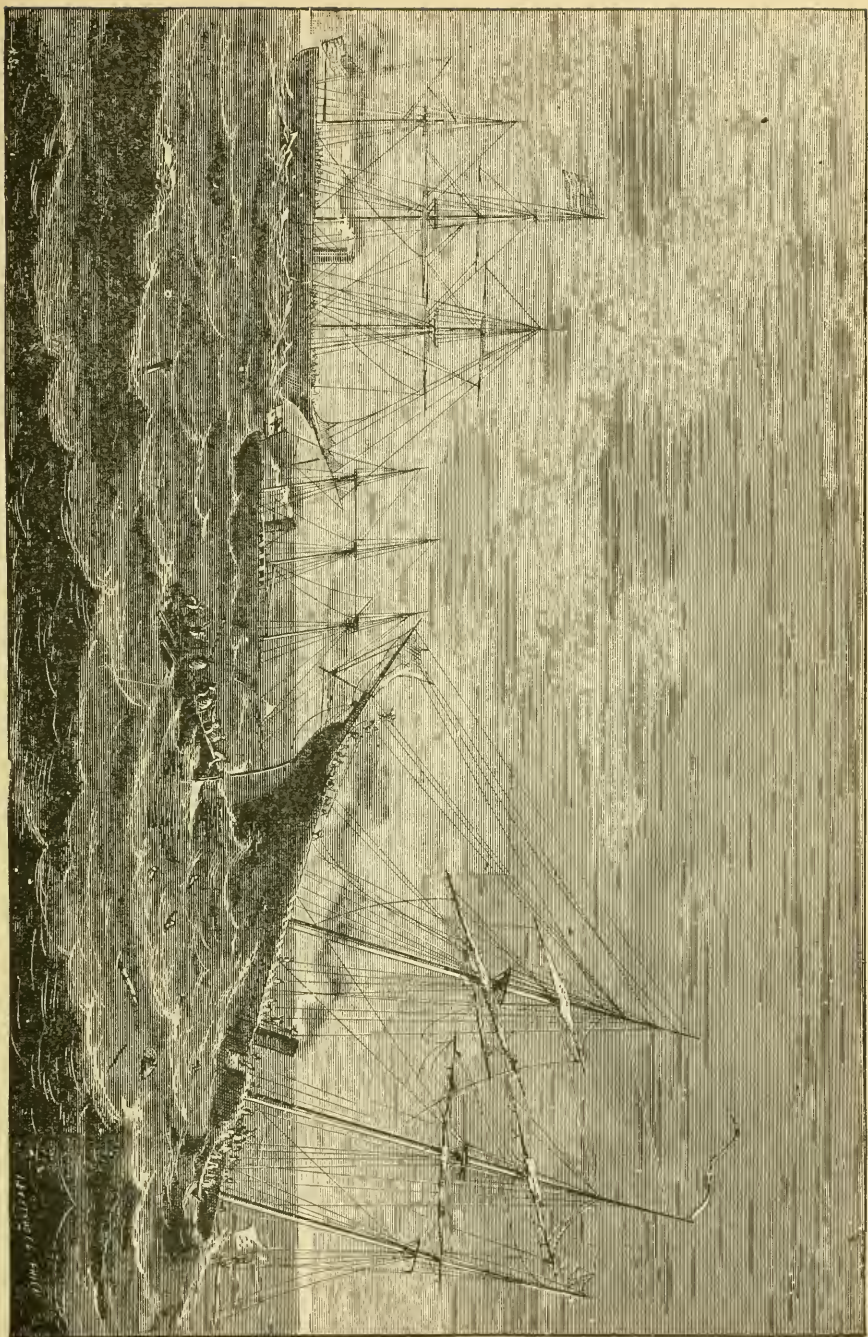
valley, W. Va. On Sept. 19 he fought the severe battle of Winchester against the Confederate, Early, and gained a signal victory. Early was driven up the valley, and on Oct. 19 his army was almost annihilated at the battle of Cedar Creek.

After the capture of Atlanta, by Sherman, Hood attempted to invade Tennessee. Sherman followed and drove him westward into Alabama. At this time Sherman had in view his march eastward to the Atlantic. He, therefore, left General Thomas to watch Hood. Hood invaded Tennessee with an army of 40,000 men. Thomas fell back to Nashville. Hood followed and invested the place. On Dec. 15 Thomas attacked him and gained a signal victory. Hood retreated, followed by Thomas, and in the several engagements which ensued Hood's army lost nearly all its artillery, and was almost annihilated. He reached Alabama with only a vestige of his forces.

General Sherman began his celebrated "March to the Sea," Nov. 16. His army moved in four columns, with a total infantry strength of 60,000 men, cavalry 5500, artillery 60 pieces, wagons 2500, ambulances 600. He was prepared to swing to Mobile, or any point on the coast, in case of opposition. But his march was a triumphant one, resulting in the capture of many Confederate strongholds. On Dec. 21 he captured Savannah and presented it as a Christmas present to the Nation.

Grant continued his investment of Petersburg, and gradually extended his lines to the West, threatening Lee's communications.

EVENTS OF 1865.—Operations of the year opened with the capture of Fort Fisher, on the Cape Fear, by Admiral Porter's fleet and an army of 8000 Union troops, under General Terry. This capture was deemed most important, as it opened the way for an army to enter North Carolina to co-operate with General Sherman, moving northward from Savannah; Sherman left Savannah in January, and invaded South Carolina. He captured Columbia, the capital, Feb. 17. This caused the evacuation of Charleston, which was taken possession of by the Union forces, Feb. 18. Sherman then passed into North Carolina, and fought the important engagements of Averysboro, March 16, and



SINKING OF THE ALABAMA BY THE KEARSARGE, OFF CHERBOURG, FRANCE.

Bentonville, March 19, with the Confederates under Generals Johnston and Hardee. On March 22 he was reinforced by Schofield's army, at Goldsboro; also by the army of General Terry. This consolidation of armies gave the Union forces virtual control of North Carolina, and there was nothing in the way of final defeat for the Confederates except a possible union of Lee's forces with those of Johnston, a result which it was Grant's chief aim to prevent.

The Shenandoah valley again became the scene of active military operations. Early had invaded it, and Sheridan had been sent in pursuit. The two armies, chiefly cavalry, came together at Charlottesville. Early's forces were badly defeated. Sheridan cut the canal and railways west of Richmond, and retired in triumph to the main body south of Petersburg.

The Union army under Grant had been tenaciously holding the Petersburg position, assaulting every now and then, fighting occasional battles, cutting off Confederate communications, and forcing its lines gradually to the west, so as to interfere with any retreat Lee might make. On March 25 the Confederates captured Fort Steadman, in Grant's lines, but it was retaken the same day. On March 29 a terrific struggle began in front of Petersburg, which lasted for three days. The result was that Lee was compelled to evacuate Petersburg, and to seek safety in flight, in the direction of Lynchburg. Grant clung closely to his left flank, and sent intercepting columns under Sheridan. On April 1 was fought the tactical and determinative battle of Five Forks, which practically settled Lee's fate. It was the last great battle and victory of the war. Everything after that was slaughter and retreat on the part of the Confederates. On April 2 President Davis and his cabinet fled from Richmond, and the Confederates abandoned their capital. Lee now strove with all his might to escape to Johnston's army, by way of Amelia Court-House, and Danville. Lee centred at Amelia, April 5, but Grant hugged him so closely that he was forced to swing westward again, with the entire Union army keeping even pace, five miles south of and parallel with him. There were frequent engagements and a constant picking up of prisoners and aban-



SHERIDAN'S RIDE.

doned guns by the Union army. At Deatonville the armies crossed each other's track, and a severe engagement ensued in which the Union forces captured seven Confederate generals and the entire rear guard of Lee's army, embracing 7000 soldiers and 14 guns.

Lee's retreat now resembled a rout. Sheridan threw his cavalry across his track at Appomattox Station, five miles south of Appomattox Court-House. Humphreys closed in on his rear, three miles northeast of the Court-House. All his supplies were cut off. Grant pushed all his corps toward Appomattox, thoroughly inclosing Lee. The resistance of desperation came. It was feeble, and resulted in retreat, but there was no avenue of retreat. A white flag appeared. The tumultuous columns stood still. Truce hung over the contending armies. Lee and Grant met at the McLean house, near Appomattox. Terms of surrender were agreed upon, and the Confederate army of Virginia passed out of fighting existence.

The surrender of Lee's army, at Appomattox, April 9, 1864, was the signal for the surrender of all other Confederate armies. From sea to sea there went up one voice of jubilation and thanksgiving, and all the land burst into glorious illumination. Grant hastened to Washington, arriving April 13. On the night of April 14 President Lincoln was assassinated.

On April 10 Grant ordered Sherman to push Johnston. He did so and Johnston retreated through Raleigh. Sherman pursued, and on April 18 agreed on the terms of Johnston's surrender. The terms were politically involved, and were not accepted at Washington. Grant was sent to the scene, and proposed and accepted the terms Lee had subscribed to at Appomattox.

Mobile had fallen into Canby's hands April 12. Stoneman had swung to Johnston's rear and captured Augusta, Ga., April 16. His battle for the place was the last engagement of the war. Macon surrendered April 21, with four Confederate generals, and 12,000 men. President Davis was captured May 11, at Irwinsville, Ga. West of the Mississippi, Kirby Smith disbanded his Confederate forces, and on May 26 General Buckner surren-



CAVALRY CHARGE AT BOONEVILLE.

dered the last remnant of the Confederate forces. The number of Confederates paroled between April 9 and May 26 was 174,223 men. History does not record so speedy and complete a collapse of such a gigantic rebellion.

National rejoicing over victory was suddenly turned into gloom, by the assassination of President Lincoln on "Good Friday" night, April 14. John Wilkes Booth, an actor, stole up behind the President in the National Theatre, at Washington, and shot him through the head. The assassin then leaped to the stage, ran to an exit, brandishing a knife and finally made his escape. He was pursued and found secreted in a barn in Virginia. On refusing to surrender he was shot and killed by Sergeant Boston Corbett. His accomplices were arrested, tried and convicted, and four of them were hanged. The rest, with one exception, were imprisoned for life.

RECONSTRUCTION.—It was hoped by North as well as South that President Lincoln had mapped in his mind a policy of reconstruction. But such did not appear. The exact relation a seceded State, which had failed to establish its secession by force, occupied toward the other States, and how it could be reinstated, were new and delicate points, requiring the skill of a master to handle. Much more was involved. The place of the negroes, now free and citizens, had to be considered. The Northern mind inclined to a probationary period for the rebellious States, during which time they could adjust themselves to a new situation, give guarantees, through provisional governments that they would assure freedom to the negroes, wipe out their obnoxious codes, repeal their secession laws, rescind their adhesion to the Confederacy, and, repledged and prepared anew, re-enter the Union, on the condition of any fully equipped State, with the consent of Congress.

President Johnson signaled his administration by adopting a hastier policy of reconstruction, one which imposed no probation on the States, but invited them to reform State governments and apply for admission at once. He belonged to the old Southern school of strict interpreters of State Rights, and his policy invited the supremacy in the new States of the most active sup-



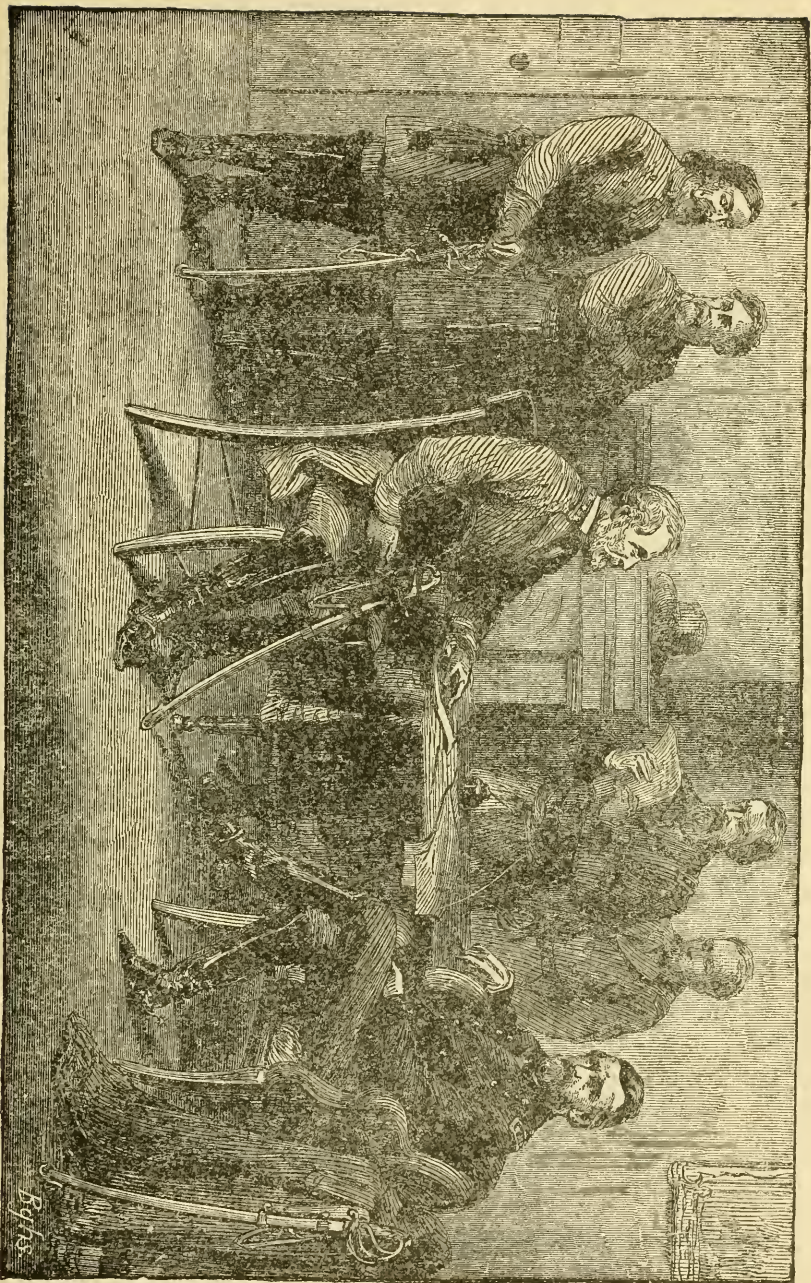
EARLY'S SURPRISE OF GENERAL CROOK AT CEDAR CREEK.

porters of rebellion. This policy did not receive the support of the Republican party. An antagonism therefore sprang up between the administration and the majority party, which was fiercer even than that between Tyler and the Whigs. The President however forced his measures as best he could, and carried with him what was known at the time as the "Amnesty sentiment" of the country and also the Democratic sentiment. He was squarely outside of the party which had elected him Vice-President, from the very beginning of his term as President.

THIRTY-NINTH CONGRESS—First Session.—Met Dec. 4, 1865. The favorable turn of the rebellion, and the emphatic endorsement of Lincoln's administration by the country, had greatly increased the Republican majority in both Houses of Congress. The Senate stood 40 Republicans and 11 Democrats; the House 145 Republicans and 40 Democrats. The House organized by re-electing Schuyler Colfax, Republican, Ind., Speaker.

The passage of an amended Freedmen's Bureau bill drew from the President a veto, in which he foreshadowed his intention of opposing reconstruction legislation where it involved favors to the negroes, and, in general, until the whites, who were most concerned, were again represented in Congress. Another bill, similar in terms, providing for the education and military protection of the negro race, was passed in July. This was also vetoed, on the ground that the civil courts were open for their protection, and that the matter was one entirely within the control of the States. It became a law over the veto.

The passage of the Civil Rights bill, in March, which was designed to secure to the negroes some of the rights of citizenship by enabling them to enforce their contracts in the United States Courts, was vetoed, on the ground that it was an attempt to confer citizenship on men just released from bondage and overrode the State laws and State tribunals. Though the bill was passed over the President's veto, the Congress proceeded to clarify the question of citizenship by passing the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution, June 16, 1866, which became operative, July 28, 1868. This measure the President also opposed, as did the Democrats. The Homestead laws were extended to public



LEE'S SURRENDER.

lands in the South, the army was reduced, some internal taxes were abolished. Congress adjourned, July 28, 1866.

THIRTY-NINTH CONGRESS—Second Session.—Met Dec. 3, 1866. The President's attitude to the majority in Congress had become hostile and defiant. By his vetoes of Congressional enactments he had given proof of his intention to reduce the power of Congress over the work of Reconstruction to a minimum. By his repeated proclamations to the Southern States he had as fully shown that he intended to make the work of Reconstruction as purely an executive one as he could, and this though his attention and that of the country had been called, by an address of the Republican National Committee, to the fact that no provisions existed in the Constitution or outside of Congress for the re-establishment of States which had broken their allegiance by secession and failed to establish secession by force.

The situation was not conducive to deliberate legislation. If the President was vindictive, the majority was retaliatory. Moreover, fear began to dawn that if he carried his defiance much further it might end in an executive *coup de main* on the very existence of the legislative branch of the government. Retaliative thus assumed the virtue of protective steps. A threat of impeachment was made by the appointment of a House committee to take testimony. The time had not yet come for decisive action.

By act of July, 1862, the President had been empowered to extend amnesty to those who ceased to be rebellious. The President had used his power under this act to what was considered an inordinate extent. In January, 1867, the act was repealed. He still continued his amnesty proclamations, claiming a right to do so under the Constitution. To prevent the possibility of his taking the advantage of Congress during a recess, the meetings of the next Congress were fixed so as to succeed each other immediately. This lasted only during his term of office. His claim to issue orders directly to the army was met by an act compelling him to issue them through the general in command. This was squeezed in with the Appropriation bill,

HOUSE IN WHICH GENERAL LEE SURRENDERED.



so that he could not veto it without defeating the whole measure. He vetoed the Nebraska act, which provided for the admission of that State on the condition that suffrage should exist without reference to race or color. This was passed over his veto, and Nebraska was admitted, March 1, 1867.

Hitherto the President had possessed one advantage. His inclination was his policy of Reconstruction; or, if policy he had, it was not so systematic as to prevent his forging ahead without much regard to legal forms and technical obstructions. The Republican majority had all along been hampered by Constitutional difficulties and baffled by their party opponents and the Executive. But they had at last formulated a policy. It divided the States which had seceded into military districts, and placed each under an officer of the army, who was empowered to keep the peace and protect person and property until a State convention could be chosen and a State government formed which recognized citizenship without regard to race, color or previous condition, and contained a ratification of the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Amendments to the Constitution. Then only would Congress agree to readmit the State. This was the bill "To Provide Efficient Governments for the Insurrectionary States," and designed to secure to the country some of the fruits of the war, which, it was thought, the President was fast frittering away. It was passed, vetoed, and passed over the veto, March 2, 1867.

Here was a carefully outlined Congressional policy against a loose unsystematic Executive policy. To make the conflict sharper, the same day witnessed the passage of the Tenure of Office bill, also over the veto, by a strictly party vote in the Senate of 35 to 11, and in the House of 138 to 40. It made the Senate, which was a recognized part of the appointing power, a party also to removal from office by providing that the President's removals during recess should not be final unless approved by the Senate, and that if appointees during recess were not approved by the Senate, the old incumbent held his place. The design was to prevent wholesale removals during recess and the setting up of a Cabinet and Department officers who might fur-

ther frustrate the will of Congress. Violation of its provisions was declared a high misdemeanor. This somewhat original and summary work of Congress now went before the country for approval or rejection, as did the conduct of the President. A Tariff act was passed March 2, 1867, which made the duties on wool and woollen goods highly protective. Congress adjourned *sine die*, March 3, 1867.

FORTIETH CONGRESS—Extra Session.—Met March 4, 1867, according to act passed at second session of Thirty-ninth Congress. The issue between the Congress and President had been carried into the Congressional campaign, and the result was a return of a Republican majority. The Senate stood 40 Republicans to 14 Democrats, the House 138 Republicans to 47 Democrats. House organized by re-electing Schuyler Colfax, Republican, Indiana, Speaker. Positive legislation was not the design of the meeting. It was a session for the emergency, a policing of a critical situation, an overseeing of previous legislation, that it might be executed, at least not frustrated. The continuity of the session was secured by an adjournment on March 30, 1867, to meet July 3, 1867. A second adjournment was had July 20, to meet Nov. 21. A third adjournment was had Dec. 2, 1867.

FORTIETH CONGRESS—First Regular Session.—Met Dec. 2, 1867. Before legitimate work could begin, the President renewed his contest by removing Edwin M. Stanton, Secretary of War, Feb. 21, 1868, and appointing Lorenzo Thomas in his place, contrary to the provisions of the Tenure of Office Act. The Senate resolved that "the President had no power to remove the Secretary of War and designate any other officer to perform the duties of the office." On the 24th the President sent a message to the Senate claiming the right of removal on the ground that Stanton was an appointee of his predecessor, and was now holding only by sufferance, and that therefore he was not removing an appointee under the Tenure of Office Act.

A resolution to impeach the President passed the House on the 24th, by a vote of 126 to 47. Articles were drawn bearing on his violation of the act in question, which passed the House

on March 2. On the 5th, the trial began, and lasted till May 16, when a test vote was taken on the Eleventh Article, a leading one. The result was, for conviction, 35 Senators; for acquittal, 19 Senators, 14 of the latter being Democrats and 5 Republicans. The Constitution requiring a two-thirds vote to convict, the verdict was acquittal on this article. On May 26, a vote was had on the first and second articles, with the same result. It being evident that conviction could not be had, no other votes were taken and the Court of Impeachment adjourned *sine die*.

The political differences between the President and the Republican party were not softened by the impeachment trial, yet singularly enough the party did not suffer by its failure to convict, nor did the President cease to pursue his policy of Reconstruction, save where he was hedged by Congress, till the end of his term, when he retired to his native State, quite restored to the favor of his old political associates, with whom he had broken on the questions which gave rise to the rebellion.

Congress adjourned, July 27, 1868.

ELECTION OF 1868.—The Republican National Convention met at Chicago, May 20, 1868, and nominated Ulysses S. Grant, Ill., for President, and Schuyler Colfax, Ind., for Vice-President. The platform (1) congratulated the country on the success of the reconstruction policy of Congress. (2) Approved of equal suffrage to all loyal men in the South, and of the doctrine that it was a question properly belonging to the loyal States. (3) No repudiation of the National promises to pay. (4) Equalization and reduction of taxation. (5) Reduction of interest on National debt, and gradual payment of same. (6) Improvement of our credit. (7) Denounced the corruptions of the Johnson administration, and urged economy. (8) Lincoln's death regretted; Johnson's treachery denounced. (9) Protection of the rights of naturalized citizens. (10) Honor to the soldiers. (11) Encouragement of foreign immigration. (12) Sympathy for all oppressed people struggling for their rights; commendation of those who served in the Rebellion, for their co-operation in securing good government in the South.

The Democratic National Convention met at New York, July 14, 1868, and nominated for President, Horatio Seymour, N. Y., and for Vice-President, Francis P. Blair, Mo. The platform (1) recognized the question of secession and slavery as settled by the war. (2) Demanded immediate restoration of the Southern States, and the settlement of the question of suffrage by the States themselves. (3) Amnesty for all past offences. (4) Payment of the public debt in lawful money, where coin is not called for. (4) Equal taxation; one currency. (5) Economy; abolition of the Freedmen's Bureau; a Tariff for revenue, with incidental Protection. (6) Reform of abuses in administration; independence of Executive and Judicial branches; subordination of military to civil power. (7) Maintenance of the rights of naturalized citizens. (8) General arraignment of the Republican party, and gratitude to Johnson for "resisting the aggressions of Congress."

The campaign was an active one. The leading topics were the Reconstruction measures of the Republican party, and equal suffrage. The latter was a new question, given prominence by the condition of the freedmen, and by the probability that they would not be able to maintain their rights as citizens without the ballot. It may be said that the verdict of the campaign led to the proposal and adoption of the Fifteenth Amendment. Grant's apothegm, "Let us have Peace," did much to tone the severities of a campaign which would else have been very bitter, owing to the hostility of the Republicans toward the Administration. And as to the merits of the issue between the Congress and President—that is, as to whether the Congress or President had a right to fix the terms on which a revolting State could be readmitted—the verdict was in favor of Congress and its plan of approving of the Constitution of the applicant States, just as in case of Territories when they first applied for admission. The November result was a decided Republican victory.

FORTIETH CONGRESS—Second Session.—Met Dec. 7, 1868. The leading political measure was the Fifteenth Amendment to the Constitution, which conferred the right of suffrage on all citizens, without distinction of "race, color, or previous condition of servitude." It passed Feb. 25, 1869, and by March

30, 1870, was ratified by three-fourths of all the States. In Congress it was a distinctive party measure, drawing full Democratic opposition. Before the country, it met with a conservative Republican opposition, partly because it was regarded as too radical an advance, and partly because it got complicated with the question of amnesty, as advocated by Mr. Greeley and a school of statesmen who thought that "universal amnesty" ought to precede, and be a consideration for, "universal suffrage."

The Electoral count showed 214 votes for Grant and Colfax, and 80 for Seymour and Blair. A question was raised over the 9 votes of Georgia, but as they did not affect the result, it was not urged. Congress adjourned *sine die*, March 3, 1869. Grant and Colfax were sworn into office on March 4.

XXI.

GRANT'S FIRST ADMINISTRATION.

March 4, 1869—March 3, 1873.

ULYSSES S. GRANT, ILL., *President*. SCHUYLER COLFAX, IND.,
Vice-President.

*Congresses.**Sessions.*

FORTY-FIRST CONGRESS.	{ 1, March 4, 1869—April 10, 1869, extra session.	
	{ 2, December 6, 1869—July 15, 1870.	
	{ 3, December 5, 1870—March 3, 1871.	
FORTY-SECOND CONGRESS.	{ 1, March 4, 1871—April 20, 1871, extra session.	
	{ 2, December 4, 1871—June 10, 1872.	
	{ 3, December 2, 1872—March 3, 1873.	

*ELECTORAL VOTE.**

States.	Basis of 127,381.	Vote.	Republican.		Democrat.	
			Ulysses S. Grant, Ill.	Schuyler Colfax, Ind.	Horatio Sey- mour, N. Y.	Francis P. Blair, Mo
Alabama.....	6	8	8	8	..	..
Arkansas.....	3	5	5	5	..	..
California.....	3	5	5	5	..	..
Connecticut.....	4	6	6	6	..	..
Delaware.....	1	3	..	..	3	3
Florida.....	1	3	3	3	..	..
Georgia.....	7	9	..	..	9	9
Illinois.....	14	16	16	16	..	..

* Popular vote—Grant, 3,015,071—26 States; Seymour, 2,709,613—8 States; not voting, 3 States.

States.	Basis of 127,381.	Vote.	Republican.		Democrat.	
			Ulysses S. Grant, Ill.	Schuyler Colfax, Ind.	Horatio Seymour, N. Y.	Francis P. Blair, Mo.
Indiana	11	13	13	13	..	..
Iowa	6	8	8	8	..	..
Kansas	1	3	3	3	..	..
Kentucky	9	11	..	..	11	11
Louisiana	5	7	..	..	7	7
Maine	5	7	7	7	..	..
Maryland	5	7	..	..	7	7
Massachusetts	10	12	12	12	..	..
Michigan	6	8	8	8	..	..
Minnesota	2	4	4	4	..	..
*Mississippi	5	7	..	..	..	..
Missouri	9	11	11	11	..	..
Nebraska	1	3	3	3	..	..
Nevada	1	3	3	3	..	..
New Hampshire	3	5	5	5	..	..
New Jersey	5	7	..	..	7	7
New York	31	33	..	..	33	33
North Carolina	7	9	9	9	..	..
Ohio	19	21	21	21	..	..
Oregon	1	3	..	..	3	3
Pennsylvania	24	26	26	26	..	..
Rhode Island	2	4	4	4	..	..
South Carolina	4	6	6	6	..	..
Tennessee	8	10	10	10	..	..
*Texas	4	6	..	..	..	..
Vermont	3	5	5	5	..	..
*Virginia	8	10	..	..	..	..
West Virginia	3	5	5	5	..	..
Wisconsin	6	8	8	8	..	..
Totals	243	317	214	214	80	80

THE CABINET.

Secretary of State	E. B. Washburne, Ill.
Secretary of Treasury	Geo. S. Boutwell, Mass.
Secretary of War	John A. Rawlins, Ill.
Secretary of Navy	Adolph E. Borie, Pa.
Secretary of Interior	Jacob D. Cox, Ohio.
Attorney-General	E. R. Hoar, Mass.
Postmaster-General	J. A. J. Creswell, Md.

FORTY-FIRST CONGRESS—Extra Session.—Met March 4, 1869, with a very large Republican majority in both branches. The Senate stood 58 Republican, 10 Democrat, and 8 vacancies; the House, 149 Republican, 64 Democrat, and 25 vacancies; Mississippi, Texas, Virginia and Georgia not being represented. The House organized by electing James G. Blaine, Me., Speaker.

* These States not yet readmitted. 23 votes lost.

This brief session was made interesting by a strictly party struggle over the admission of Texas, Virginia and Mississippi, before they had ratified the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution. On April 10 a bill passed which required them to submit their constitutions as they stood to the people, and their Legislatures to ratify both the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments, after which they would be readmitted. The extra session adjourned April 10, 1869.

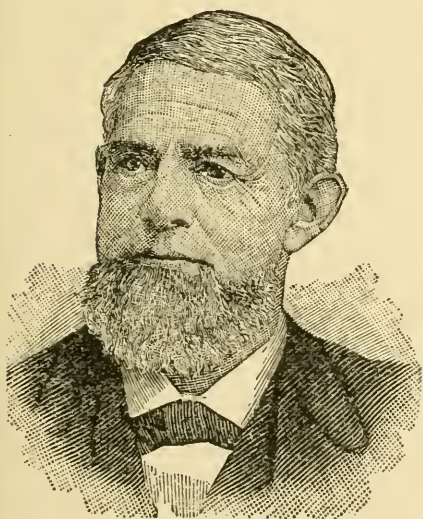
FORTY-FIRST CONGRESS—First Regular Session.—Met December 6, 1869. The lot of President Grant had not thus far been a happy one. Unlike his predecessor, he had no policy of Reconstruction aside from the acts of Congress, and these he declared he would enforce, on the principle that the best way to secure the repeal of such as were objectionable was to show their defects by actual and literal enforcement. But in this he was largely headed off by a condition of affairs in the late rebellious States, which was then attributed to the mistaken policy of President Johnson. From whatever cause, a party arose in the Southern States which prided in the name of "Unreconstructed" and "Irreconcilable." It opposed the Reconstruction acts of Congress, and especially the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments to the Constitution. Further, many Northern men had settled in Southern States. These, being in favor with the negroes, and naturally supporters of the government, gained a control of local politics which made them enemies of the "Unreconstructed." They were denounced as "Carpet-Baggers," and the State governments they erected and supported as "Carpet-Bag Governments." But as they were operating under color of local law, and insisting on rights for the citizen which the Constitution plainly gave him, they could hardly be ousted by regular forms. Ousted they must be, however. The plan of terrorizing the negroes was hit upon. This was perfected and carried out by those secret organizations which became known as the Ku-Klux-Klan. Their operations were so effective as not only to intimidate the negroes but to drive out the Northern immigrants. This achieved, the doctrine of "a white man's government" became popular, and under it the regime of the respec-



EDWIN M. STANTON.



EDWARD EVERETT.



SCHUYLER COLFAX.



GEORGE S. BOUTWELL.

tive States passed back into the hands of those who had made, supported and controlled them before the rebellion.

The operations of the Ku-Klux-Klan had not only been locally violent, but defiant of the Reconstruction acts of Congress. Hence the President found his authority practically ignored. All the time, too, questions arose as to the constitutionality of the Reconstruction acts. These occasioned delays and invited dangers. In the latter part of 1869 the Supreme Court came to his assistance and greatly strengthened his hands by a decision to the effect "that Congress had the power to re-establish the relations of any rebellious State to the Union." This decision sustaining the policy of Congress and the Republican majority modified the tone of the Democrats, and in a great measure changed their purpose to make Reconstruction a central party feature.

The above situation gave rise to the Enforcement act, passed May 31, 1870, by a party vote, which gave to the President all needed powers to protect the freedmen and punish the perpetrators of outrages against white and black. Enforcement of this act did much to awaken Southern sentiment to the extent and danger of the "Klan" and to correct its abuses. It fell into disrepute, but was succeeded by other more open and ingenious, yet not less effective, means of intimidation, some of which took the shape of "Rifle Clubs," the "White League," and so on, all of which were harder to meet by legal processes than the more violent "Klan."

Before the close of this session the halting States of Virginia, Georgia, Texas and Mississippi had complied with the conditions of reconstruction and were readmitted. This practically completed the work of reconstruction so far as the States were concerned; that is, they had complied with the forms of law, but much remained to be done to insure equitable enforcement of law. By July 15, 1870, the date on which Georgia was received, after hanging back with her ratification of the Fifteenth Amendment, the happy spectacle of a restored Union was again presented, though the votes of Arkansas and Louisiana were not received on account of technical objections in 1872.

The other leading political acts of the session were one to enforce the Fifteenth Amendment, and one to amend the naturalization laws. The latter law made penal the issue of fraudulent naturalization papers, and authorized Federal supervisors of Congressional elections in cities of over 20,000 inhabitants. The Democrats opposed it on the ground that it was unconstitutional; the Republicans favored it on the charge of frauds in New York by which the State had been carried for Seymour. They used with effect the language of Horace Greeley that "more votes had been cast for Seymour in one of the warehouse wards of the city than there were men, women, children, cats and dogs in it."

In March, 1870, the Constitutionality of the Legal Tender Act of 1862 came before the Supreme Court as newly organized. It was decided to be constitutional. This was a partisan issue from beginning to end. The Republicans pleaded absolute necessity as a support for the law; the Democrats claimed that it was an inexcusable stretch of constitutional power. The former were consistent with that liberal interpretation of the Constitution on which they based their ideas of Internal Improvement, Protection to American Industries, and scores of measures relating to war and reconstruction. The latter were hardly so consistent, for very many of them, when members of the Confederate Congress, had for reasons of imperative necessity advocated the issue of similar money, and that too, with the "promise to pay" extended to a period beyond which the independence of the Confederacy should be recognized.

The decision, notwithstanding its opposition, soon won popularity, and greatly increased the national credit. The popularized "Greenback" soon after became the banking capital of a new party. The Tariff Act of July 14, 1870, had the effect of greatly enlarging the free list. Congress adjourned, July 15, 1870.

FORTY-FIRST CONGRESS—Second Session.—Met Dec. 5, 1870. Reconstruction being completed in form, all the States were represented for the first time since 1861. The Senate stood 61 Republicans; 13 Democrats; the House, 172 Republicans; 71

Democrats. The President's message advocated the annexation of San Domingo. This gave rise to a bitter opposition on the part of Charles Sumner, which took the shape of direct attack on the administration. A commission was appointed which reported favorably, and the matter was dropped.

A supplement to the enforcement act was passed, Feb. 28, 1871. It incurred the usual Democratic opposition, and was passed by a strict party vote. It extended the power of supervisors and marshals; and gave the Federal Courts jurisdiction of cases arising out of violation of the Fifteenth Amendment. On March 3 the first civil service act in the history of the government was passed. Under it a commission was appointed, whose recommendations were not cordially received. Congress adjourned *sine die*, March 3, 1871.

FORTY-SECOND CONGRESS—Extra Session.—Met March 4, 1871. The Republicans had suffered somewhat in their representation. The Senate stood, Republicans, 57; Democrats, 17; House, Republicans, 138; Democrats, 103. House organized by re-electing James G. Blaine, Me., Speaker.

The leading political act was that of April 20, 1871, known as the Ku-Klux Act. It was aimed directly at the secret organizations existing in Southern States, which could not be effectually reached under the enforcement acts of the previous session. Indeed, these acts were proving weak in all respects, and in view of the opposition they were meeting with, their propriety was beginning to be questioned. Congress adjourned, April 20, 1871.

FORTY-SECOND CONGRESS—First Regular Session.—Met Dec. 4, 1871. This session gave rise to two acts, both of which became noteworthy. The first was The Amnesty Bill. In its earliest shape it was a Democratic measure, formulated so as to secure the influence of Mr. Greeley, editor of the New York *Tribune*, soon to be the Democratic candidate for President. It was baffled by the Republicans for a long time by amendments adding Mr. Sumner's Supplementary Civil Rights Bill. But it finally passed, May 22, 1872. Its effect was to remove the disabilities imposed by Sec. 3 of 14th Amendment to the

Constitution, from all but about 350 participants in the rebellion.*

The second was a Supplementary Enforcement act. The former acts of Enforcement, including the Ku-Klux act, were not strengthening the hands of the Executive in preserving order and securing the rights of citizens, as they were designed to. The Democrats were squarely opposed to them, and so was a strong minority within the Republican ranks. It became a question whether the Congress should retreat or experiment further with a doubtful question. A majority sentiment favored another trial. Consequently the bill of June 10, 1872, was passed, which gave any citizen deprived of his rights access to the Federal courts, made it a penal offense to deprive, or conspire to deprive, any citizen of his rights under the amendments, placed the United States troops at the call of the States to suppress conspiracies, and further declared such conspiracies rebellions, to be suppressed by Federal force if the States failed. This was regarded as the last stretch of Constitutional power in time of peace, even by the advocates of the bill. If its effect was to hasten the final disintegration of the annoying, defiant and cruel "Ku-Klux-Klan," the same cannot be said of those more ingenious and popular methods of opposition which were relied on as supports of the idea of "A White Man's Government." The Tariff Act of June 6, 1872, made a material reduction in duties and added largely to the free list. Congress adjourned, June 10, 1872.

ELECTION OF 1872.—The first party in the field was a new one, styling itself "Liberal Republican." This misnomer originated in Missouri, in 1870. A Liberal Republican would naturally be one who favored a liberal construction of the Constitution. But the new Liberal Republicans were those who thought the Republicans had already exceeded, in their legislation, the powers contained in the Constitution. They were therefore not so liberal as the Republicans, but stricter in their interpretations, sufficiently strict to draw the Democratic support, as we shall

* Subsequently other acts removed these disabilities from all who participated in the rebellion, except Jefferson Davis.

see. A considerable Republican sentiment had been inclining to this movement for some time. It was encouraged by the "General Amnesty" idea, advocated by Mr. Greeley and by others who were at the time called "Sentimentalists." The failure of so many of the Reconstruction measures of Congress to bring about desired results, the opposition they all excited, the growing thought that they were of doubtful propriety, and even of doubtful constitutionality, considering that they had no longer the imperative necessity of war as a basis of vindication, further encouraged the movement.

In 1870 the Republican party, then in control of the Legislature of Missouri, split over the question of the removal of disabilities from Confederates, under the State Constitution. Those favoring removal, headed by B. Gratz Brown and Carl Schurz, called themselves Liberal Republicans; those opposing removal accepted the name of Radical Republicans. The former triumphed. This was the nucleus around which kindred sentiment gathered throughout the country. It gained headway by accessions in several States, as Mr. Greeley and Mr. Fenton in New York, Curdin in Pennsylvania, Trumbull in Illinois, and Charles Francis Adams in Massachusetts. The Democrats in Congress had fostered the sentiment. In the spring of 1871 there had been an actual fusion of the Liberal Republicans and Democrats in Ohio. The leaders denounced the Enforcement acts of Congress and the efforts of the administration to bring about Reconstruction under them. On the basis of a common feeling it was thought the Democratic party could be captured by the movement. A call was issued from Missouri, Jan. 24, 1872, for a National Convention of Liberal Republicans, at Cincinnati, on May 1. It nominated Horace Greeley, N. Y., for President, and B. Gratz Brown, Mo., for Vice-President. The platform (1) recognized the equality of all men; (2) pledged the party to Union, emancipation, enfranchisement, and to oppose the opening of any question settled by the Thirteenth, Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments; (3) demanded the immediate removal of all disabilities; (4) local self-government with impartial suffrage, for the nation a return to the methods of peace; (5) Thor-

ough reform of the civil service, no President a candidate for re-election; (6) modest revenue for all the needs of the government; on the matter of a tariff, the question relegated to the people of the Congressional districts for discussion; (7) maintenance of public credit, return to specie payments, honor for the soldier, no more land grants to railroads, fair dealing with foreign powers.

The Republican National Convention met at Philadelphia, June 5, 1872, and renominated for President Ulysses S. Grant, Ill., and nominated for Vice-President Henry Wilson, Mass. Its platform (1) pointed, as the result of Republican policy, to a suppressed rebellion, emancipation, equal citizenship, universal suffrage, no punishment of men for political offences, a humane Indian policy, a Pacific railroad, public lands freely given to actual settlers, protected immigration, uniform national currency, high national credit, careful collection and expenditure of revenue, large reduction of taxes and of public debt; (2) enforcement of the new amendments to Constitution; (3) enjoyment of civil and political liberty by all, no discrimination as to citizenship on account of race, color or previous condition; (4) an improved civil service; (5) no more land grants to corporations, but free homes for the people; (6) gradual reduction of the public debt, Tariff for protection; (7) honor to soldiers and sailors, abolition of franking privilege, reduction in rate of postage, approval of the administration, repudiation denounced, additional rights for women, amnesty approved, respect for the rights of States.

The Democratic National Convention met in Baltimore, July 9, 1872. By pre-arrangement and with the hope of triumph through the Republican schism it accepted the platform and nominees of the Liberal Republicans, and thus stood fully committed to "emancipation and enfranchisement, and to oppose any reopening of the questions settled by the Thirteenth, Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments to the Constitution," and to the further doctrine "that it is the duty of the government to mete out exact justice to all, of whatever nativity, race, color or persuasion, religious or political."

A Straight-out Democratic National Convention met at Louis

ville, Ky., Sept. 3, 1872, and nominated for President Charles O'Connor, N. Y., and for Vice-President John Quincy Adams, Mass. The platform was a plea for the rights of the States and a repudiation of the Baltimore Convention as a betrayal of the Democratic party "into a false creed and a false leadership."

The Temperance, or Prohibition, party met in National Convention, for the first time as a nominating body, at Columbus, Ohio, Feb. 22, 1872, and nominated for President James Black, Pa., for Vice-President John Russell, Mich. The platform declared that as all political parties had proved unwilling to adopt an adequate policy on the question of traffic in intoxicating drinks; therefore (1) the party pledges itself to the principles of the Declaration and Constitution; (2) that effective legal prohibition, State as well as national, is the only means of suppressing traffic in intoxicants; (3) that existing party competition for the liquor vote is a peril to the nation; (4) dissuasion from the use of intoxicants, competency, honesty and sobriety as qualifications for office, no removals from office for political opinion, prevention of corruption and encouragement of economy, direct vote of the people for President, a sound national currency, redeemable in gold, labor reform, suffrage without regard to sex, fostering of the common schools.

The campaign was peculiar in every respect. The Republicans were sanguine, and scarcely needed to use ordinary campaign energies. The Democrats were cold toward their nominee, and mistrustful of the situation from the start. The Liberal Republicans bore the "heat and burden" of the day, their candidate even taking the stump, or rather making long railroad jaunts for the purpose of meeting with and inspiring his admirers.

The November result was not a realization of Liberal Republican hopes. They had not captured the Democratic party. The strength they brought to that party was far more than offset by Democratic desertions to the Republicans or outright refusals to vote. Nor was it any more a realization of Democratic hopes. The expected profit from Republican schism was not forthcoming at the polls. "Fusion had resulted in confusion," was wittily said of the after-election situation.

FORTY-SECOND CONGRESS—Second Session.—Met Dec. 2, 1872. An interesting measure of the session was the creation of the Credit Mobilier commission by the House. It was created at the instance of Republicans to inquire into the truth of charges made against prominent men during the campaign by Democratic orators. The commission, consisting of two Republicans, one Liberal Republican, and two Democrats, made a full investigation and practically exonerated the members charged, except Oakes Ames and James Brooks, who received the condemnation of the House.

The Franking privilege was abolished, the President's salary raised to \$50,000, and the salary of Senators and Representatives to \$7,500. This was the offensive "salary grab" which met with such condemnation as to defeat many of the members who participated in its passage. It was speedily repealed.

The electoral count in February showed 286 votes for Grant and Wilson. Mr. Greeley died in November. The 66 Democratic electors therefore voted for other persons. Of these 42 voted for Thomas A. Hendricks, Ind., for President, with 24 scattering. Three of the scattering were for Greeley. They were rejected. B. Gratz Brown received 47 for Vice-President, with 19 scattering. A grave question arose over the vote of Louisiana and Arkansas. Two sets of Returning Boards existed in these States, each of which had forwarded returns. The result was that both were rejected, and these two States lost their vote.

Congress adjourned *sine die*, March 3, 1873. On March 4 Grant and Wilson were sworn into office.

XXII.

GRANT'S SECOND ADMINISTRATION.

March 4, 1873—March 3, 1877.

ULYSSES S. GRANT, ILL., *President*. HENRY WILSON, MASS.,
Vice-President.

<i>Congresses.</i>	<i>Sessions.</i>
FORTY-THIRD CONGRESS.	{ 1, December 1, 1873—June 23, 1874. 2, December 7, 1874—March 3, 1875.
FORTY-FOURTH CONGRESS.	{ 1, December 6, 1875—August 15, 1876. 2, December 4, 1876—March 3, 1877.

*ELECTORAL VOTE.**

States.	Basis of 131,425.	Vote.	Republican.		Lib. Republican.	
			Ulysses S. Grant, Ill.	Henry Wilson, Mass.	Horace Greeley, N. Y.	B. Gratz Brown, Mo.
Alabama.....	8	10	10	10	..	..
Arkansas.....	4	6	..	..	..	.. Not counted.
California.....	4	6	6	6	..	..
Connecticut.....	4	6	6	6	..	..
Delaware.....	1	3	3	3	..	..
Florida.....	2	4	4	4	..	..
Georgia.....	9	11	..	..	{ 6 for Brown. 2 for Perkins, Dem., Ga. 3 for Greeley (not counted).	
Illinois.....	19	21	21	21	..	..
Indiana.....	13	15	15	15	..	..
Iowa.....	9	11	11	11	..	..
Kansas.....	3	5	5	5	..	..
Kentucky.....	10	12	..	..	{ 8 for Hendricks., D., Ind. 4 for Brown, Mo.	
Louisiana.....	6	8	..	..	..	.. Not counted.
Maine.....	5	7	7	7	..	..
Maryland.....	6	8	..	..	..	.. 8 for Hendricks.
Massachusetts.....	11	13	13	13	..	..
Michigan.....	9	11	11	11	..	..
Minnesota.....	3	5	5	5	..	..
Mississippi.....	6	8	8	8	..	..
Missouri.....	13	15	..	..	{ 8 for Brown. 6 for Hendricks. 1 for Davis.	
Nebraska.....	1	3	3	3	..	..
Nevada.....	1	3	3	3	..	..
New Hampshire.....	3	5	5	5	..	..
New Jersey.....	7	9	9	9	..	..
New York.....	33	35	35	35	..	..
North Carolina.....	8	10	10	10	..	..
Ohio.....	20	22	22	22	..	..
Oregon.....	1	3	3	3	..	..
Pennsylvania.....	27	29	29	29	..	..
Rhode Island.....	2	4	4	4	..	..
South Carolina.....	5	7	7	7	..	..
Tennessee.....	10	12	..	..	..	.. 12 for Hendricks.
Texas.....	6	8	..	..	..	.. 8 for Hendricks.
Vermont.....	3	5	5	5	..	..
Virginia.....	9	11	11	11	..	..
West Virginia.....	3	5	5	5	..	..
Wisconsin.....	8	10	10	10	..	..
Total.....	292	366	286	286		

* The death of Mr. Greeley before the Electoral count caused the casting of his 66 votes as scattering. The above table indicates the way they went for President. For Vice-President the vote was still more scattered. Brown, Liberal Republican, Mo., received 47; Julian, Democrat, Ind., 5; Colquitt, Democrat, Ga., 5; Palmer, Democrat, Ill., 3; Bramlette, Democrat, Ky., 3; Groesbeck, Democrat, O., 1; Macken, Democrat, Ky., 1; Banks, Liberal Republican, Mass., 1. The 14 votes

THE CABINET.

Secretary of State.....	Hamilton Fish, N. Y.....	Continued.
Secretary of Treasury.....	William A. Richardson, Mass.	
Secretary of War.....	William W. Belknap, Iowa....	Continued.
Secretary of Navy.....	George M. Robeson, N. J.....	"
Secretary of Interior.....	Columbus Delano, Ohio.....	"
Attorney-General.....	Geo. H. Williams, Oregon....	"
Postmaster-General.....	J. A. J. Creswell, Md.....	"

FORTY-THIRD CONGRESS—First Session.—Met Dec. 1, 1873. The Republican majority was still large. Senate: 50 Republicans, 19 Democrats, 5 Liberal Republicans. House: 198 Republicans and 91 Democrats, with a sprinkling of Liberal Republicans. House organized by re-electing James G. Blaine Speaker. The business depression which culminated in the panic of 1873 made cautious financial legislation necessary. An act increasing the national currency to \$400,000,000 was vetoed as tending to inflation at a time when the tendency should be toward resumption of specie payments. The bill could not be passed over the veto for want of the necessary two-thirds, though a strong minority in both parties thought inflation the proper remedy. This idea became the basis of the Greenback party, which began to figure about this time.

Lengthy debates which took a party turn were indulged over a Republican measure to regulate inter-State commerce. So with Sumner's Civil Rights bill, which was designed to secure to the colored citizens the rights comprehended in the Fourteenth Amendment. It passed the House, but got no further.

An act was passed Sept. 14, 1872, which referred all matters in dispute between this country and England to what became known as the Geneva Commission. This Commission now reported that the sum of \$15,500,000 was due the United States for damages occasioned to American commerce by privateers fitted out under British auspices, bearing the British flag, or permitted to sail from British ports. At this session a Commission was raised to distribute this award (June 23, 1874).

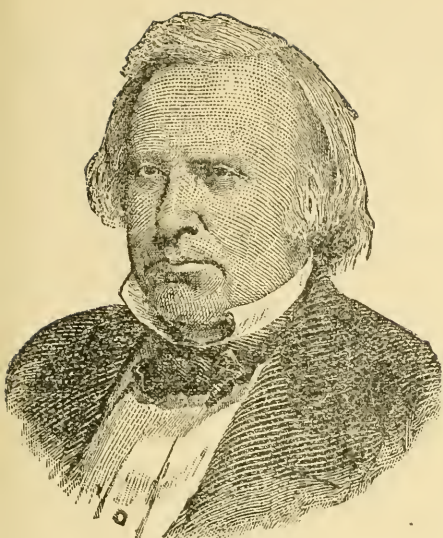
of Arkansas and Louisiana were not counted on account of frauds in the elections and duplicate counts by two opposing Returning Boards. The popular vote was: Grant, 3,597,070—31 States; Greeley, 2,834,079—6 States; O'Connor, 29,408; Black, 5,608.

What was known as the Poland Utah Bill became a law. It created a District Court for the Territory, and excluded polygamous persons from the jury-box when bigamy cases were being tried.

The Tariff Act of June 22, 1874, was passed. It was an effort to correct the tendency of the act of 1872 toward low rates of duty. The act of 1872, as well as the preceding one, had been in the line of reduction. The panic of 1873 had taught the folly of too rapid a reduction of rates, or too wide a departure from the protective idea. The act of 1874 stiffened rates on dutiable articles, clung to the protective idea, and at the same time allowed a liberal free list, mostly of raw or unmanufactured articles.

Congress adjourned, June 23, 1874.

FORTY-THIRD CONGRESS—Second Session.—Met Dec. 7, 1874. The Administration was pinched in its Southern policy. In Louisiana, for instance, two hostile State governments were in existence, the one favorable to the rights of all citizens, the other working under the auspices of the White League. They had gotten to blows. Blood had run in the streets of New Orleans. The riots there, not to dignify them as war, threatened to culminate in a war of races. The President had been appealed to. The time had passed for that active interference which the early period of reconstruction might have warranted. Yet he could do no less than make some kind of effort for peace, and naturally in behalf of the government which recognized the largest liberty and secured the amplest rights to all citizens. Such interference was turned greatly to his hurt by politicians. It was somewhat of an unfortunate juncture, for the President's Private Secretary, O. E. Babcock, came to trial for complicity with the "Whisky Ring," but was acquitted and resigned. Then came the impeachment of Belknap, Secretary of War (July 26, 1876), on the charge of selling an Indian trading establishment. He, too, was acquitted. But by this conspiracy of circumstances the Administration suffered, and perhaps unjustly, for though the efforts of its enemies were desperate to bring some of the alleged irregularities home to the White House, they in no case succeeded. All these things, however,



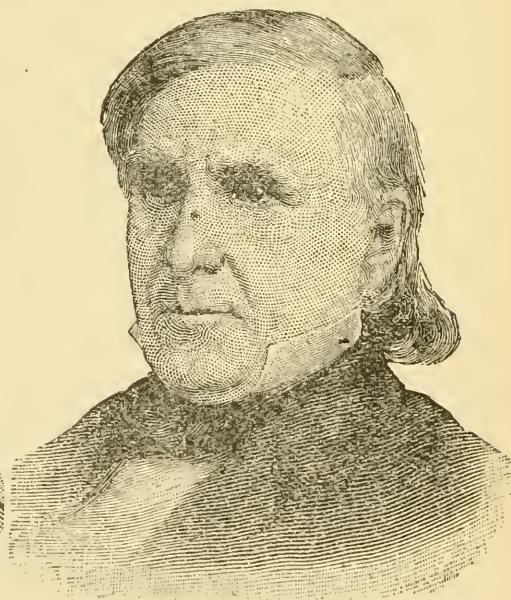
HENRY WILSON.



CARL SCHURZ.



HAMILTON FISH.



ELIHU B. WASHBURNE.

had their effect on public sentiment and contributed to bring about that political whirl which made the Forty-fourth Congress Democratic.

This session was marked by the passage of the Civil Rights bill, by a strict party vote. It secured the approval of the President, March 1, 1875. It is the bill which the Supreme Court decided to be unconstitutional (October, 1883), on the ground that the authority conferred on Congress by the Fourteenth Amendment to give such amendment effect by appropriate legislation, was not an authority which took away from States the power to do the same thing, or interfered with their right to do it.

On Feb. 24, 1875, House bill to permit Colorado to form a State government was passed by a strict party vote, and so, or nearly so, of the Resumption Act of Jan. 14, 1875. In this instance, the Republicans strove to crown their financial career by looking to a period when the National promises to pay should reach par in gold and silver. They were antagonized by the Democrats, who, for the time being, seemingly forgot their hard money notions of the Jackson era.

The Tariff Act of Feb. 8, 1875, stiffened the rates on silks, wines, tin-plates, and some other articles.

Congress adjourned *sine die*, March 3, 1875.

FORTY-FOURTH CONGRESS—First Session.—Met Dec. 6, 1875. The House was Democratic and the Senate Republican. The former organized by electing Michael C. Kerr, Ind., Speaker. This lengthy session was barren of far reaching political results, owing to the attitude of the two Houses. The Democrats in the House cultivated their majority situation, so as to stand well before the country during the next presidential campaign, by advocating a reduction of appropriations, taxation, etc. In most of their efforts they were met half way by the Republicans. Congress adjourned, August 15, 1876.

ELECTION OF 1876.—The year 1875 had been one of political turmoil, especially in the Southern States. It had been a year of political reverses for the Republicans in all sections—a "tidal wave" year, to use a popular expression. It was evident

that a close election was impending. By the extermination of what were called the "carpet bag" governments in the South, the Republicans lost much ground there, and could not hope to control more than two or three of the States. Owing to side parties, the reverses of the previous year, the general feeling of weariness over Southern agitation, and especially the hard accountability to which a dominant party is naturally held during financial crisis, many Northern States hitherto strongly Republican had become debatable.

The new party calling itself "The Greenback Party," or rather "The Independent Party," met in National Convention, at Indianapolis, May 17, 1876. This was an attempt to give coherency to a movement which had for its object relief of the financial stringency and business depression which prevailed. It would reach its end by using the credit of the government in the shape of Greenbacks, and insisting on a sufficient issue of them to relieve all stringency and depression. The thought naturally dated from 1873, the beginning of the financial crisis. It received encouragement from the fact that the greenback was popular, and would ere long be redeemable in gold. But it may be said to have received its greatest impetus from the date of the Resumption Act of 1875. The Democratic party, contrary to its traditions, arrayed itself squarely against that measure. It was therefore in a position to ally itself with the Greenbackers. These alliances were made in several States, and in some the coalitions were successful. Standing alone, the Greenback party obtained a hold only in industrial districts, and there more on account of the pleasing delusion of unlimited money than of any deeply imbedded principle. It nominated for President, Peter Cooper, N. Y., and for Vice-President, Samuel F. Carey, Ohio.

The platform (1) arraigned both the Republican and Democratic parties for refusing to foster "financial reform and industrial emancipation." (2) Demanded the repeal of the Specie Resumption Act of Jan. 14, 1875. (3) The United States note as a circulating medium, and a legal tender, and insistence on Jefferson's theory that "bank paper must be suppressed and the circulation restored to the nation to whom it belongs." (4) The

government to legislate for the full development of all legitimate business. (5) No further issue of gold bonds. (6) No further sale of bonds with which to purchase silver as a substitute for fractional currency.

The American National Party met as early as June 9, 1875, in mass meeting, at Pittsburg, and nominated for President, James B. Walker, Ill.; for Vice-President, Donald Kirkpatrick, N. Y. Its platform favored a Sabbath; prohibition; opposed secret societies; favored the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth amendments; arbitration as a means of averting war; the Bible in schools; return to specie payments; a sound Indian policy; a direct vote of the people for President.

The Prohibition Party met in National Convention at Cleveland, May 17, 1876, and nominated for President, Green C. Smith, Ky.; for Vice-President, G. T. Stewart, Ohio. The platform invited (1) prohibition in all places under control of the government, and opposed all traffic in alcoholic drinks. (2) Equal suffrage and eligibility to office. (3) Lands to actual settlers; reduction of postage, and land and water transportation. (4) No lotteries nor stock gambling. (5) Abolition of polygamy; National observance of Sabbath; Free public schools; Free use of Bible; Separation of sect from government and schools; Arbitration; direct vote of people for President; redemption of paper money in gold; economy.

The Republican party met in National Convention at Cincinnati, June 14, 1876. A significant feature of the Convention was the controversy over the method of casting the voice of the States. Hitherto the State delegations had voted as a unit, the sentiment of a majority of the delegates being the sentiment of the State. This rule was now broken and the delegates voted their choice directly. Rutherford B. Hayes, Ohio, was nominated for President, and William A. Wheeler, N. Y., for Vice-President. The platform declared (1) the United States is a nation, not a league; (2) Republican work is not finished until the principles of the Declaration are acknowledged in every State; (3) protection of all citizens; rigorous use of all constitutional powers to that end; (4) redemption of U. S. notes in coin; (5) improved

civil service; (6) rigid responsibility in office; (7) no sectarian control of schools; sufficient revenue with protection; no more land grants to corporations; protection to emigrants; enlarged rights for women; extirpation of polygamy; honor to soldiers; deprecation of sectional lines; arraignment of Democrats for preferring Confederate to Union soldiers in public places; approval of the Administration.

The Democratic party met in National Convention at St. Louis, June 28, 1876, and nominated for President, Samuel J. Tilden, N. Y.; for Vice-President, Thomas A. Hendricks, Ind. The platform (1) affirmed a need of reform and pledged the party to the Union and to acceptance of the amendments as a final settlement of the controversies of civil war; (2) denounced the reconstruction policy of Congress; the failure to make good the legal tender notes; the high taxes and extravagance; the financial imbecility which had made no advance toward resumption; the Resumption Act of 1875 as hindering resumption; demanded its repeal; (3) demanded a "judicious system of economics;" reform in taxation; (4) the existing tariff denounced as a "master-piece of injustice, inequality and false pretence;" (5) Reform in public land system; reform in treaties with China; reform in civil service; in higher grades of service; in abuses of Republican party.

DISPUTED RESULT.—The result of the election, Nov. 7, 1876, gave rise to a prolonged dispute which involved many grave questions of law, and necessitated the raising of a special tribunal for its final determination. Up to the meeting of Congress the condition of affairs was thus: The election returns showed that the Republicans carried all the Northern States except New York, Connecticut, New Jersey and Indiana, and that the Democrats had carried all the Southern States except Louisiana, Florida and South Carolina. Owing to lack of faith in the Returning Boards of these three States, the result was disputed by the Democrats. Owing to a similar lack of faith in the methods of the Democrats in those States, the Republicans were suspicious of their interference with the Returning Board counts and reports.

Committees of both parties visited the scenes of strife. Whether their presence and advice helped a just conclusion has never been definitely ascertained. But it did not take much investigation to find that the vote of South Carolina was Republican, and this the Democratic members of the Congressional Investigating Committee conceded. This disposed of one of the doubtful States.

The Returning Board of Florida gave 926 Republican majority for the Republican electors. It was cited before the Supreme Court of the State, and a recount was ordered. This gave 206 Republican majority. But before this recount was finished the electors had met and cast their votes for the Republican nominees.

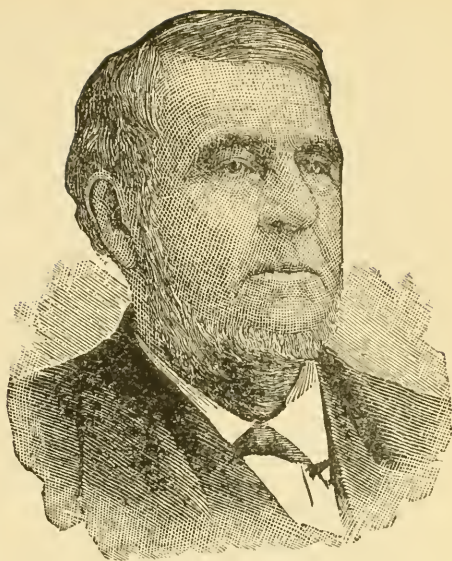
The Returning Board of Louisiana, appointed by Gov. Packard, made up from the confused returns at their command a Republican majority of 3,931. The Returning Board appointed by McEnery, who claimed to be Governor, made up from the same confused election returns a Democratic majority of 7,876.

The trouble in Oregon was not one of popular majority, which was admittedly Republican, but was over the claim that one of the three electors was a Federal office-holder. The Democratic Governor of the State therefore certified to two Republican electors and one Democratic (Mr. Cronin). The Secretary of State certified to the three Republican electors, he being the legal canvassing officer.

FORTY-FOURTH CONGRESS—Second Session.—Met December 4, 1876. The Speaker, Mr. Kerr, having died, Samuel J. Randall, Pa., was elected to that position. The disputed Electoral count occupied almost the entire time of the session. The inadequacy of all laws regulating the count was painfully manifest. Both parties were firm. The situation was such that a false step might have led to an outbreak. The Republicans claimed that the President of the Senate had, under the law, the sole authority to open and announce the returns in the presence of the two Houses. The Democrats claimed that the two Houses acting as a joint body could control the count under the law. Some Democrats went so far as to say that the House



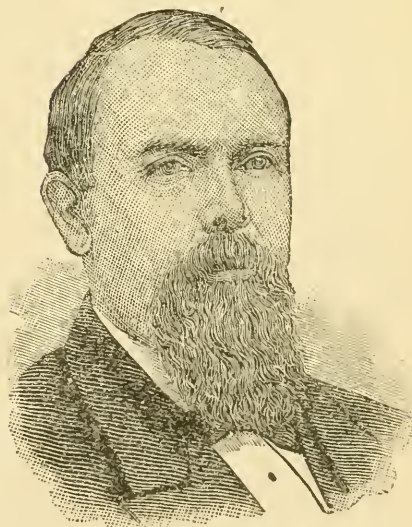
SAMUEL J. TILDEN.



DAVID DAVIS.



THOMAS A. HENDRICKS.



OLIVER P. MORTON.

alone could decide when an emergency had arrived in which it was to elect a President.

Danger was avoided by the patriotism of prominent members of Congress, of both parties, who after several conferences agreed to report the Electoral Commission Act. It passed, and was approved Jan. 29, 1877. The Senate vote for it was 47 to 17 against. Of this 47, 21 were Republicans and 26 Democrats. Of this 17, 16 were Republicans and 1 Democrat. It therefore had an almost unanimous Democratic support in the Senate. The House was Democratic. It passed there by a vote of 191 to 86. The act created an Electoral Commission, composed of five Representatives, five Senators, and five Judges of the Supreme Court, 15 in all. Each of these bodies was to select its representatives on the Commission. To this Commission were referred the disputed returns. Its decision was to be final unless overruled by both Houses. The decisions of the Commission on all the disputed returns were to the effect that the electoral vote as certified and sent to the President of the Senate by the regularly constituted authorities in each State must be accepted as conclusive and beyond investigation or question by any authority outside of that State.* The final count as thus ascertained gave the Republican nominees 185 Electoral votes, and the Democratic 184. Congress adjourned *sine die*, March 3, 1877. On March 5, Hayes and Wheeler were sworn into office.

* A remarkable feature of this controversy was the fact that the Republicans were standing on old-time Democratic ground and relying on rigid Democratic doctrine. They were, for the time being, construing the Constitution strictly and insisting on the right of the State to ascertain its own vote and certify and forward it in its own way, all of which was to be conclusive on outside tribunals. The Democrats on the other hand combated their old rigid interpretation theories by urging that the Congress should reject the certificates from a State Returning Board. Happily the political complexion of the two Houses, one Democratic, the other Republican, prevented any successful appeal from the decisions of the Commission. If *both Houses*, under the terms of the act, could have agreed to upset any one of the Commission's decisions, then riot, if not civil war, must have ensued. But the act was wisely framed with a view to the entire political situation.

XXIII.

HAYES' ADMINISTRATION.

March 4, 1877—March 3, 1881.

RUTHERFORD B. HAYES, OHIO, *President*. WILLIAM A.WHEELER, N. Y., *Vice-President*.*Congresses.**Sessions.*

FORTY-FIFTH CONGRESS.	1, October 15, 1877—December 3, 1877. Extra Session.
	2, December 3, 1877—June 20, 1878.
	3, December 2, 1878—March 3, 1879.
FORTY-SIXTH CONGRESS.	1, March 18, 1879—July 1, 1879. Extra Session.
	2, December 1, 1879—June 16, 1880.
	3, December 6, 1880—March 3, 1881.

*ELECTORAL VOTE.**

States.	Basis of 131,425.	Vote.	Republican.		Democratic.	
			R. B. Hayes, Ohio.	W. A. Wheel- er, N. Y.	S. J. Til- den, N. Y.	T. A. Hen- dricks, Ind.
Alabama	8	10	..	..	10	10
Arkansas	4	6	..	..	6	6
California.....	4	6	6	6	..	..
Colorado	1	3	3	3	..	..
Connecticut.....	4	6	..	..	6	6
Delaware.....	1	3	..	..	3	3
Florida	2	4	4	4	..	..
Georgia.....	9	11	..	..	11	11
Illinois.....	19	21	21	21	..	..
Indiana.....	13	15	..	..	15	15
Iowa.....	9	11	11	11	..	..
Kansas.....	3	5	5	5	..	..
Kentucky.....	10	12	..	..	12	12
Louisiana.....	6	8	8	8	..	..
Maine	5	7	7	7	..	..
Maryland	6	8	..	..	8	8
Massachusetts	11	13	13	13	..	..
Michigan.....	9	11	11	11	..	..
Minnesota	3	5	5	5	..	..
Mississippi.....	6	8	..	..	8	8
Missouri.....	13	15	..	..	15	15
Nebraska.....	1	3	3	3	..	..
Nevada.....	1	3	3	3	..	..
New Hampshire.....	3	5	5	5	..	..
New Jersey.....	7	9	..	..	9	9
New York.....	33	35	..	..	35	35
North Carolina.....	8	10	..	..	10	10
Ohio.....	20	22	22	22	..	..

* The popular vote was: Hayes, 4,033,950—21 States; Tilden, 4,284,885—17 States; Greenback, Cooper, 81,740; Prohibition, Smith, 9,522; American, 539; scattering, 14,715.

Electoral Vote—Continued.

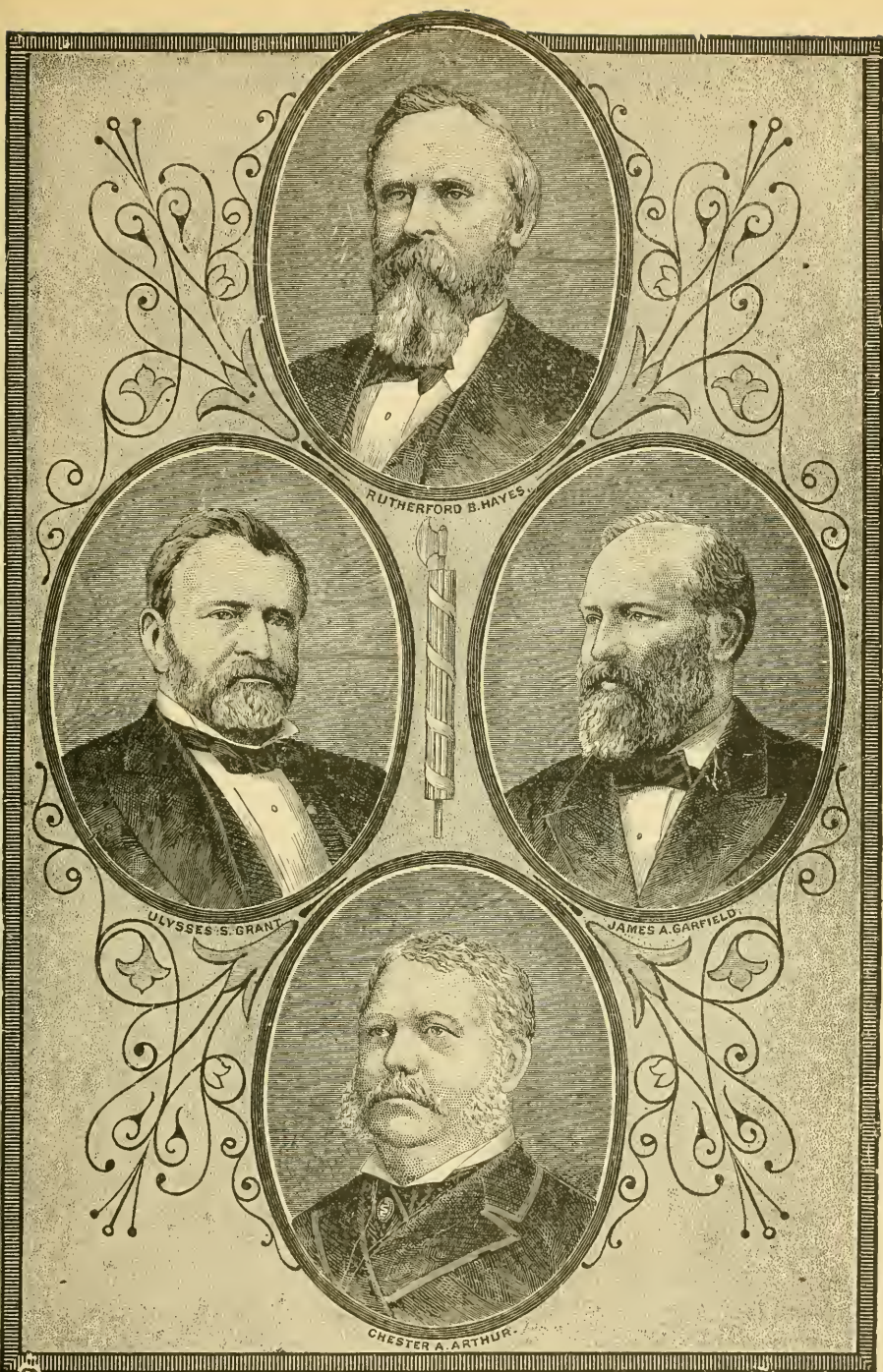
States.	Basis of 131,425.	Vote.	Republican.		Democratic.	
			R. B. Hayes, Ohio.	W. A. Wheel- er, N. Y.	S. J. Til- den, N. Y.	T. A. Hen- dricks, Ind.
Oregon.....	1	3	3	3	..	..
Pennsylvania.....	27	29	29	29	..	..
Rhode Island.....	2	4	4	4	..	..
South Carolina.....	5	7	7	7	..	..
Tennessee.....	10	12	..	..	12	12
Texas.....	6	8	..	..	8	8
Vermont.....	3	5	5	5	..	..
Virginia.....	9	11	..	..	11	11
West Virginia.....	3	5	..	..	5	5
Wisconsin.....	8	10	10	10	..	..
Totals.....	293	369	185	185	184	184

THE CABINET.

Secretary of State.....	William M. Evarts, N. Y.
Secretary of Treasury.....	John Sherman, Ohio.
Secretary of War.....	Geo. W. McCrary, Iowa.
Secretary of Navy.....	Richard W. Thompson, Ind.
Secretary of Interior.....	Carl Schurz, Mo.
Attorney-General.....	Charles Devens, Mass.
Postmaster-General.....	David M. Key, Tenn.

POLITICAL SITUATION.—The President's inaugural was pacific. He visited the South, and the tone of his speeches there was very conciliatory. There was a general departure from Republican ideas respecting the questions which had disturbed the reconstructed States. They were given over to such rule as seemed inevitable for a long time, in case the Federal troops were withdrawn. While the President's conservatism gave rise to criticism among his party friends, very many thought it proper that he should pursue an intermediate political course in view of the circumstances surrounding his election and the seeming desire for a breathing spell after the excitement attending the electoral count.

FORTY-FIFTH CONGRESS—Extra Session.—Called Oct. 15, 1877. This Congress, like the Forty-fourth, was Democratic in the House, and Republican in the Senate. The latter body stood 38 Republicans; 37 Democrats; 1 Independent. The House stood 156 Democrats, and 136 Republicans. The House organized by re-electing Samuel J. Randall, Pa., Speaker. Party lines were strictly drawn over a determined effort of the Democrats to repeal the Resumption Act. The platform of 1880

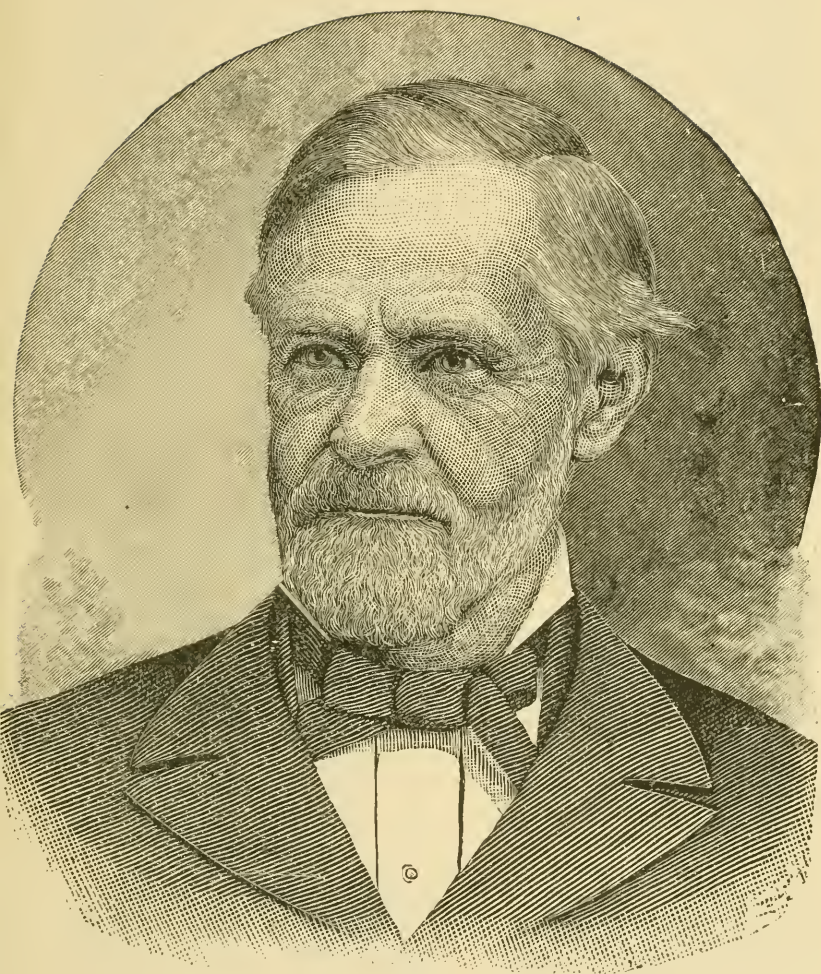


pledged the party to repeal. Their measure failed in the Senate. The same effort was made in the first regular session of this (Forty-fifth) Congress, with no better success. Congress adjourned, Dec. 3, 1877.

FORTY-FIFTH CONGRESS—First Regular Session.—Met Dec. 3, 1877. From this time on financial legislation largely occupied the respective sessions. Government income was ample for every purpose. The national credit was high. Efforts to defeat resumption, fixed for 1879, were made by the Democrats this session, but failed owing to the Republican majority in the Senate. The era of refunding was beginning, and was to be carried on till it became evident that the entire public debt could be turned into bonds bearing no more than three per cent. interest, if such an end should prove desirable. As a consequence bitter partyism was not indulged in as during slavery times and the period of reconstruction, though even these financial and business topics could not altogether escape modest party colorings when an advantage was likely to accrue.

An act to remonetize silver and coin \$2,000,000 (Bland) a month was passed and received the President's veto, Feb. 28, 1878. It was passed over the veto. This legislation was not of any party, but was thought to be in the interest of the Pacific or mining States. On May 28, 1878, the Bankrupt Act was so amended as to virtually work its repeal. The River and Harbor Bill of this session (April 23, 1878) appropriated the large sum of \$8,000,000 for this class of coast and internal improvements. This was extraordinary, not only on account of the sum involved, but because it came from a Democratic House which had started on an economic career, and further because the old Democratic constitutional objections to appropriations of this kind were no longer heard. Both parties were now fully committed to appropriations of this character, and all for the worse unless a check be provided, which, as we shall see, soon came in the shape of executive veto. Congress adjourned, June 20, 1878.

* *FORTY-FIFTH CONGRESS*—Second Regular Session.—Met Dec. 2, 1878. The President's message referred with favor



JOHN SHERMAN.

to the process of funding now rapidly and successfully going on, by which so many millions were being saved in annual interest. It was much firmer as to the Southern situation than his former message, and the party became assured of his fealty, began to harmonize in the several States and to recover from what, at one time, seemed to be permanent factional estrangement.

An important, though not strictly party measure, was the Anti-Chinese bill, which was vetoed by the President as being against the Burlingame Treaty. It was passed over the veto, Feb. 22, 1879. It prohibited the immigration of Chinese as laborers.

The Republicans in the House made a determined effort to stop the coinage of Bland dollars. Their measure was defeated by an almost solid Democratic vote.

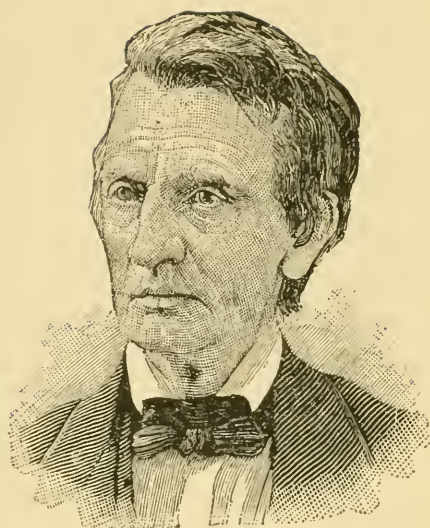
The great bone of party contention was the old Republican measures which provided for keeping peace at the polls in the respective States during Congressional elections. These bills authorized the appointment of United States Marshals, and even the calling out of troops in case of danger. The Democrats used their power over the Appropriation bill of this session, to work their repeal, by withholding pay for Marshals and for the army, except on the condition that troops should never be used at elections. Two Army Appropriation bills were vetoed by the President on the ground that Congress could not deprive the Executive of the power to keep the peace, and that judicious use of troops was still necessary to suppress riotous demonstrations in certain sections. The end of the session came before an appropriation was made for the army. Congress adjourned *sine die*, March 3, 1879.

FORTY-SIXTH CONGRESS—Extra Session.—Called March 18, 1879, to pass the Army Appropriation bill which the Forty-fifth Congress failed to do. Now both Houses were Democratic. The Senate contained, Democrats, 42; Republicans, 33; Independent, 1. The House, Democrats, 148; Republicans, 130; Greenbackers or Nationals, 15.

This was a stormy session. The Democrats had their way in both Houses. They passed the Army Appropriation bill, with



JOSEPH R. HAWLEY.



WM. M. EVARTS.



GEORGE H. PENDLETON.



DANIEL W. VOORHEES.

the same "riders" as before, providing pay for the troops in case they were not used for preserving peace at the polls. The excitement had the effect of uniting the Republicans and stimulating the administration, who regarded the withholding of appropriations as an attempt to coerce the Executive branch by starving the government. The President vetoed the bill, and thus stated his position: "The army and navy are established by the Constitution. Their duty is clearly defined and their support provided for by law. The money required for this purpose is now in the Treasury. It was not the intention of the framers of the Constitution that any single branch of the government should have the power to dictate conditions upon which this money should be applied to the purpose for which it was collected." The bill could not be passed over the veto. The offensive riders were therefore removed and the bill, as amended, passed.

The Republicans made an ineffectual effort to pass a measure for insuring peace at Congressional elections by imposing a penalty on carrying fire-arms or concealed weapons. The Democrats in the House passed the Warner Silver bill providing for the unlimited coinage of silver dollars. The members of their party in the Senate, under the lead of Bayard, refused to recognize it. Congress adjourned, July 1, 1879.

FORTY-SIXTH CONGRESS—First Regular Session.—Met Dec. 1, 1879. The summer had witnessed an exodus of the colored population of the South, and a movement toward kinder localities. It gave rise to much discussion in the journals of all sections, and those of the South advised more liberal treatment of the blacks in matters of education, labor contracts, etc. The President's message was the firmest and ablest he had yet presented. It spoke of the success of resumption and the great saving thereby effected; took decided ground against further coinage of the Bland dollar; urged the necessity of organizing an effective Civil Service Reform Commission, and favored the retirement of the Legal Tender notes.

The Democrats again brought up their measure to prevent the use of the army to keep the peace at the polls. After receiving

what was known as the Garfield amendment to the effect that the "bill should not be construed so as to prevent the Constitutional use of the army to suppress domestic violence in a State," it was passed and approved.

The same offensive "riders" were, however, attached to the Army Appropriation bill, which was again vetoed. Before the end of the session the Democrats modified their hostility to the Congressional Election Law, owing to a decision of the Supreme Court affirming its constitutionality. A long discussion was had on a bill to regulate the electoral count. A bill to this effect had been in many previous Congresses. Imperative as some such legislation seemed, nothing came of it. The River and Harbor bill of the session appropriated \$9,000,000. Congress adjourned, June 16, 1880.

ELECTION OF 1880.—The Republican National Convention met at Chicago, June 5, 1880. There was much excitement in the party ranks over the candidacy of ex-President Grant, whose friends were urging him for a third, but not consecutive, term. After 36 ballots, James A. Garfield, Ohio, was nominated for President, and Chester A. Arthur, N. Y., for Vice-President. The platform recited, as Republican party history, the suppression of rebellion, reconstruction of the Union, manumission of 4,000,000 slaves, raising of a paper currency from 38 per cent. to par, payment in coin of all national obligations, raising of government credit from where 6 per cent. bonds sold at 86 to where 4 per cent. bonds sold at par, increase of railways from 31,000 miles in 1860 to 82,000 in 1879, increase of foreign trade from \$700,000,000 to \$1,150,000,000, and of exports from \$20,000,000 less than our imports in 1860 to \$264,000,000 more than our imports in 1880, revival of depressed industries. (2) Pledge of similar action for the future; to pay soldiers' pensions; to further reduce the debt, to encourage commerce. (3) The Constitution the supreme law; boundary between reserved and delegated powers to be determined by the nation, not by the States. (4) Favored popular education; no appropriation of school funds to sectarian uses. (5) Protective duties; no land grants to corporations; extinction of polygamy; internal improvement; obliga-

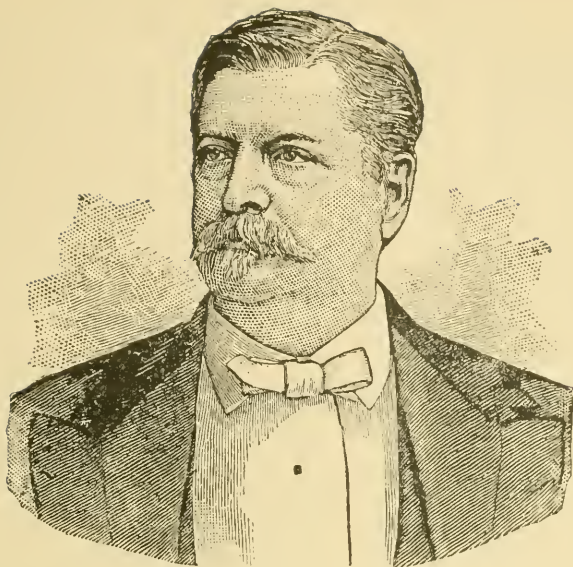
tion to soldiers and sailors. (6) Limitation of Chinese immigration; approval of Hayes' administration; charges of corrupt practices and vicious principles on the Democratic party; radical civil service reform.

The National (Greenback) Convention met at Chicago June 9, 1880, and nominated James B. Weaver, Iowa, for President, and E. J. Chambers, Texas, for Vice-President. The platform adhered to the principle of a large legal tender currency; opposition to refunding of the debt; abolition of national banks and their currency; favored unlimited coinage of gold and silver; enforcement of the eight hour law; opposed the immigration of Chinese; land grants to actual settlers only; regulation of inter-State commerce by Congress; a graduated income tax; no restriction on suffrage; no bondholders' government; no sectionalism.

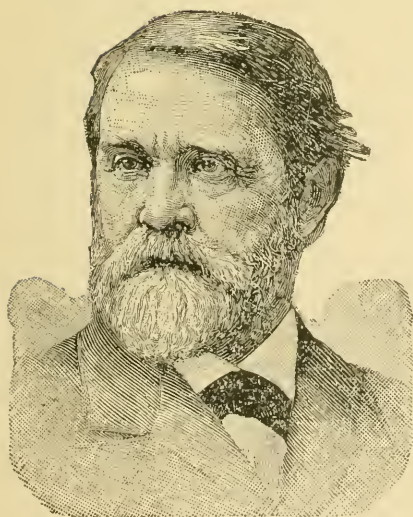
The Prohibition Reform Party met in National Convention at Cleveland, June 17, 1880, and nominated for President Neal Dow, Me., and for Vice-President H. A. Thompson, Ohio. A very lengthy platform took the usual ground against traffic in intoxicants and arraigned both political parties for shirking the question.

The Democratic Party met in National Convention at Cincinnati, June 22, 1880, and nominated Winfield S. Hancock, N. Y., for President, and William H. English, Ind., for Vice-President. The platform (1) pledged the party to Democratic traditions and doctrines. (2) Opposed centralization and sumptuary laws; favored separation of church and State; fostered common schools. (3) Home rule; honest money; maintenance of public credit; "tariff for revenue only;" subordination of military to civil authority; reform of civil service. (4) A free ballot. (5) Denunciation of Hayes' administration and Republican party. (6) Eulogy on Tilden. (7) Free ships; no Chinese immigrants; public land for actual settlers; protection of laboring man against "cormorant and commune;" congratulations over work of the Democratic Congress.

The campaign opened disastrously for the Republicans, Maine



WINFIELD S. HANCOCK.



WM. R. MORRISON,



ROSCOE CONKLING.

having gone Democratic, or Coalition, in September. The loss of Indiana to the Democrats in October threw the advantage to the Republican side. The Democrats felt, as the canvas advanced, the weight of their commitment to "a tariff for revenue only," a Protective Tariff being the issue directly pushed by the Republicans. "The Morey letter," circulated for the purpose of injuring Garfield in the Pacific States, was a conspicuous campaign sensation. The impression that it was a malicious invention served to deaden its effect, if not to turn it to the disadvantage of the Democrats. The result in November was favorable to the Republicans. The Congressional elections were also favorable to that party, reversing the Democratic majority.

FORTY-SIXTH CONGRESS—Second Session.—Met Dec. 6, 1880. The President's message was a strong paper. It took high ground in favor of the inviolability of the Constitutional amendments; favored an appropriation to perfect a civil service code; opposed political assessments; asked that polygamy be punished by excluding those who practiced it from the jury box; and that a silver dollar be coined equal in value to the gold dollar. An effort was made to pass a law regulating the electoral count. It failed as usual. The count in February (9th) showed 214 votes for Garfield and Arthur, and 155 for Hancock and English. Congress adjourned *sine die*, March 3, 1881. On March 4 Garfield and Arthur were sworn into office.

XXIV.

GARFIELD'S AND ARTHUR'S ADMINISTRATION.

March 4, 1881—March 3, 1885.

JAMES A. GARFIELD, OHIO, *President*. CHESTER A. ARTHUR,
N. Y., *Vice-President*.

<i>Congresses.</i>	<i>Sessions.</i>
FORTY-SEVENTH CONGRESS.	{ 1, December 5, 1881—August 8, 1882. 2, December 4, 1882—March 3, 1883.
FORTY-EIGHTH CONGRESS.	{ 1, December 3, 1883—July 7, 1884. 2, December 1, 1884—March 3, 1885.

*ELECTORAL VOTE.**

States.	Basis of 131,425.	Vote.	Republican.		Democrat.	
			James A. Garfield, Ohio.	Chester A. Arthur, N. Y.	Winfield S. Hancock, N. Y.	William H English, Ind.
Alabama.....	8	10	..	..	10	10
Arkansas.....	4	6	..	..	6	6
California.....	4	6	1	1	5	5
Colorado.....	1	3	3	3	..	..
Connecticut.....	4	6	6	6	..	..
Delaware.....	1	3	..	..	3	3
Florida.....	2	4	..	..	4	4
Georgia.....	9	11	..	..	11	11
Illinois.....	19	21	21	21	..	..
Indiana.....	13	15	15	15	..	..
Iowa.....	9	11	11	11	..	..
Kansas.....	3	5	5	5	..	..
Kentucky.....	10	12	..	..	12	12
Louisiana.....	6	8	..	..	8	8
Maine.....	5	7	7	7	..	..
Maryland.....	6	8	..	..	8	8
Massachusetts.....	11	13	13	13	..	..
Michigan.....	9	11	11	11	..	..
Minnesota.....	3	5	5	5	..	..
Mississippi.....	6	8	..	..	8	8
Missouri.....	13	15	..	..	15	15
Nebraska.....	1	3	3	3	..	..
Nevada.....	1	3	..	..	3	3
New Hampshire.....	3	5	5	5	..	..
New Jersey.....	7	9	..	..	9	9
New York.....	33	35	35	35	..	..
North Carolina.....	8	10	..	..	10	10
Ohio.....	20	22	22	22	..	..
Oregon.....	1	3	3	3	..	..
Pennsylvania.....	27	29	29	29	..	..
Rhode Island.....	2	4	4	4	..	..
South Carolina.....	5	7	..	..	7	7
Tennessee.....	10	12	..	..	12	12
Texas.....	6	8	..	..	8	8
Vermont.....	3	5	5	5	..	..
Virginia.....	9	11	..	..	11	11
West Virginia.....	3	5	..	..	5	5
Wisconsin.....	8	10	10	10	..	..
Totals.....	293	369	214	214	155	155

THE CABINET.

Secretary of State.....	James G. Blaine, Me.
Secretary of Treasury.....	William Windom, Minn.
Secretary of War.....	Robert T. Lincoln, Ill.
Secretary of Navy.....	W. H. Hunt, La.
Secretary of Interior.....	Samuel J. Kirkwood, Iowa.
Attorney-General.....	Wayne McVeagh, Pa.
Postmaster-General.....	Thomas L. James, N. Y.

* The popular vote was, Garfield, 4,449,053—19 States; Democrat, Hancock, 4,442,035—19 States; Greenback, Weaver, 308,578; Prohibition, 10,305; American, 707; scattering, 989.

POLITICAL SITUATION.—The conservatism of the Hayes' administration, always manifested save on extraordinary occasions, had softened party asperities and allayed sectional feeling. It had given play to two currents within the Republican party, the one conservative, like the administration, the other radical. The new administration had the support of both during the campaign. It therefore opened auspiciously. The inaugural was an able, patriotic paper, in which the President took a high stand on the question of suffrage, education, morals, public faith and civil service reform.

The Senate sitting in extra session confirmed the Cabinet officers, but the minor appointments, especially those for New York State, gave rise to much feeling, which ended in the resignation of the Senators from that State, May 17, 1881. This was the date of a disastrous division in the Republican party which led to the "tidal waves" of opposition in 1882-83. The conservative sentiment of the party strove to purify and popularize the methods of party management. It took the shape of "Independent" revolt in many States. In others it administered quiet rebuke to those it was pleased to designate as "Bosses" by refraining from voting.

THE ASSASSINATION.—The President was shot at the Baltimore and Potomac depot, Washington, on July 2, 1881, at 9.20 A. M., by Charles J. Guiteau, a persistent seeker of political places far beyond his ability to fill, and a maliciously disposed, cowardly semi-idiot, in whom disappointment had stirred natural diabolism to the point of assassination. The President rallied from the effects of the shot, lingered hopefully for a long time, but finally died at Elberon, N. J., at 10.35 P. M., Sept. 19, 1881, amid the tears of a nation and the sympathies of a world.

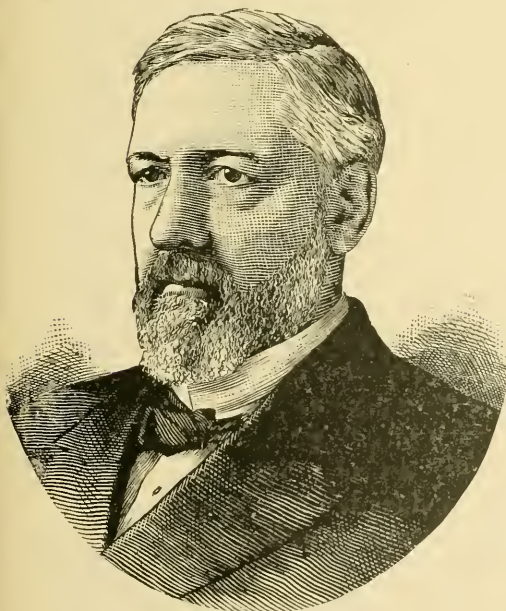
THE NEW ADMINISTRATION.—The Cabinet at once telegraphed Vice-President Arthur of the death of President Garfield and suggested that he take the oath of office. He did so at 2.15 A. M., Sept. 20, 1881, at New York city, before Judge Brady; and again at Washington, Sept. 22, at 12 M., before the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court.



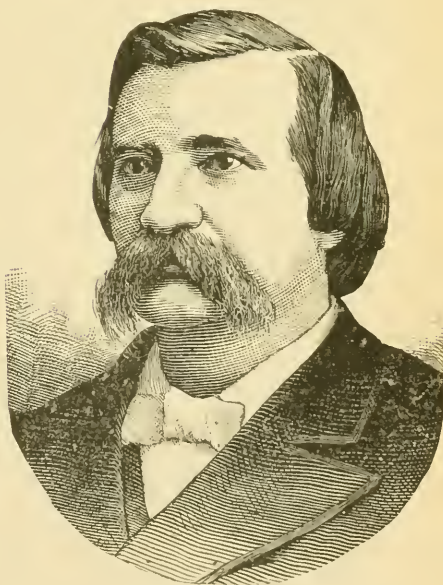
ROBERT T. LINCOLN.



S. S. COX.



JAMES G. BLAINE.



JOHN A. LOGAN.

THE CABINET.—He did not reorganize his Cabinet at once, but when the changes were complete it stood as follows:

Secretary of State	Fred. T. Frelinghuysen, N. J.
Secretary of Treasury	Charles J. Folger, N. Y.
Secretary of War	Robert T. Lincoln, Ill., continued.
Secretary of Navy	William E. Chandler, N. H.
Secretary of Interior	Henry M. Teller, Col.
Attorney-General	Benjamin Harris Brewster, Pa.
Postmaster General	Timothy O. Howe, Wis.

FORTY-SEVENTH CONGRESS—First Session.—Met December 5, 1881. The Republican party had control of the House, there being Republicans, 150; Democrats, 131; Nationals, 10; Readjusters, 2. The Senate stood Republicans, 37; Democrats, 37; Independent, 1; Readjuster, 1.* The House organized by electing Warren B. Keifer, Ohio, Speaker. A conspicuous measure of this session was the Edmunds Polygamy bill, which was not a party measure, but singularly enough met with only Democratic opposition. It became final March 23, 1882. Its gist was the disfranchisement of those practising polygamy. On May 15, 1882, the bill to create a Tariff Commission was signed. This Commission sat at various places during the summer and fall. The Tariff act of the next session was based on their report. An amended anti-Chinese bill was passed, prohibiting their immigration for a period of twenty years. Questions of banking and refunding took up a great part of the session. It was now an easy matter to place government bonds bearing interest as low as 3 per cent. An immense appropriation was made for River and Harbor purposes. It was vetoed by the President, but was passed over the veto by a vote of 41 to 16 in the Senate, and 122 to 59 in the House, showing that both parties were of the same spirit respecting this question of Internal Improvement. The veto took the ground that this species of legislation, as exemplified by this particular bill, had passed beyond the only warrant to be found for it, viz.: the authority "to provide for the common defence and general welfare," and

* This was Senator Mahone, Va., who stood at the head of a State party called "Readjusters" of the State debt.



had become the means by which money was taken for small streams and purely local improvements, with which the people at large had no concern and through which they could receive no benefit.* Feb. 25, 1882, an apportionment bill passed. It fixed the number of Representatives, under the census of 1870, at 325. Congress adjourned, Aug. 8, 1882.

FORTY-SEVENTH CONGRESS—Second Session.—Met December 4, 1882. This Congress seemed to be a point at which an immense amount of previously prepared and debated work culminated. It was prolific of important and far-reaching measures, many of them political but most of them of general moment. The Tariff Commission had made its report and both Houses had it under discussion. The outcrop was the Tariff Act of March 3, 1883, which lowered duties on most of the leading imports, but whose main feature was to equalize rates and abolish the incongruities of existing Tariff laws. It cannot be said that the act was a success in this respect. Interests to be consulted were so conflicting that it was impossible to avoid crudities and hardships. Demand for lighter duties on raw materials made by manufacturing sections worked to the injury of producing sections, and *vice versa*. The act was in the nature of a compromise. It served to show, however, that the entire country had come to regard this class of legislation as vital. The act went into operation as to sugar and molasses on the 1st of June, 1883; as to its other provisions on the 1st of July, 1883.

The Civil Service Reform Bill passed at this session. It was introduced in the Senate by Geo. H. Pendleton, Democrat, of Ohio, and authorized a commission to devise a plan of civil service and put it in operation. Though this bill was introduced by a Democrat and ably sustained by him, the Democrats were its active opponents. Its final passage in both Houses was by

* The rapid growth of this class of appropriations after they began to receive the favor of both parties appears thus: 1870, \$3,975,900; 1875, \$6,648,517; 1880, \$8,976,500; 1881, \$11,451,000; 1882, \$18,743,875, the amount in vetoed bill. Since the beginning of the government there has been expended in the respective States for river and harbor improvements the total sum of \$108,796,401.

an almost solid Republican vote against an almost solid Democratic opposition.*

An act of March 3, 1883, reduced letter postage to two cents for each half ounce and authorized a Postal note whose value should not exceed five dollars. Large reductions were made in Internal taxes. Congress adjourned *sine die*, March 3, 1883.

FORTY-EIGHTH CONGRESS—First Session.—Met December 3, 1883. The political "tidal wave" of 1882, partially repeated in 1883, had been very disastrous to the Republican party. They lost governors and legislators in many of their strongest States, and the National House of Representatives was Democratic. The Senate stood, Republicans, 40, to Democrats, 36. The House was composed of Democrats, 195; Republicans, 126; Independent, 1; vacancies, 3. Much interest was felt in the election of a Speaker. The Democrats, as a party, seemed to be composed of two wings, one in favor of quiet respecting existing Tariff legislation, the other in favor of reduced duties. Mr. Carlisle, Ky., exponent of the latter idea, became Speaker.

The President's message recommended closer commercial and political relations with Mexico; an extension of our trade interests to South America and to the new Congo country; called attention to the national surplus of \$132,874,444.21, and recommended reduced tariff and internal taxation, with a partial appropriation of the surplus to the building of a navy; advised the redemption and recoinage of the trade dollars; a settlement of the Mormon question by repeal of the Territorial act and establishment of a government through a Commission; reduction of postal rates in cities to one cent for every half ounce; provisions for Inter-State traffic or commerce; new legislation respecting civil rights under the Fourteenth Amendment. The country regarded the paper as plain, practical, business-like and assuring.

But the Congress was in no mood to embark upon legislation recommended by President Arthur. The Republicans were cast

* Politicians attributed the defeat of Senator Pendleton for re-election to the Senate by the Democratic Legislature of Ohio, in January, 1884, to his advocacy of this bill.

down by their recent reverses, while the Democrats were too new to the situation to hastily commit themselves to measures which might endanger their supremacy. They elaborated a scheme for what was called "a horizontal reduction of the tariff," but it was picked to pieces by the protectionists in their own party, and finally defeated by the snap-short method of a motion to strike out its enacting clause.

The same result attended their efforts to reduce the surplus in the Treasury by repeal of internal taxation, though in this instance the general party judgment as to the necessity of such repeal seems to have been thwarted by a desire not to interfere with the internal tax on whiskey, and by the fear that any reduction of internal taxation would give the Republicans and protection Democrats an excuse for maintaining high protective duties on imports.

A bill to regulate the counting of the electoral vote passed the Senate, and also the House in an amended form. It fell to the ground in a Committee of Conference. The Blair Educational Bill passed the Senate but was defeated in the House. It appropriated \$15,000,000 the first year to purposes of education, to be divided among the States in proportion to the number of illiterates therein; and then one million less each year for ten years. It was designed to assist the Southern States.

The end of the session found the political situation comparatively unchanged, and this was perhaps preferable to both parties. If nothing of moment had been accomplished, mistakes had, at least, been avoided, provided inactivity be not a mistake in politics. One thing was not forgotten, that was a good round sum (\$13,-899,700) covered into the River and Harbor Bill, for the purpose of exalting sleepy and unpretentious waterways into navigable arteries of trade. Congress adjourned July 7, 1884.

ELECTION OF 1884.—The Republican National Convention met at Chicago on Tuesday, June 3, 1884. It was the Eighth National Convention in the history of the party and was composed of 820 delegates. The candidates placed in nomination were James G. Blaine, Me.; Chester A. Arthur, N. Y.; John Sherman, O.; Geo. F. Edmunds, Vt.; John A. Logan, Ill.; Joseph

R. Hawley, Conn. Each of the candidates had a respectable following, but the nomination of James G. Blaine had been foreshadowed by a popular wave which was running swiftest and highest at the moment the Convention met, and which nothing could stem. The party seemed to demand as a candidate a man of Mr. Blaine's brilliant and aggressive parts, and this quite as much for the purpose of dispelling the gloom occasioned by the local political disasters of 1882-83 as in obedience to a wish to see him vindicated by a nomination which had been, as his admirers thought, unnecessarily withheld by prior conventions.

He received the party nomination on the fourth ballot, and it was generally agreeable to the rank and file, but distasteful to a small faction who had clung to the fortunes of Mr. Edmunds, on the plea of conservative statesmanship, pure political methods and practical reforms. These did not cease their antagonism during the entire campaign, and they came to be known as "Mugwumps." General John A. Logan, of Illinois, was made the nominee for Vice-President.

The platform commended the party to the people for its achievements; lamented the death of President Garfield; endorsed President Arthur's administration; favored a tariff for protection to industry; denounced the Democrats for failing to reduce the surplus by removing internal taxation, for attempting to correct the tariff by the indiscriminate process of "horizontal reduction," and for their hostility to the wool-growing interests; urged an international standard for gold and silver; suggested an act to regulate inter-state commerce; favored international arbitration as a substitute for war; denounced the importation of contract labor; declared in favor of civil service reform; of keeping the public land for actual settlers; of liberal pensions for soldiers; of an extended navy; denounced Polygamy; asserted the right of the United States to insist upon a free ballot and full count in the Southern States; and passed its pledge to secure to all persons their full political rights.

The Democratic party met in National Convention at Chicago on July 8, 1884, in the same hall used by the Republicans a month before. The Convention numbered 820 members, two-

thirds of which were required to make a choice. The names of T. F. Bayard, Del., Stephen Grover Cleveland, N. Y., Jos. E. McDonald, Ind., Jno. G. Carlisle, Ky., Allen G. Thurman, Ohio, S. J. Randall, Penna., and George E. Hoadly, Ohio, were placed in nomination.

Grover Cleveland, of New York, was nominated as candidate for President on the second ballot. Thomas A. Hendricks, of Indiana, was nominated as Vice-President. Though the Tammany Hall leaders were bitterly opposed to Mr. Cleveland's nomination, and though he was unknown to the older Democracy, his nomination was regarded as a master political stroke on the part of the Convention. He had been elected Governor of New York State over Chas. J. Folger, President Arthur's Secretary of the Treasury, by an unprecedented majority; was a favorite with the younger Democracy, and had given a plain, sturdy administration without much reference to party behests. The fact that New York was a pivotal State in the campaign, and that the Republican element which was to oppose Mr. Blaine not only resided there most largely but had long before expressed its favoritism for Mr. Cleveland, greatly added to his availability. Whatever may have been the sentiment respecting his ability as a statesman or even his desire to serve the leaders of his party, the dissatisfied elements soon closed about him, and it became apparent to all that, by his freedom from entanglements and newness to situations, he was stronger than his party.

The platform announced that "the fundamental principles of Democracy, approved by the people, remain the best and only security for free government;" "the preservation of personal rights, equality of all citizens before the law, reserved rights of the States, and supremacy of the Federal Government within the limits of the Constitution, will ever form the true basis of liberty;" that the government should not always be controlled by one political party; that a change is now demanded; that the Republican party, as to principle, is a reminiscence; as to practice, an organization for enriching those who control its machinery; that it has nominated a ticket against which the independent portion of its members are in revolt; that the will of the people in favor

of change was defeated in 1876 by fraud and in 1880 by lavish use of money; that the Republican party has squandered millions on a navy and given away the public lands to railroads and non-settlers; that said party does not keep its pledges as to free institutions, in favor of American workingmen, pensions for soldiers, and protection to American manufactures; that the Democratic party is pledged to revise the tariff in a spirit of fairness to all interests, and denounces the existing tariff and the internal revenue tax; that the circulating medium should be gold and silver, or money convertible into same; that the government should secure equal rights to all citizens; opposes sumptuary laws; favors civil service reform, separation of church and state, diffusion of education by common schools, the prevention of monopoly; favors the keeping of public lands for actual settlers, and all legislation tending to advance labor; favors the protection of persons and property of American citizens in foreign lands; an American policy which shall restore American commerce; laments the fact that S. J. Tilden refuses to be again a candidate.

The Prohibition National Convention met at Pittsburg, July 21, 1884, and nominated Ex-Gov. John P. St. John, Kansas, for President, and William Daniel, Md., for Vice-President. The platform set forth that: Laws must be made in accordance with divine will; National and State laws regulating manufacture, supply and sale of alcoholic beverages must be repealed, as sources of evil; both political parties compete for the liquor vote, and are a source of danger; reform must be introduced into National methods by abolition of sinecures, by electing postmasters, by making sobriety a test of office-holding, by removing none from office except when necessary; no government revenue from liquor and tobacco, but only from customs' duties judiciously levied so as to protect labor; public lands only for private homes; all money, coin and paper, to be a legal tender; care and support for Union soldiers and their widows; no persons or peoples to be excluded from citizenship; drink reform to be brought about by Congress excluding it from the Territories and providing a Constitutional amendment prohibiting it

and Polygamy in the land ; invitation to all laborers, women and moralists to support the party ; civil and political equality for the sexes ; change of name from " Prohibition Home Protection Party " to " Prohibition Party."

On May 14, 1884, a National Convention of Anti-Monopolists met at Chicago and nominated for President General B. F. Butler, Mass. They left the choice of a candidate for Vice-President open to their National Committee.

This Convention was followed, May 28, 1884, by the " Greenback " National Convention, at Chicago, which also nominated General B. F. Butler for President and added the name of General A. M. West, Miss., for Vice-President. This action blended the Anti-Monopolists and Greenbackers and the combination was expected to carry the labor vote of the country with it. The " Greenback " platform demanded (1) Issue of legal tender notes in sufficient quantities to supply actual demands of trade and commerce in accordance with increase of population ; substitution of greenbacks for National bank notes ; prompt payment of public debt by use of money locked up in public Treasury. (2) Demanded restoration of all public lands, moneys and railroads given away to corporations with the sanction of both political parties to the people. (3) All public lands must be reclaimed and held for the use of the people. (4) Congress should pass an inter-state commerce bill. (5) Demanded the restoration of the income tax in a graduated form. (6) The amelioration of the labor of the country by passing sanitary laws, building industrial establishments, abolishing convict labor, appointing inspectors for mines and factories, reducing the hours of labor, fostering educational institutions, and preventing child labor. (7) Denounced the importation of cheap convict labor. (8) Asked for a Constitutional amendment reducing the length of term of U. S. Senators. (9) Such rules for the government of Congress as shall put all members on an equal footing. (10) A wise revision of the tariff laws in the interest of labor, but expresses the belief that plenty of money is the best solvent of the issues of labor and taxation. (11) In order to test public sentiment, recommends an amendment to Constitution in favor of female suffrage

and stoppage of liquor traffic. (12) Pensions to all disabled soldiers of late war. (13) The Greenback Labor party is the only National party. (14) Appeals for support of all good men.

The campaign opened with fierce attacks by both the leading parties on the private character of the opposing candidates. These, however, soon spent their force, and left the Democrats in the enviable position of a party whose candidate had no record as a national legislator or politician, and who had risen to the position of Governor of his State with the help of a large Republican contingent and by a majority of nearly 200,000 votes. Their national platform was an instrument of generous promises and pledges, and the idea was easily cultivated that "change" would not be disastrous, but rather beneficial. The Republicans made a brilliant campaign, with their leader in the field, and an ardent advocate of the leading tenets of the party, especially those of protection and a free ballot. The Western States were visited and, when found to be well in line, the rest of the campaign was simple. The whole contest turned upon New York, as already foreseen, and with the chances somewhat against the Republicans. The Temperance ticket was pushed with full energy in the State, and with the effect of subtracting largely from the Republican strength. The Greenback Labor ticket was pushed with equal energy, and with the effect of subtracting from the Democratic strength. The advantage gained to the Republicans in other States by their strong "Protection" attitude and the personal magnetism of their leader was more than discounted in New York by the fact that the "Independents" in their ranks were mostly free traders, and by the additional fact that it was the home State of the Democratic candidate.

It was thought by the Republican managers that Mr. Blaine could improve the situation in the State by the inspiration of his presence. The experiment of a brief campaign tour was tried with very favorable effects, till the night of the celebrated reception tendered him by the united clergy of the metropolis, at which Rev. Dr. Burchard delivered his celebrated "Rum, Romanism and Rebellion" speech. This fatal alliterative peroration was flashed over the country, without any explanation, and

occasioned a stampede of the followers of the Greenback Labor ticket back to the Democratic fold. The result of this campaign was the closest on record. The Democratic candidate carried the one State necessary to his election by a plurality of only 1,047 votes.

This was a political revolution the country had hardly anticipated a few months before. It brought the Democrats into National power for the first time since 1861, a period of twenty-four years and six administrations, and it placed them under a responsibility they had never before been called upon as a party to meet, for progress had made immense strides since the days of Buchanan; slavery had been abolished; the doctrine of States' Rights and Secession had been obliterated by "grim-visaged war;" the hated national banking system of Jacksonian times was now a majestic and unassailable fact, and many other of the ancient Democratic principles and methods had fallen into desuetude or been modified beyond recognition by the fires of time.

FORTY-EIGHTH CONGRESS—Second Session.—Met Dec. 1, 1884. President Arthur's Cabinet as remodeled stood as follows:

Secretary of State.....	Fred. T. Frelinghuysen, N. J.
Secretary of Treasury.....	{ Chas. J. Folger (died Sept. 5, 1884), N. Y. Walter Q. Gresham (Sept. 24, 1884), Ind. Hugh McCullough (Oct. 31, 1884), Ind.
Secretary of War.....	Robert T. Lincoln, Ill.
Secretary of Navy.....	William E. Chandler, N. H.
Secretary of Interior.....	Henry M. Teller, Col.
Postmaster-General.....	Frank Hatton, Iowa.
Attorney-General.....	Benjamin Harris Brewster, Pa.

The President's Message was a compact and practical document abounding in information and good advice, and making a hopeful forecast of the future. As with all State papers of this time, it urged the expediency of providing against excessive accumulation of money in the Treasury by lowering internal taxation. In both Houses of Congress an Inter-State Commerce bill underwent discussion. A bill to prevent the importation of foreign contract labor was passed. Party lines were closely

drawn on a bill to admit Dakota as a State. The Democrats opposed and the Republicans favored the bill. Political serenity was somewhat disturbed by a bill introduced by the Democrats which suspended the act authorizing the coinage of 2,000,000 of Bland dollars per month. The bill was said to have been introduced at the request of Mr. Cleveland, the newly-elected President, and as an aid to his proposed policy. It was defeated by the Democrats themselves. Congress adjourned by limitation March 4, 1885, having failed to pass the usual River and Harbor bill. On the same day Cleveland and Hendricks were sworn into office, and the Democratic party began its new lease of power in National affairs. President Arthur retired to private life, broken down in health and with the seeds of that disease in his system which he was not to survive more than a year or two. He had taken office amid a storm of condemnation and with his party torn by dissensions, but with a delicate sensibility, a dignified method, and calm procedure amid condemnation and calumny, he disarmed enmity in his own party, solidified its broken ranks, and left office amid kindly and considerate feeling on the part of his countrymen.



F. T. FRELINGHUYSEN.



CHAS. J. FOLGER.

XXV.

CLEVELAND'S ADMINISTRATION.

March 4, 1885—March 4, 1889.

GROVER CLEVELAND, N. Y., *President*. THOMAS A. HENDRICKS,
IND., *Vice-President*.

(Mr. Hendricks died November 25, 1885.)

JOHN SHERMAN, *President pro tem. of Senate, acting Vice-President*.*Congresses.**Sessions.*

FORTY-NINTH CONGRESS. { 1, December 7, 1885—August 5, 1886.
2, December 6, 1886—March 4, 1886.

FIFTIETH CONGRESS. { 1, December 5, 1887.—October 20, 1888.
2, December 3, 1888.—March 4, 1889.

ELECTORAL VOTE.*

States.	Basis of 154,325	Votes.	Democrat.		Republican.	
			Grover Cleveland, N. Y.	Thos. A. Hendricks, Ind.	James G. Blaine, Me.	John A. Logan, Ill.
Alabama	8	10	10	10	..	..
Arkansas	5	7	7	7	..	..
California	6	8	..	..	8	8
Colorado	1	3	..	..	3	3
Connecticut	4	6	6	6	..	..
Delaware	1	3	3	3	..	..
Florida	2	4	4	4	..	..
Georgia	10	12	12	12	..	..
Illinois	20	22	..	..	22	22
Indiana	13	15	15	15	..	..
Iowa	11	13	..	..	13	13
Kansas	7	9	..	..	9	9
Kentucky	11	13	13	13	..	..
Louisiana	6	8	8	8	..	..
Maine	4	6	..	..	6	6
Maryland	6	8	8	8	..	..
Massachusetts	12	14	..	..	14	14
Michigan	11	13	..	..	13	13
Minnesota	5	7	..	..	7	7
Mississippi	7	9	9	9	..	..
Missouri	14	16	16	16	..	..
Nebraska	3	5	..	..	5	5
Nevada	1	3	..	..	3	3
New Hampshire	2	4	..	..	4	4
New Jersey	7	9	9	9	..	..
New York	34	36	36	36	..	..

* Popular vote—Cleveland, 4,911,017; States, 20; Blaine, 4,848,334; States, 18; Butler, Greenback-Labor, 133,825; St. John, Prohibition, 151,809; Scattering, 11,362.

Electoral Vote—Continued.

States.	Basis of 154,325	Votes.	Democrat.		Republican.	
			Grover Cleveland, N. Y.	Thos. A. Hendricks, Ind.	James G. Blaine, Me.	John A. Logan, Ill.
North Carolina.....	9	11	11	11	..	..
Ohio.....	21	23	..	..	23	23
Oregon.....	1	3	..	..	3	3
Pennsylvania.....	28	30	..	..	30	30
Rhode Island.....	2	4	..	..	4	4
South Carolina.....	7	9	9	9	..	..
Tennessee.....	10	12	12	12	..	..
Texas.....	11	13	13	13	..	..
Vermont.....	2	4	..	..	4	4
Virginia.....	10	12	12	12	..	..
West Virginia.....	4	6	6	6	..	..
Wisconsin.....	9	11	..	..	11	11
Totals.....	325	401	219	219	182	182

THE CABINET.

Secretary of State Thomas F. Bayard, Del.
 Secretary of Treasury..... Daniel Manning, N. Y.
 (Succeeded by Chas. S. Fairchild, N. Y., April 1, 1887.)
 Secretary of War William C. Endicott, Mass.
 Secretary of Navy William C. Whitney, N. Y.
 Secretary of Interior..... Lucius Q. C. Lamar, Miss.
 (Succeeded by William F. Vilas, Wis., December 5, 1887.)
 Attorney-General..... Augustus H. Garland, Ark.
 Postmaster-General..... William F. Vilas, Wis.
 (Succeeded by Don M. Dickinson, Mich., December 5, 1887.)

THE POLITICAL SITUATION.—On coming into power after a long retiracy of twenty-four years, the Democratic party found practically a new country, but one at peace and in the enjoyment of unbounded prosperity. The Arthur administration had been clean, safe and elegant rather than bold and strong. Politically there was but little to ripple the surface of events, and Mr. Cleveland came upon the scene with the best wishes of the nation at his back, and with a prestige for independent thoughts and conservative methods. He was younger than the ante-war principles of his party, unshackled by ancient political complications or previous national record, and could well afford to proceed cautiously with the work of his administration. He, and, for that matter, his party, had everything to gain by an administration of affairs which should embody wisdom and safety. He

made his Cabinet selections without much regard to the wishes of party leaders, and naturally gave the preference to his own State, which secured two of the leading secretaryships.

The President's inaugural was a brief paper, pledging close observance of the Constitution and laws, advising the limitation of public expenditure to the needs of the government, desiring peace, commerce and honest friendship with all nations—entangling alliances with none; devotion to the doctrine that our system of revenue should be so adjusted as to relieve the people from unjust taxation and prevent the accumulation of a surplus in the Treasury; care for the public domain and fair treatment of the Indians; enforcement of the laws against polygamy and the immigration of foreign servile classes; rigid execution of the Civil Service laws on the principle that public office is a public trust.

The document was a plain, unimpassioned declaration of the President's views and hopes without attempt to commit his party to anything new or startling, and it was well received by the country. Any policy shaped upon it and honestly adhered to must rather continue in general terms the political ideas of his predecessors than revolutionize them.

So the new administration came quietly into power, and gradually set about to improve the months prior to the meeting of the 49th Congress by fitting itself to a policy and purpose. This work would not prove exciting, for Mr. Cleveland was not regarded as a man of creative intellect, original force or venturesome disposition. He owed much to what was odiously termed the "Mugwump" element in the Republican party, and this would prove a balance wheel should he attempt to yield too submissively to the pressure of the mere place-hunter, which was now getting heavier every day.

On Nov. 25, 1885, the Vice-President, Thos. A. Hendricks, died suddenly, and the President *pro tem.* of the Senate, John Sherman, of Ohio, became acting Vice-President under the law. This made a Republican President possible in the event of Mr. Cleveland's death.

FORTY-NINTH CONGRESS—First Session.—Met Dec. 7,



S. GROVER CLEVELAND.

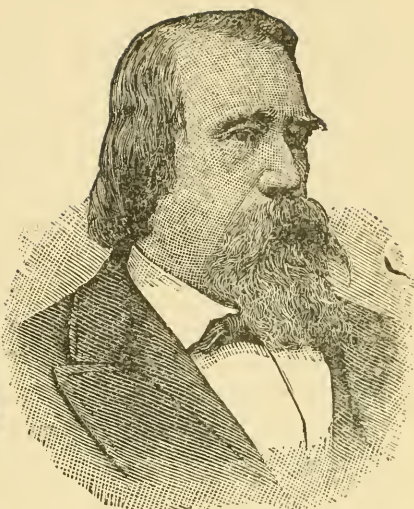
1885. Much interest naturally centred in the meeting of this Congress, the first under the Cleveland administration. Parties in the Senate stood: Republicans, 42; Democrats, 34; a Republican majority of 8. In the House the Democrats had 184 members and the Republicans 141, a Democratic majority of 43, though four of these were Independents.

The President's Message, his first to any Congress, was eagerly looked for. It proved to be a very lengthy document and a worthy state paper. Its three salient points were the much mooted silver question, the tariff, and the civil service—with interesting side lights on the Indian problem, commercial treaties, Mormonism, the navy, and other current subjects. The President portrayed in sharp, bold outline the dangers of further coinage of the Bland silver dollar and urged that such coinage be stopped. In his tariff views he practically gave away the case of the free-trade element in his party and, while stopping short of the doctrine of protection, landed squarely on the position occupied by Mr. Randall and the "protection" minority in his own party. On the civil service question he wrote with dignity and force in its favor, and this part of his message was greatly lauded by his Independent Republican supporters and admirers. Thus on all the vital issues the President showed himself far in advance of his party and quite square with the measures which had taken shape within the past few years. In only one respect did he appear to be unequal to his professions, and that was in the practical workings of the Civil Service act, which was not operating so as to prevent rapid partisan changes in the offices, as was expected by its framers.

The House organized by the re-election of Mr. Carlisle, Ky., as Speaker over Mr. Reed, Me. Though the Democrats had a good working majority, they did not make much haste with legislation, and the session proved long and uninteresting. An episode occurred in the Senate which for a time ruffled the political serenity and threatened a serious breach with the President. Mr. Cleveland had made a removal of a prominent official for alleged cause, and had sent to the Senate the name of his successor for confirmation. The Senate asked for the papers



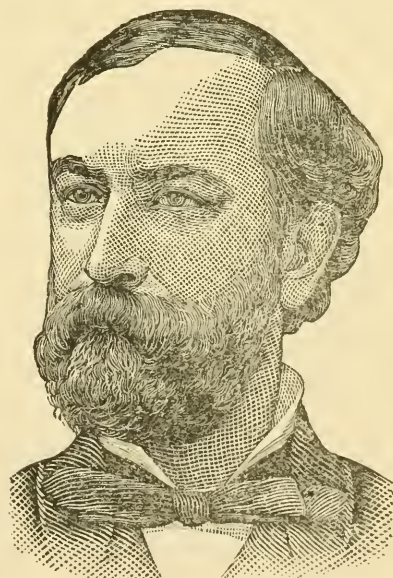
THOS. F. BAYARD.



L. Q. C. LAMAR.



AUGUSTUS H. GARLAND.

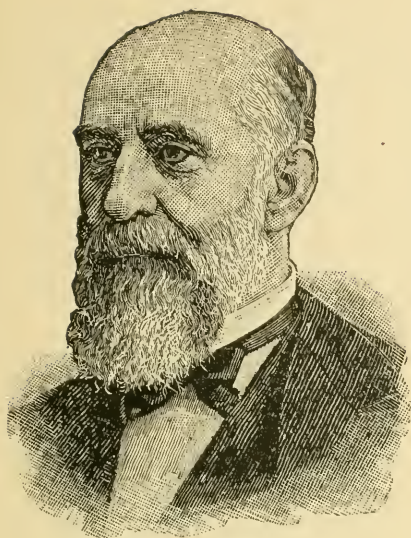


WM. F. VILAS.

connected with the case, as was usual. Those relating to the removal of the incumbent were withheld, as being papers proper only for Presidential review. The Senate made its demand more peremptory. The President replied by sending an opinion of his Attorney-General vindicating his course. The Senate in turn resolved in the future to refuse its "advice and consent" to all removals from office, the papers relating to which were withheld by the President. It was but another form of the old vexatious and dangerous question how far the President can annul by arbitrary removal the assent which the Senate gives under the Constitution to an Executive appointment.

The weighty and absorbing question in the House was the old Morrison Tariff bill in fresh garb. It was more than ever a Democratic stumbling-block, and was finally defeated by a refusal of the House to go into Committee of the Whole to consider it as reported from the Committee of Ways and Means, a Democratic minority voting with the Republicans to secure this end. In its work the Senate was far in advance of the House, and that body passed such important bills as one to provide for Counting the Electoral Vote, the Blair Educational bill, supplement to the act to suppress Polygamy, etc., none of which were reached in the House. The River and Harbor bill for the session appropriated the munificent sum of \$14,473,900. Large appropriations were also made for improving the navy by means of new war steamers. The President used his veto power with vigor upon bills granting pensions to Union soldiers in special cases. One hundred and fifteen of these bills thus fell under executive displeasure. A bill regulating the Presidential succession became a law January 19, 1886. This session dragged its tedious length into August, and passed into history as one of the longest on record, while measured by its achievements it was by far the longest. It was never at any time animated by heated party discussions, and the dominant party ventured nothing in the shape of new or aggressive measures. Congress adjourned August 5, 1886.

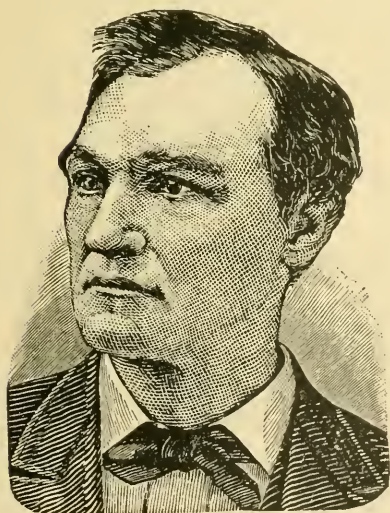
FORTY-NINTH CONGRESS—Second Session.—Met Dec. 6, 1886. But little had transpired during the short interval between the two sessions of the Forty-ninth Congress to ruffle the



GEORGE F. EDMUNDS.



SAMUEL J. RANDALL.



JOHN G. CARLISLE.



JOHN J. INGALLS.

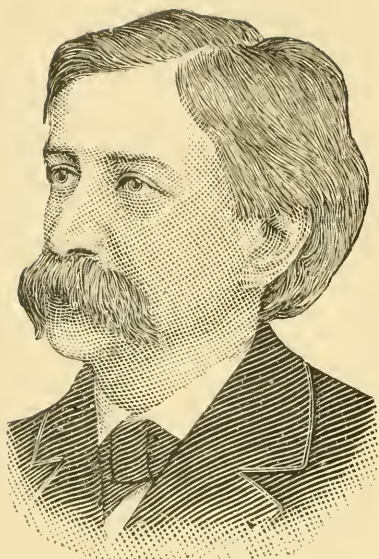
current of political events. The Congressional elections in November showed a drift of sentiment away from the Democrats and back toward the Republicans in districts where the lines were sharply drawn between Protection and Free-Trade. The comfortable working majority of forty-three which the Democrats enjoyed in the Forty-ninth Congress was reduced to a slender majority of sixteen in the Fiftieth Congress, and more than two-thirds of this loss of twenty-four members was accounted for by the distaste of constituents for the Free-Trade leanings of their old members.

Though the political outlook did not augur well for what was popularly spoken of as the Carlisle sentiment in the Democratic party, the President did not hesitate to take a decided step in his message toward the doctrine entertained by the majority wing of his party. After expressing disappointment at the little progress made during the previous long session toward reaching conclusions on such momentous questions as the "fisheries negotiations," the reduction of the surplus, the suspension of compulsory coinage, etc., the President repeated with emphasis the language of his former message regarding the necessity of diminishing taxation to a point within the needs of the country, but now he was no longer undecided as to the means. Reduction by removing the internal revenue tax was scarcely alluded to, but the plan which he seemed to think wisest was a judicious scaling of the tariff on imports, and especially a transfer of many of the cruder articles from the dutiable to the free list. The message, which was lengthy and diffuse, concluded with a defence of his pension vetoes during the former session.

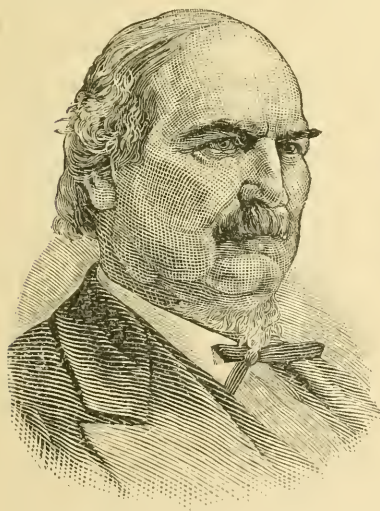
This session of the Congress was bound to be crowded and confused, for an immense amount of unfinished work came down from the previous session, and many new questions were pressing for solution. The Democratic majority in the House grappled heroically at first with the tariff issue, but the time was frittered away in useless conferences between the majority and minority wings of their party, and the whole matter remained as if it had been untouched. Speaker Carlisle was so firm in his position that revenue reduction should only come about by means of



CHIEF JUSTICE M. R. WAITE,



CHIEF JUSTICE M. W. FULLER.



JOS. E. McDONALD.



DON M. DICKINSON.

scaling the tariff rates, that he refused to let a vote be taken on a minority bill to repeal the internal tax on tobacco.

The Senate anti-Polygamy bill of the last session was passed in the House. It had the effect of virtually disfranchising the Mormons, and was the severest blow that peculiar institution had yet received from the government. The Inter-State Commerce bill also passed. This measure established a commission whose duty was to inquire into railway management, break up harmful combinations, secure uniformity of rates and in every way nationalize through-route traffic. This act did not draw party lines closely, though it was not in harmony with the ancient State-right theories of many of the Southern Representatives. Among the other bills of more or less political significance passed during the session was one granting pensions to Mexican soldiers, one redeeming the "Trade Dollars," the Senate Bill regulating the Electoral Count, and the bill repealing the Tenure of Office Law. The Dependent Pension bill for Union soldiers was passed, vetoed by the President, and failed to pass over his veto.

This important session, which witnessed the end of the Forty-ninth Congress and the completion of two years of a Democratic administration, placed to its credit some very desirable legislation, but failed to project into laws the issues which were distinctively political and respecting which parties were divided or likely to divide.

The session adjourned by limitation on March 4, 1887, and the Congress as an entirety left the Tariff and Internal Revenue questions where it found them; the Free Silver Coinage Law remained in a worse state than before, for the issue of one, two and five dollar silver certificates, based on the coin stored in the vaults, was only a postponement of the real question; the Pacific Railroad indebtedness was left to increase under the lame provisions of the old Thurman Act; the bankrupt laws were left to the mercy of each State; the basis of the National Bank circulation was permitted to dwindle away without providing a substitute; indigent war veterans were unprovided for; the Senate bill raising a Commission to examine into the Liquor Traffic was

ignored; the Blair Educational bill found no favor at all in the House; all of the bills looking to the admission of Dakota and Washington Territories died in the committee's hands. The bill imposing a tax on oleomargarine, and reducing postage to two cents per ounce, both of which became laws, met a unanimous popular wish. The closing days of Congress were so crowded that the Deficiency Appropriation bill failed to pass, and there was considerable agitation over the prospects of an extra session for the purpose of providing funds necessary to meet claims against the government.

FIFTIETH CONGRESS—First Session.—Met Dec. 5, 1887. In the Senate the Republicans had a majority of one. In the House the parties stood: Democrats, 168; Republicans, 152; Independents, 4; vacancy, 1. The Democrats renominated Mr. Carlisle, Ky., for Speaker, and the Republicans Mr. Reed, Me. Carlisle was elected by a vote of 163 to 148, a majority of 15. The Democratic House majority in the previous (Forty-ninth) Congress was 43. The Speaker's address declared that this Congress must assume the responsibility of removing taxation and stopping the accumulation of revenue in the Treasury, in order to avoid depression of industries and probable panic; and it should so legislate as not to disturb invested capital or seriously affect the status of labor.

The President's Message was a brief paper of about 4,500 words and a new departure in the way of annual messages. It made no allusion to the various matters of interest presented by the heads of departments in their reports, nor to any measure of general moment save that branch of finance which concerned taxation, customs' duties and the Treasury surplus. In this respect it was a special paper rather than an executive review of the entire country, and was apparently called forth by an existing party demand for definite legislative action during the session of Congress. It indicated a wide departure on the part of the President from the position held by him in former messages, and a seeming conversion to the free-trade doctrines maintained by a majority of his party. It was a surprise to all except the initiated, and was much discussed by friends and foes.

The former saw in it a bold, clear statement of the true situation, and they regarded it as a timely declaration of the principles of Democracy as they must take shape in the next presidential campaign. Indeed it may be truthfully said that the radical free-traders of the party rejoiced over the signal recognition of their particular views by the President. On the other hand, the more conservative element of the party, and especially the "Protection," or "Revenue Reform," element, headed by Mr. Randall, did not look upon it kindly. They regarded it as an unwise paper at that juncture, and as containing the seeds of political disaster to the party, while it virtually crushed them as an important minority factor. The Republicans accepted it as a throwing down of the free-trade gauntlet and an invitation to them to contest the case of "Free-trade *vs.* Protection," both in the halls of Congress and the coming national campaign. They criticised it for its lack of new and convincing argument; its discrimination against the protective system in general, and the item of wool in particular, and for its unnecessarily bitter spirit, as evinced by such expressions as, "But our present tariff laws, the vicious, inequitable and illogical source of unnecessary taxation, ought to be at once revised and amended." They looked upon it as disingenuous and illogical in the respect that while the President professed to be moved by an honest desire to reduce the surplus in the Treasury, he entirely overlooked the very easy and popular means of doing it by abolishing the internal revenue taxes—a set of taxes which the Democrats had always denounced as odious, iniquitous and savoring of war times—but selected as a means that which would prove a blow to American industries and the entire system of protection, and which, at any rate, would not work out in practice, since to reduce duties on articles of import below the point of protection was but to invite a larger importation and increased revenue.

President Cleveland handed to the Senate for confirmation the nomination of L. Q. C. Lamar, Miss., his Secretary of Interior, to be an Assistant Justice of the U. S. Supreme Court; William F. Vilas, Wis., his Postmaster-General, to be Secretary of the Interior; Charles S. Fairchild, N. Y., Acting Secretary of the



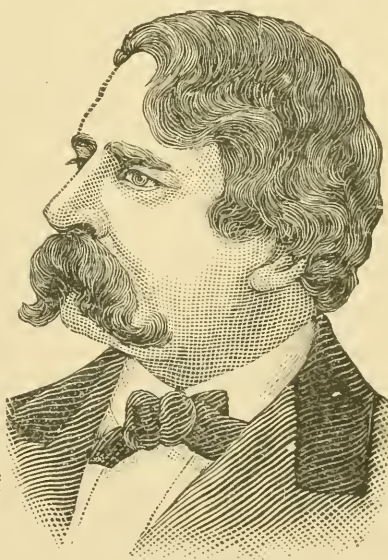
ARTHUR P. GORMAN.



WM. C. WHITNEY.



CHAS. S. FAIRCHILD.



WM. C. ENDICOTT.

Treasury, to be Secretary in place of Daniel Manning, resigned, and since dead; Don M. Dickinson, Mich., to be Postmaster-General. These nominations were promptly confirmed, except that of Lamar for a U. S. Justice, which hung for several weeks in the Senate and was then confirmed by a very small majority. Mr. Carlisle withheld his selection of the House Committees till after the holiday recess, so that the Congress was not organized for effective work till the middle of January, 1888.

A serious question, which did not divide parties, but which reflected seriously on the tardiness or indifference of the administration, arose two or three years before this time in the form of what was known as "The Fishery Question." The Canadian authorities had repeatedly seized American fishing vessels putting into their ports, under their construction of existing treaties, which prevented such vessels from fishing within three miles of the shores. The Canadians drew the limit from head-land to head-land of their bays and inlets. The Americans insisted on a three-mile limit which followed the coast indentations. The frequent seizures led to indignation on the part of the fishing interests, and finally to the conclusion that the time had come for a modification of the treaties if war was to be averted. The Forty-ninth Congress authorized the President to take such steps as would remedy the evils and preserve the dignity of the United States, even going so far as to authorize him to use retaliatory powers. His Secretary of State, Mr. Bayard, called a Commission to investigate the matter. This Commission was met at Washington, in November, 1887, by a Commissioner from England and one from Canada. Their sittings ran into February, 1888, when an agreement, in treaty form, was submitted to the Senate without hope of adoption, as it surrendered as many vital points of dispute as it gained.

The Report of the Secretary of Treasury to the Congress showed that the Treasury surplus, about which all parties were exercised, and which had really come to mean unnecessary drainage of the country and dangerous locking up of so much of the circulating medium, was, Dec. 1, 1887, \$55,259,000; and would be by June 30, 1888, \$140,000,000.

Not a very pleasant feature of the opening of this Congress was the contest for his seat which the Speaker, Mr. Carlisle, was forced into by Mr. Thoebe, an Independent and Labor Democrat, who claimed to have been elected in the Sixth District of Kentucky by 600 majority. The contest was decided eventually in favor of Mr. Carlisle, and whatever the merits of the case may have been, it is historic that the election in 1886 was close in a district which had given Mr. Carlisle 6,000 majority in 1884, and that on the whole the revolution was scarcely more signal than that which had retired many members of Mr. Carlisle's economical school in other Congressional districts.

Mr. Mills, of Texas, took hold of the tariff measure which the Democrats, as a majority party, were under obligation to present, and the management of which usually gave one the distinction of a party leader. It was evident from the beginning that this was to be the absorbing measure of the session, and that upon it, together with the repeal of internal taxation, party lines would be closely drawn, except as the followers of Mr. Randall chose to divert a Democratic contingent into Republican channels.

A final vote was reached in the House on July. 21, which showed 162 for the bill and 149 against it. Party lines were never more closely drawn on a tariff measure. The bill lowered the scale of duties, and placed many articles classed as raw materials on the free list, among them wool. It made but a slight reduction of the internal tax on tobacco, and left untouched that on whiskey, except as to the product of small stills.

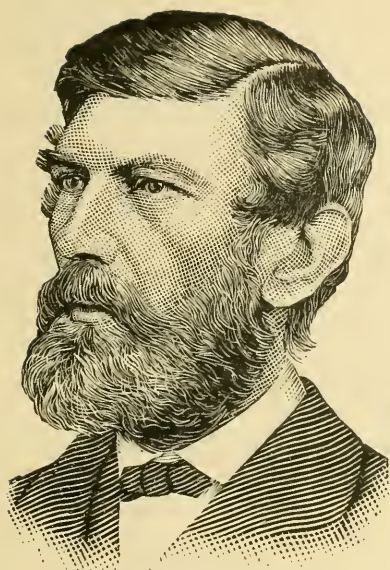
The bill had consumed so much time in the House, and was so adverse to the majority sentiment in the Senate, as to render its passage impossible by the latter body without undue prolongation of the session. However, on the theory that the Democratic majority in the House had chosen to make the bill an issue in the campaign, and its discussion an expression of their economic views, the Republican majority in the Senate met it with a counter bill, introduced and debated but not passed, which embodied their doctrine of Protection, and their method of reducing the surplus revenue by repealing the taxes on tobacco and on alcohol used in the arts. The two bodies were

now hopelessly wide apart in their economic issues, and tariff legislation was at an end for the session.

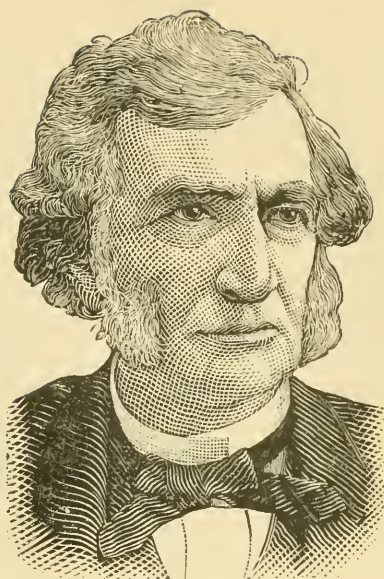
The Senate perfected and passed the Blair Educational Bill; one to refund to the States the amounts collected under the direct, or Income Tax Bill of 1861; one to give effect to the French Spoliation Claim law of the previous Congress; one admitting South Dakota as a State; one to promote a more efficient mail service with Central and South America; one to give twelve dollars a month to soldiers and sailors and to their dependents, incapacitated for manual labor, the same being the Dependent Pension Bill of the previous Congress, which the President had vetoed. All these bills were refused a passage in the House. Both Houses passed with unbecoming haste an amendment to the Chinese Exclusion Bill, taking away from the Chinese now or heretofore in the country the privilege of return, unless they had previously procured certificates. The Senate, for the first time in its history, threw open its doors during the discussion of the "Fishery Treaty," which treaty was rejected on account of its failure to set at rest the disputed points between Canada and the United States. On its rejection by the Senate, the House passed what was called the "Retaliation Bill," which gave the President power to retaliate upon Canada whenever she withheld rights claimed by the United States. The Senate defeated this bill on the ground that the President had been already armed, by a previous act, with ample power for the purpose designed.

The Congress adjourned on October 20, 1888, after a continuous session of 321 days, the longest on record, and perhaps the most unfruitful in point of important and perfected legislation. The first session of the Thirty-first Congress lasted for 302 days, and adjourned Sept. 30, 1850. This was the year of the celebrated Missouri Compromise. The Fortieth Congress kept up its session by adjournments till Nov. 10th, but its actual sittings lasted only 237 days. This was during the period of conflict with President Johnson.

ELECTION OF 1888.—The Democrats met in National Convention at St. Louis, June 5, 1888. The high position taken by



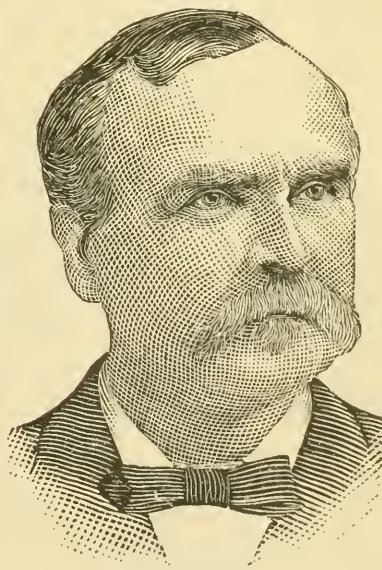
WM. D. KELLEY.



IUSTIN S. MORRILL.



THOMAS B. REED.



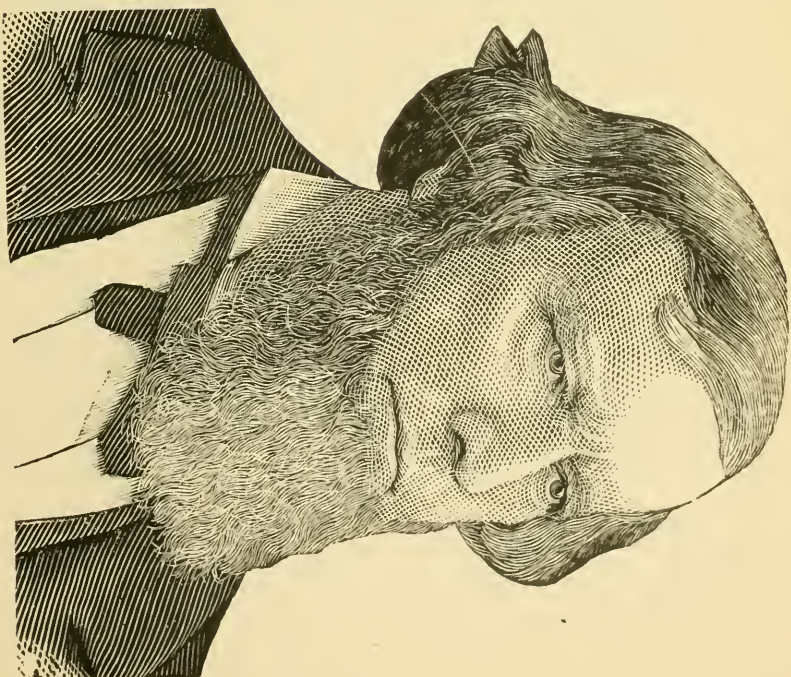
ROGER Q. MILLS.

President Cleveland in his message to the Fiftieth Congress (*see* p. 524), supplemented by the Mills Bill favoring tariff reduction, pointed the way to his renomination. He was, therefore, renominated by acclamation, and in recognition of the older element of his party, Allen G. Thurman, of Ohio, was nominated for Vice-President. The platform reaffirmed that of 1884, endorsed the views of President Cleveland in his last annual message, and also the efforts of Democratic Congressmen to secure a reduction of excessive taxation; expressed party faith in the maintenance of a Union of free and indestructible States; challenged investigation of administrative methods; claimed a wise dispensation of the public land system; asked for recognition of the fact that the administration had paid out more than any other for pensions and bounties to soldiers and sailors; claimed to have set on foot the reconstruction of the American navy, the adoption of a prudent foreign policy, the exclusion of Chinese laborers, and the inauguration of honest reform in the Civil Service; pointed out that Democracy had guarded and defended the rights and welfare of the people, protected every public interest, and steadfastly maintained the equality of citizens, without regard to race or color; charged the Republican party with aiming to deny to the people equality before the law, to fetter enterprise, discourage capital and limit traffic to home markets, by unequal and unjust laws; pledged the party to continue its hostility to excessive tax laws which increased the price of necessities of life; declared against "trusts" in every form; charged the Republicans with a desire to accumulate the surplus in the Treasury, and proclaimed the necessity for a free revision of all laws by which said surplus was maintained.

The Republicans met in National Convention at Chicago, June 19, 1888. There were many aspirants for nomination in the field, among whom were John Sherman, Ohio; Chauncey M. Depew, N. Y.; William W. Phelps, N. J.; Walter Q. Gresham, Ills.; Benjamin Harrison, Ind.; William E. Allison, Iowa; Russel A. Alger, Mich.; and Edwin H. Fitler, Pa. The admirers of James G. Blaine, Me., were very strong in the Convention, and his name was kept prominently before it, throughout the entire session.

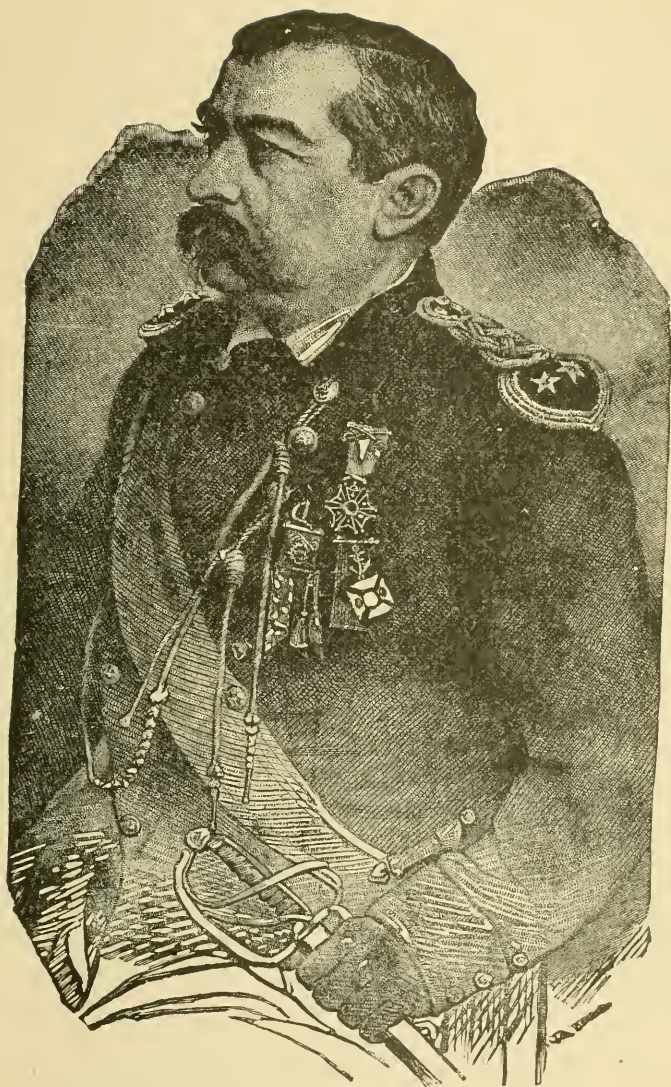


DAVID B. HILL.



ALLEN G. THURMAN.

His own request (June 25) that balloting for him cease, left the Convention free to concentrate on some one else, and on the sixth day of the session, and eighth ballot, Benjamin Harrison, Ind., received the nomination for President. Levi P. Morton, N. Y., was nominated for Vice-President. The platform honored the memory of Lincoln, Grant, Garfield, Arthur, Logan, and Conkling; greeted Sheridan with prayer for his recovery; congratulated Brazil on emancipation of her slaves; expressed a hope for early "Home Rule" in Ireland; affirmed devotion to an indissoluble Union of States, to personal right and liberty of citizens in all the States; held a free ballot and equal representation to be the foundation of republican government; demanded effective legislation to secure the integrity and purity of elections; charged that the Democracy owed its ascendancy to suppression of the ballot and criminal nullification of the Constitution and laws of the United States; pledged uncompromising favor for the American system of Protection; accepted the issue of Free Trade presented by the Democracy and confidently appealed to the people for judgment; denounced the Mills Bill as destructive of general business and the labor and farming interests; condemned the Democrats for placing wool on the free list; declared for a repeal of taxes on tobacco and spirits used in the arts—and if there were still a surplus revenue, then a repeal of all internal taxation rather than a surrender of any part of the Protective system; opposed the introduction of Chinese labor; declared against "trusts" and undue charges for transportation of products to market; reaffirmed the Republican policy of dealing with public lands and securing homesteads; favored the introduction of new States; opposed polygamy; favored a gold and silver currency; demanded a reduction of letter postage to one cent per ounce; advocated free schools; favored a liberal use of public money for improving the navy, coast defences, and harbors; charged the Democracy with a cowardly and inefficient foreign policy; arraigned the administration for cowardly surrender of fishing rights; pledged the party to Civil Service Reform and to continue pensions and bounties to soldiers; denounced Cleveland for hostility to soldiers; invited the co-operation of workingmen whose



GENERAL PHILIP H. SHERIDAN.

labor was threatened by the Free Trade policy of the administration.

The Prohibition party met in National Convention at Indianapolis, May 30, 1888, and nominated Gen. Clinton B. Fisk, of New Jersey, for President, and Dr. John A. Brooks, of Missouri, for Vice-President. The platform declared (1) that the manufacture and dealing in alcoholic beverages should be made public crimes and be prohibited and punished as such; (2) such prohibition must come through amendments to National and State Constitutions, enforced by adequate laws; (3) any form of license, taxation or regulation of the liquor traffic is contrary to good government; (4) any party which sanctions such license or tax allies itself with the traffic and becomes a foe to the State's welfare; (5) arraigns Republican and Democratic parties for favoring license, opposing the demands of the people for prohibition, and defeating the enforcement of prohibition laws; (6) demands repeal of internal revenue system; (7) revenue should be raised from import duties, not on necessities of life, but on articles which will protect the employer and laborer against competition, and there should be no surplus accumulations in the Treasury; (8) civil appointments, clerical in kind, should be based on moral, intellectual and physical qualification and not on party service; (9) suffrage should extend to all persons of suitable age who are mentally and morally qualified for an intelligent ballot; (10) polygamy should be abolished and uniform marriage laws be established; (11) combinations for controlling capital and increasing products for popular consumption should be prohibited; (12) the Sabbath should be preserved and defended; (13) arbitration should be the means for settling all national differences, disputes between employers and employes; (14) abolition of the saloon would remove the burdens from labor and promote labor reform; (15) no monopoly in land; public land for actual settlers only; men and women should receive equal wages for equal work; (16) immigration of convicts and dependents should be prohibited, none but citizens of the United States should vote in any State; (17) full party



WM. B. ALLISON.



WALTER Q. GRESHAM

fellowship invited, of all who recognize prohibition to be a dominant issue.

The United Labor party placed R. H. Cowdrey in the field as its candidate for President, and W. H. T. Wakefield, for Vice-President. The Greenbackers and Labor Reformers nominated Alson J. Streeter for President, and Charles E. Cummings for Vice-President. The American party met in Washington on August 15 and on the 16th nominated James L. Curtis for President, and Judge N. Green for Vice-President. Belva A. Lockwood ran for President on the ticket of the Equal Rights party.

The campaign was largely one of discussion, and free from the bitter personalism which characterized that of 1884. The issue of "Tariff *vs.* Free Trade" was never so sharply defined nor more dispassionately handled. It was recognized at a very early day that the fighting ground embraced the four doubtful States of the North, to wit, New York, Indiana, Connecticut and New Jersey, though the Democrats laid claim to one or more of the North-western States. Both the leading parties labored strenuously to convince the public mind of the correctness of their economic views, and speech-making, mammoth parades, and spectacular arguments became the order of the day. The early autumn elections, as those of Oregon, Vermont and Maine, showed that the trend of sentiment was toward the Republican party, and in the end that party carried New York and Indiana, together with all the States it had carried in 1884, thus securing 233 electoral votes out of the total of 401, or 31 more than was necessary to elect its candidate.

Features of the campaign were the confidence manifested by both parties up till the day of the election, and the dismissal of the English Minister at Washington, Lord Sackville West, for having written a letter to one of his countrymen, naturalized in the United States, which gave offence because it was construed as an unwarranted interference with our political affairs. The result of the election was so decisive as to be cheerfully acquiesced in by the Democratic party. The North-western States had not swung from their Republican allegiance, as was expected by

the Democracy, and the border States showed a decided drift toward the Republican idea, the issue in one of them, West Virginia, being in doubt for weeks after the election. The Congressional elections were also favorable to the Republicans, the Democratic majority of fifteen in the Fiftieth Congress being turned into a Republican majority of from 5 to 10, dependent on the result of several contests, mostly in districts in the Southern States.

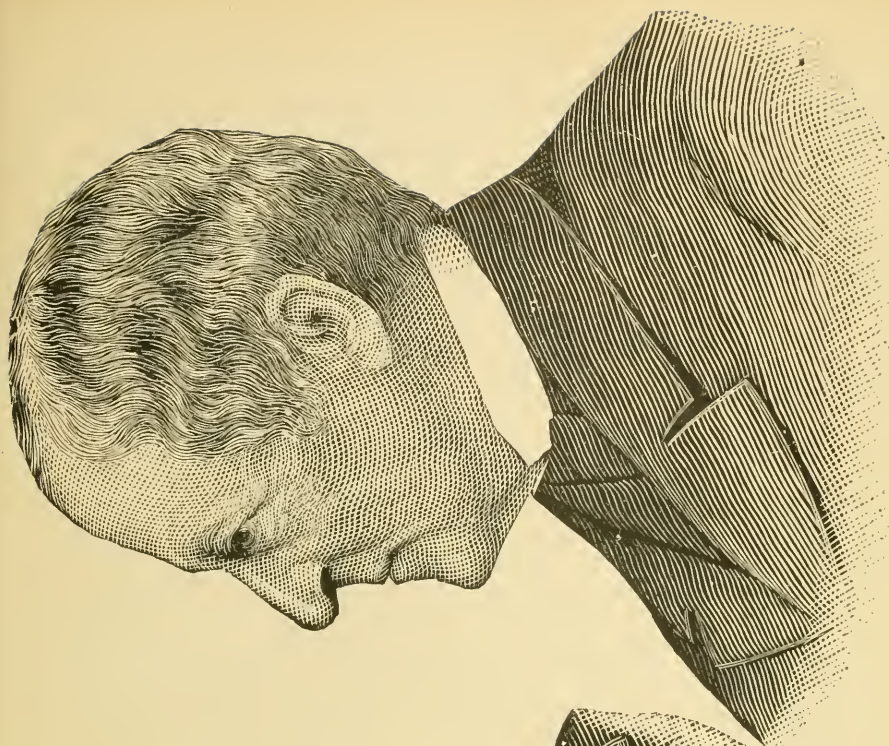
FIFTIETH CONGRESS—Second Session.—Met Dec. 3, 1888. The President's message was a lengthy and elaborate document, different altogether from the crisp presentment made to the first session of the Fiftieth Congress. It was sombre in tone, somewhat harsh in its political allusions, and firmly adhesive to the "Tariff Reform" faith which his former message had promulgated, and which in the judgment of many of his closest friends had cost him a re-election. The reports of the various Cabinet officials showed a satisfactory management of national affairs and an encouraging economic status. This being the short session, and one held immediately after an election which had been disastrous to the existing administration, it was hardly possible to accomplish any momentous legislation. The Democratic majority in the House naturally relegated the issues which they had projected into the campaign to the next Congress, which would be Republican and responsible for the measures and sentiments elaborated in the canvass. But the Senate was rather differently situated. It had during the prior session formulated a Tariff Bill designed as an offset to the Mill's Bill passed by the House, and it felt under obligation to the country to prove its sincerity by urging it to a speedy passage. It therefore entered upon its discussion at an early period of the session, and pushed the measure vigorously in the face of determined opposition.

The passage of this bill brought the respective parties into strict line. In general terms it corrected many inequalities in the Tariff act of 1883, raised the rate of duty on some articles which, if protected, could, and should, be manufactured at home, lowered the duty on many articles whose home manufacture was not thereby

endangered, and widened the free-list somewhat, but not nearly to the extent contemplated by the Mills' bill. The central idea of the bill was to decrease the national income from duties as much as was commensurate with the preservation of the protective principle ; and the reduction of revenue insured by its provisions, supplemented as they were by a repeal of the internal tax upon tobacco and spirits used in the arts, was deemed ample to propitiate the sentiment against an accumulation of surplus in the Treasury, as well as to meet any danger likely to arise therefrom.

When the Senate bill reached the House, it did not provoke deliberate discussion, but became the victim of compromises and substitutes, all of which were lost either by direct votes or by means of dilatory tactics. The day of adjournment therefore came without definite action by the House, and Tariff legislation failed for the session and the Congress.

The next most important legislation before the Congress was that bearing upon the Territories seeking admission as States. This, at first, drew party lines strictly, and the Democrats proposed an *Omnibus* bill, admitting many Territories, as a set-off to the Republican measure, admitting only four. But in the end, other counsels prevailed, and a majority was obtained in both House and Senate for the admission of North Dakota, South Dakota, Montana and Washington Territories as States, these being the best equipped for statehood. The President signed this bill, but vetoed the one which returned to the States the income tax collected from them during the civil war. The electoral count in February showed 233 votes for Harrison and Morton and 168 for Cleveland and Thurman. Complications in Samoa called for a measure designed to strengthen the hands of the President in maintaining American rights in the Pacific. The Congress adjourned by limitation on March 4, 1889, and on the same day Harrison and Morton were sworn into office. President Cleveland retired to private life, after giving a cautious and prudent administration, signalized more by patient attention to details and strong assertion of official prerogative, than by striking originality and comprehensive grasp. He took up his residence in New York, where he engaged in the practice of the law.



LEVI P. MORTON.



BENJAMIN HARRISON.

XXVI

HARRISON'S ADMINISTRATION.

March 4, 1889—March 4, 1893.

BENJAMIN HARRISON, IND., *President*. LEVI P. MORTON, N. Y.,
Vice-President.

<i>Congresses.</i>	<i>Sessions.</i>
FIFTY-FIRST CONGRESS.	{ 1, December 2, 1889— 2, December 1, 1890—
FIFTY-SECOND CONGRESS.	{ 1, December 7, 1891— 2, December 5, 1892—

*ELECTORAL VOTE.**

States.	Basis of 154,325.	Votes.	Republican.		Democrat.	
			Benj. Harrison, Ind.	Levi P. Morton, N. Y.	Grover Cleveland, N. Y.	Allen G. Thurman, Ohio.
Alabama	8	10	..	..	10	10
Arkansas	5	7	..	..	7	7
California	6	8	8	8		
Colorado	1	3	3	3		
Connecticut	4	6	..	..	6	6
Delaware	1	3	..	..	3	3
Florida	2	4	..	..	4	4
Georgia	10	12	..	..	12	12
Illinois	20	22	22	22		
Indiana	13	15	15	15		
Iowa	11	13	13	13		
Kansas	7	9	9	9		
Kentucky	11	13	..	..	13	13
Louisiana	6	8	..	..	8	8
Maine	4	6	6	6		
Maryland	6	8	..	..	8	8
Massachusetts	12	14	14	14		
Michigan	11	13	13	13		
Minnesota	5	7	7	7		
Mississippi	7	9	..	..	9	9
Missouri	14	16	..	..	16	16
Nebraska	3	5	5	5		
Nevada	1	3	3	3		
New Hampshire	2	4	4	4		
New Jersey	7	9	..	..	9	9
New York	34	36	36	36		
North Carolina	9	11	..	..	11	11
Ohio	21	23	23	23		
Oregon	1	3	3	3		
Pennsylvania	28	30	30	30		
Rhode Island	2	4	4	4		
South Carolina	7	9	..	..	9	9
Tennessee	10	12	..	..	12	12
Texas	11	13	..	..	13	13
Vermont	2	4	4	4		
Virginia	10	12	..	..	12	12
West Virginia	4	6	..	..	6	6
Wisconsin	9	11	11	11		
Total	325	401	233	233	168	168

* Popular vote: Harrison, 5,438,157—20 States; Cleveland, 5,535,626—18 States; Prohibition, 250,157; Labor, 150,624.

(710)

THE CABINET.

Secretary of State	James G. Blaine, Me.
Secretary of Treasury	William Windom, Minn.
Secretary of War	Redfield Proctor, Vt.
Secretary of Navy	Benjamin F. Tracy, N. Y.
Secretary of Interior	John W. Noble, Mo.
Attorney-General	W. H. H. Miller, Ind.
Postmaster-General	John Wanamaker, Pa.
Sec. of Agriculture	Jeremiah Rusk, Wis.

THE POLITICAL SITUATION.—The political revolution which swept the Republican party out of power in 1884, ran its course in four years and was followed by a counter revolution in 1888 which proved even more disastrous to the Democratic party. The Republicans had evidently profited by the discipline of defeat; the Democrats had failed to convert the prestige of a first into a second victory. While the Cleveland administration had been safe, dignified and useful, it lost the opportunity of perpetuating itself by failure to cope with some of the old questions which fell to it as legacies, by the vagueness of its foreign policy and by its bold assumption of an affirmative on the question of "Tariff Reform" which, as construed by its opponents, was a revival of Free Trade doctrines, and an attack on the American policy of Protection. It was the good fortune of General Harrison, as a candidate, to unite the factions of his party and to stand as the exponent of its wishes respecting the leading issues projected into the campaign. He came into office under excellent auspices. The campaign had been squarely, even masterfully, fought, on the basis of ideas. Partisanship was at a low ebb, and the bitterness of recrimination did not mar argument or inflame passion. He had the confidence inspired by ability, sound sense and conservative purpose. The national verdict had been emphatic in his favor. He was free from the complication of pre-election pledges, and abreast of his party, should it desire to signalize its triumph by new departures. But there was no need of these, for the transit from a Democratic to a Republican administration, under all the circumstances, meant, not so much a peaceful transfer of power, as a step back over four intermediate years, a taking up of the political thread which had been broken in 1884, a resumption of the issues and traditions temporarily laid aside during a minority period.

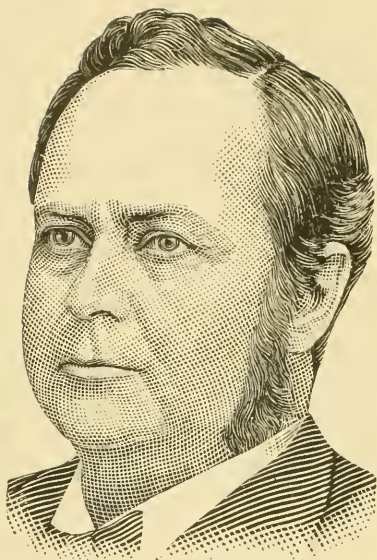
President Harrison made his selection of cabinet officers with much respect to location, with a tact that showed deference to party leadership and at the same time avoided local jealousies, but chiefly with regard to special fitness for their positions. It was a working as well as advisory body. His inaugural was a plain paper, of 4,300 words, calling attention to the fact that the beginning of this twenty-sixth administration was a step over the threshold into the second century of our national existence under the constitution; to the growth of the Protective policy, its vindication at the polls and the necessity for its continuance; to the propriety of laying aside race prejudices and conceding equal rights to all; to the evils of monopoly; to the necessity for discriminating against pauper immigrants; to the maintenance of the "Monroe doctrine," especially in view of the Samoan trouble and the danger of foreign governments coming to the aid of the Panama Canal scheme; to a Civil Service which should fulfil the law and at the same time not shield official negligence or incompetency; to a graduation of duties and taxes so as to limit revenue to public needs; to the necessity for a stronger navy, for encouragement to commerce, for revised pension laws, and for laws which would insure a free and pure ballot.

The message was well received by the country, and was accepted by Republicans as a clear outline of what they had a right to expect of their President. The Senate, called into extra session, promptly confirmed the Cabinet officers, and such other appointments as came before it during its brief sitting. Thus opened the new administration whose mission was to preserve the ideas which had triumphed at the national elections and shape affairs on the lines indicated by the constitutional majority.

FIFTY-FIRST CONGRESS—First Session.—Met Dec. 2, 1889. In the Senate the Republicans had a majority of six, and in the House a majority of ten. The House organized by electing Thomas B. Reed, of Maine, Speaker. The House session opened stormily over the amendment of the Rules as to what should constitute a quorum. It had been the custom for members, actually present, to defeat a quorum and block legislation by declining to answer when the roll was called. Their



CHAS. FOSTER.



WM. WINDOM.



BENJ. F. TRACY.



W. H. H. MILLER.

claim was that, though actually present, they were constructively absent. The Speaker's rulings, when the minority blocked legislation by filibustering tactics, were to the effect that actual presence of a member meant his intent and duty to participate in legislation, and his name was counted as part of a quorum, on a call for a quorum, whether he answered or not. Owing to the importance of the legislation passed at this session, the validity of such rulings was questioned, and the matter was carried to the United States Supreme Court, where their legality was sustained.

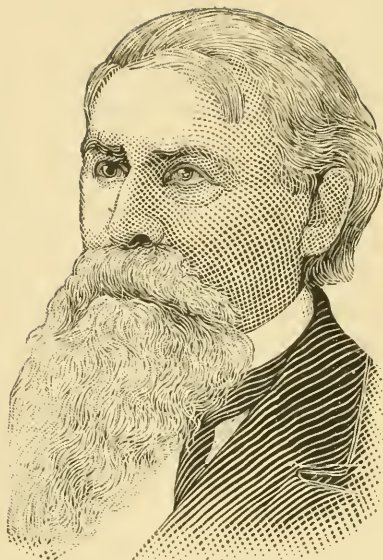
The President's message, his first annual one, was a lengthy but able State paper, presenting an outline of administrative policy in harmony with the majority in Congress and his party in general. It became a chart for the legislation which was to characterize the session.

The issue of the campaign of 1888 had been so wholly that of Free-trade *vs.* Protection, that the way of the Republican majority was plain. The Chairman of the House Committee of Ways and Means, William McKinley, of Ohio, invited all the interests concerned in tariff revision to a hearing, and a bill was framed which came to be known as the "McKinley Bill." The principle involved in the bill was to incorporate the experience of all former tariff legislation, and the best features of all former Acts; to impose rates of a protective character, and in the interest of American labor, on manufactures which could exist here, but whose existence was threatened by foreign competition; to impose even higher rates on manufactures, such as tin plates, which we ought to produce, but did not; to largely reduce the duties on the necessities of life, such as sugar, or to make them wholly free; to greatly enlarge the free list by placing on it all raw materials whose importation did not compete with the home growth of the same; to introduce the policy of reciprocity, by which something could be gained by an enlarged trade in turn for the loss of duties on sugars and kindred articles of daily consumption.

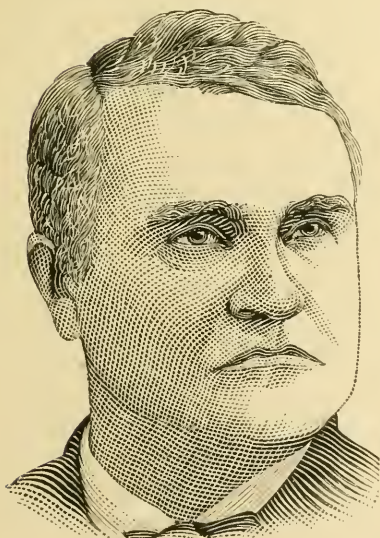
Probably no Tariff Bill had ever been so fully matured, or had so fully satisfied in advance the various interests consulted



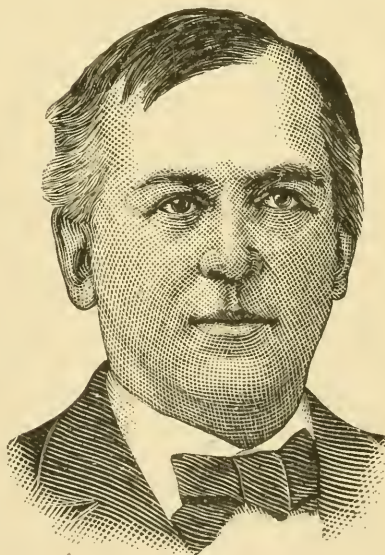
J. W. FOSTER



JEREMIAH RUSK.



STEPHEN B. ELKINS.



JOHN WANAMAKER.

in its preparation. Certainly none ever passed that had to undergo more minute criticism, whose merits were more elaborately discussed, and respecting which so many prophecies, good and bad, were indulged. Its passage spread over the entire time of this first session of the 51st Congress, and it was not till Oct. 1, 1890, that it became a law.

The McKinley Act increased duties on 115 articles, embracing farm products and manufactures deemed not to be sufficiently protected, manufactures to be established, luxuries such as wines, etc. It decreased duties on 190 articles, embracing manufactures established, or which could no longer suffer from foreign competition. It left the duties unchanged on 249 articles. It enlarged the free list till it embraced 55.75 per cent. of all imports, as against 33.27 per cent. under the previous tariff. It placed sugar on the free list, with a loss of duties equal to \$54,000,000 annually.

While the "McKinley Act" was by far the most important legislation effected by this "Working Congress" at this session, there were numerous other Acts of great moment and far-reaching effect. Among these was the "Sherman Silver Bill," or "Coinage Act of 1890," which made it compulsory on the government to buy 54,000,000 ounces of silver a year, and instead of coining the same, to issue silver notes or certificates therefor. This bill was in the nature of a compromise between the advocates and opponents of free silver coinage, and the effect of its passage was to postpone the agitation for a time.

The "Administrative Customs Act" was next in importance, and designed to prevent frauds by undervaluation of imports. Then there was the "Disability Pension Act;" the "Anti-Lottery Act;" the "World's Fair Act;" the "Shipping Act," designed to establish a first-class line of ocean steamers under the American flag; the "Meat Inspection Bill," whose operation brought about the repeal of European restrictions against American meats; Acts to admit Wyoming and Idaho as States; an Act creating a United States Circuit Court of Appeals; a land grant forfeiture Act; the "Original Package Act;" and a grand total of 1350 enactments, of greater or less importance. Besides

these, the House passed many bills of national moment, such as the "International Copyright Bill," the bill to secure honest elections, the bill to exclude convict labor, etc., which failed of passage in the Senate.

FIFTY-FIRST CONGRESS—Second Session.—Met Dec. 1, 1890. The interval between sessions had witnessed an exciting political campaign in which the McKinley Act was the conspicuous issue. Since nothing could, as yet, be affirmed of its practical workings by its friends, the imaginations and baleful auguries of its opponents had free play, and the result was a reverse for the Republicans as disastrous as that of 1882. Strong Republican States were swept from their moorings, and, besides many Governors, the Democrats elected an overwhelming majority in the 52d Congress.

This reversal of public sentiment had the effect of rendering the session of Congress tame. The President's message presented a satisfactory review of home and foreign affairs; showed a total Government revenue of \$463,963,080 and an expenditure of \$358,618,584; the purchase and redemption of bonds, since March 4, 1889, of \$211,832,450, at an expense of \$246,620,741, which amounted to a total saving of \$51,576,706, in interest; viewed satisfactorily the work of the Departments, and especially the successful building of the new naval vessels; congratulated the country on its material prosperity; asked for a full and fair trial of existing tariff legislation; pointed to the enlargement of our exports for the year by \$115,000,000, and to the extension of markets for American products; urged the establishment of steamship lines; insisted on better election laws.

The session of Congress passed without the enactment of any measures of greater moment than the usual appropriation bills, which, as in the first session of this Congress, were large, the totals for the two sessions approximating \$1,000,000,000, owing to which it was denounced by the Democrats as the "Billion Dollar Congress." The Fifty-first Congress expired by limitation, March 4, 1891.

ADMINISTRATIVE MEASURES.—On June 19, 1890, the final report of the "International American Conference" was

presented to President Harrison by his Secretary of State, James G. Blaine. The conclusions reached by Mr. Blaine, in his review of this report, formed the basis of that policy of reciprocity which became a part of the McKinley Tariff Act, and which the President did not hesitate to make one of the most prominent of his administrative measures. Its adoption by Congress threw upon the administration the important duty of negotiating reciprocity treaties with those nations which were willing to engage in reciprocal trade with us. Very soon treaties were entered into with Germany, France, Spain, Brazil, and several of the smaller countries of Central and South America, while all the Latin States of America, except two, placed treaties under favorable consideration. By the end of 1892, the treaties executed began to bring about the increase in trade anticipated by the parties thereto.

While these negotiations gave to foreign affairs a conspicuous place in the Harrison administration, other events transpired which tended to make that administration exceptional in its foreign relations. Among these was the "Samoa Affair," a legacy from the preceding administration. Germany, with the sanction of England, had seized on the Samoan group of islands, strategically situated in the Pacific Ocean. King Malietoa appealed to the United States. The President insisted on the application of the "Monroe Doctrine," and succeeded in concluding a treaty with Germany and England which saved the absorption of the islands, and restored King Malietoa to power. This treaty was approved by all political parties in the country, and its negotiation assured to the nation a vigorous foreign diplomacy.

The important question known as the "Behring Sea Question" and long been a diplomatic stumbling-block for both the United States and Great Britain. Mr. Cleveland had tried to meet it by seizing poaching seal ships, but this only complicated matters by opening the doors to countless law suits and angry threats of reprisal. President Harrison took the ground that both humanity and the ultimate destruction of an industry demanded a cessation of seal-killing for a time at least, and that the rights of the respective countries in the waters of Behring Sea could only be

ascertained properly by arbitration. By means of tedious and skilful diplomacy, a *modus vivendi* was agreed upon between the two countries for 1891-92, pending which reference was had of the entire subject to a "Board of Arbitration," composed of the rulers and representatives of disinterested countries, and to assemble in Paris in 1892. This diplomacy, prolonged, intricate and full of dangers, was highly acceptable to all political parties.

The murder of Italians in New Orleans, Feb., 1891, led to dangerous complications with Italy. Her minister was recalled, and there was great excitement in both countries. Italy demanded speedy reparation in a very peremptory manner, and seemingly with the intention of forcing it. It was with the utmost difficulty she could be brought to understand that under our system the States, and not the National Government, were responsible for such outrages. By the exercise of patience and firmness on the part of the administration, Italy came gradually to see that the United States could not be coerced or hastened. She finally yielded her demand, restored her former friendly relations, and was met on the part of the United States by payment of a small complimentary indemnity of \$25,000, whose giving was not to imply any recognition of Italian rights, as claimed, but was to be construed only as an expression of friendly feeling, and of regret at so horrible an occurrence.

The "Chilian Imbroglia" came nearest to plunging the country into war. Two parties in Chili, the forces of President Balmaceda and the Insurgents or Congressional forces, had been engaged in civil war since January, 1891. An "Insurgent" vessel, the *Itata*, had loaded with arms in the harbor of San Diego, Cal., and had escaped, in violation of the neutrality laws. The United States cruiser, *Baltimore*, was sent in pursuit, and the *Itata* was brought back to San Diego for the further adjudication of her case under admiralty laws. The *Baltimore* returned to Chili, and was lying in the harbor of Valparaíso. On the night of Oct. 16, 1891, part of her crew was attacked while ashore by an "Insurgent" mob, and one officer was killed, and nine seamen wounded. The "Insurgents" had conquered Balmaceda, and set up their own government. They had

become inflamed against the American Minister for giving asylum to the defeated Balmacedists. Flushed with victory, and burning to revenge the loss of the *Itata*, they made this attack on the seamen of the *Baltimore*, and when explanation of the outrage and apology for insult to the national flag was asked for, an impudent reply was sent. This created great excitement in the United States, and the President immediately began to put the navy in preparation for an offensive demonstration. The war fever ran high, and without regard to party. When Chili saw that apology and reparation would be insisted upon, even at the cost of war, she promised a judicial investigation and ultimate satisfaction. But the promised investigation dragged along so slowly that no results were reached before Dec. 9, 1891, when President Harrison was forced to the conclusion that Chili was not acting in good faith. In his message to Congress of that date he reviewed the whole Chilean matter, and regarded the situation as so grave that he promised a special message respecting it in case the Chilean investigation did not soon report, or if its report were not acceptable. In January the conclusions of the Chilean "Board of Crimes Inquiry" reached him. These conclusions were vague, evasive and unsatisfactory, and on Jan. 25, 1892, President Harrison sent in his special message to Congress. It contained his ultimatum to Chili, turned the matter over to Congress and the nation, and meant war. No message of modern date received more emphatically the endorsement of the country, or touched more deeply the patriotic pride of the people. Three days after its submission to Congress, the President was enabled to announce to Congress and the country that Chili had extended all necessary apologies for her conduct, and had promised full reparation for injuries she had inflicted.

FIFTY-SECOND CONGRESS—First Session.—Met Dec. 7, 1891. The Republicans could count on a shaky majority of six in the Senate. In the House the Democrats had 234 members; the Republicans, 86; the Farmers' Alliance, 8; the remainder being independent. The Democrats, therefore, had a majority of two-thirds, and, as the issues of the campaign of 1890 had been made plain, to wit: the repeal of the obnoxious

McKinley tariff act and of the Sherman coinage act, the abler and more conscientious leaders felt that their party was under the same obligations to act directly and heroically as the Republicans were in the 51st Congress. Indeed, they were under far greater obligation, for the popular verdict in their favor had been far more emphatic, and their majority was so overwhelming, as to render legislation in accordance with their views easy and as a matter of course.

The President's message was if anything a stronger State paper than any he had yet presented. The events of the year, industrially and diplomatically, had been extraordinary. The working of the Tariff Act and of Reciprocity was more than answering evil prophecies respecting them; the general prosperity was satisfactory. The difficult and dangerous foreign diplomacy of the year had ended honorably to the country. Further trial was asked of those momentous national enactments involving our industries and money. Progress in naval construction was mentioned with pleasure, and its continuance urged. It was a hopeful and firm document throughout, notwithstanding the fact that it confronted a situation so wholly different from that presented by the preceding Congress.

Flushed with its recent successes, the elated Democratic party entered upon the work of the 52d Congress, and naturally rallied around its best-equipped economic leader for Speaker—Roger Q. Mills, of Texas, father of the famous "Mills' Tariff Bill," of the 49th Congress. Mr. Mills had won fame as an ardent, able and persistent advocate of the anti-protection measures of his party. He had appeared on the stump in many States during the campaign of 1890, and had been outspoken of his views respecting free-trade and protection. Under ordinary circumstances he could hardly have failed to command the support and confidence of his party for an office and position so important as that of the Speakership of the House. But the circumstances proved to be extraordinary. There were seeds of danger in the overwhelming Democratic majority in the House. Excess might dwarf and blight success. The party feared to trust itself. It was well known what Mr. Mills would do. He would, in

vindication of his past efforts, and out of respect to his present judgment and to the pronounced verdict of the country, hew to the lines he had laid down in the 49th Congress. This, of course, meant a tariff act as a counter to the McKinley act; and perhaps it meant also a "Free Silver Coinage Act," since the Democrats in their State platforms of a vast majority of the States had so resolved. For these things the party did not seem ready, despite its tariff reform pledges, its demands for more money, and the plain sentiment of the country as manifested in the elections.

The time was on for shaping political lines for the Presidential campaign of 1892. While no abatement of the free-trade or tariff reform sentiment was noticeable; while the determination continued to oppose the doctrine of protection as embodied in the Tariff Act of 1890, and to repeat, if possible, the splendid triumph of that year in the coming Presidential campaign, it was deemed wisest not to antagonize too squarely, or too far in advance, the doctrines they hoped to overwhelm in the end. Already there were evidences of reaction in the public mind, as one by one the practical workings of the McKinley act exploded the pet theories of its opponents. The suspicion began to dawn that, after all, the situation of 1890 might not prove to be as calamitous as it had been pictured. At any rate there was no need of taking any risks. So after a long and somewhat bitter struggle over the Speakership Mr. Mills was sacrificed, and Mr. Crisp, of Georgia, was elected Speaker. Out of this manœuvre sprang the plan of indirect, rather than direct, attack upon the Tariff Act of 1890. The plan—not heartily adopted, but acquiesced in as an expedient—would still serve the purpose of holding party lines, and of presenting opportunity for tariff-reform discussions. It derived additional plausibility, in the minds of the timid, from the fact that a Republican Senate would be likely to defeat any and all tariff enactments passed by a Democratic House. If the plan was open to the charge that it was in utter disrespect of the popular verdict, the use of discretion at a critical moment could be urged as an excuse. If it proved disappointing to constituents, they could be appeased by promises

of a greater victory in the near future. If it showed that the party lacked the courage of its convictions, it could be answered that diplomacy was wiser than haste. If it seemed cowardly, the adage was handy: "To divide is to conquer." But its general justification was found in the fact that it avoided the dangers which seemed to be inseparable from the opening of the whole tariff subject in a House with an unwieldy majority, composed of untried members, each flushed with victory at the polls.

The result of the plan was a series of separate tariff bills repealing or modifying special clauses of the McKinley Act. These bills were lengthily debated and passed by decided majorities in the House, though not all of them by the full majority. Of these, the Springer bill was the most conspicuous and most fully debated, as it was supposed to more nearly foreshadow the party policy than any other. It placed wool on the free list, and reduced duties on manufactures of wool. Other bills were passed placing cotton bagging, cotton ties and gins, cotton bagging machinery, binding twine and tin plates, ternes and taggers on the free list. The Senate did not approve any of this tariff legislation.

What was remarkable about this method, facetiously termed the "pop-gun" method, was that it satisfied so large and enthusiastic a majority. Though interest in it faded as the session dragged along, yet its time-consuming features were applauded till the end. It held that situation in perfect abeyance, which positive assertion might have jeopardized.

The question of the free coinage of silver came up as a disturbing one for the Democratic majority. The failure of silver producers to realize their expectations under the Sherman Act of 1890, a growing desire on the part of the dissatisfied to change industrial and trade conditions, especially in the West and South, and the fact that political conventions in a majority of the States had given the silver question a party turn, rendered the opening of the 52d Congress, with its decided Democratic majority in the House, an opportune time to seek new coinage legislation. In the Democratic State Conventions the planks had almost universally favored "free and unlimited coinage of

silver." In the Republican State Conventions they had, as a rule, favored "the maintenance of silver on a parity with gold."

Therefore, on the opening of Congress, Mr. Bland, the recognized leader of silver legislation on the part of the Democrats, came promptly forward with the "Bland Free Silver Coinage Bill," and advocated it with his well-known ability. He drew around it the advocates of "free and unlimited coinage," and it became the subject of animated and prolonged debate. When it was ripe for passage Mr. Bland demanded the previous question. This was done with the belief that his measure could not fail in a Democratic House. But what was his surprise to find that the vote stood 148 yeas to 148 nays. The Eastern Democrats had turned in with the Republicans in opposition to this favorite party measure. The Coinage Committee had been made up largely of the friends of free coinage by Speaker Crisp, and he could not do otherwise than break the tie by casting his vote in favor of the bill. But the opposition resorted to filibustering tactics, and the bill was finally killed by a refusal, on the part of a majority of the Democrats, to sign a request for a closure rule, without which request the Speaker declined to close debate and force the measure to passage.

As to the other bills of national moment this Congress proved as extraordinary as the majority in the House was large. If the "Chinese Exclusion Bill," the bill to admit the "Inman Liners" to American registry, the bill to provide for retaliation against Canada, and that giving \$2,500,000 to the World's Columbian Exposition be excepted, the Congress did nothing calculated to affect the public welfare, outside of the appropriation bills. All the bills of moment which originated in the House either died amid the discords they engendered, or were killed in the Senate. The Senate bills, some of which were important, met a like fate in the House. So, in comparison with the corresponding session of the Fifty-first Congress, this was a "do-nothing" Congress.

The number of investigations ordered, and investigating committees appointed, had never been exceeded. These committees went tardily to work, if at all, and few of them reported, even to

the next session of the Congress. As an epicurean member of one observed, "his committee was not even successful as a junketing party."

Private legislation took an exceedingly offensive and dangerous turn during the session, as was manifest in the character of many of the bills presented in behalf of those who had suffered losses through the Union armies.

The session proved to be remarkable in the respect that the enormous Democratic majority in the House was frequently driven to protect itself against filibustering by recourse to the very means it had denounced in the campaign, and which had been so effectually employed by Speaker Reed in the Fifty-first Congress.

But the most remarkable feature of the session was its results as to economy. Probably the stigma of "The Billion Dollar Congress" had done more to effect that revolution which resulted in a two-thirds Democratic majority in the present session than any other thing. Recognizing this, Mr. Holman, as Chairman of the Committee on Appropriations, started out to reduce all appropriations and bring them within proper economic limits. His friends proved to be his worst enemies. The demands of so large a majority were exorbitant. In order to favor them, the Committee on Appropriations was forced to cut, where cutting was vital to the national comfort and safety, as in the case of the new navy. Many Democrats rose in arms and called a halt. Senator Gorman, in the Senate, said: "As anxious as I am, as firmly wedded as my party is to economy, I do not understand the history of the party to be one of obstruction, of doing nothing, of paralyzing legitimate enterprises, of striking at vital points, of preventing an increase of our commerce, or making thorough preparation for defense. I understand our party to mean by economy and entrenchment, that the people's money shall be used only for public purposes; that it shall be honestly expended; that extravagance and profligacy shall be checked. I do not understand that we are committed to parsimony. I do understand that we are in favor of every provision which looks to the advancement and glory of this great country of ours. I un-

derstand that every Democrat wants the public money honestly expended, and, when it is so expended, as I stated that it had been in the construction of the navy from the day that Mr. Cleveland was inaugurated until this hour, they are in favor of building up the navy." The result was that the appropriations for the session exceeded those for the corresponding session of the "Billion Dollar Congress."

The figures for the first session of the Fifty-first Congress were \$463,000,000. The figures for this session of the Fifty-second Congress were \$507,701,380, and considerably more, counting authorized contracts. The "River and Harbor Bill" alone involved a direct expenditure of \$21,000,000, and \$30,000,000 upon contracts—a total of over \$50,000,000. The excess of direct expenditure this term as compared with the corresponding term of the "Billion Dollar Congress" was \$44,302,869.

ELECTION OF 1892.—The Republican National Committee issued its call for a convention at Minneapolis, on June 7, 1892. At the time of the call, November 23, 1891, party sentiment favored the renomination of President Harrison. But after the turn of the year opposition arose, chiefly among those who had been disappointed in the distribution of patronage. This opposition centred on James G. Blaine, President Harrison's Secretary of State, not so much with a view to his nomination, as with the thought that he would prove the best weapon with which to crush President Harrison. Mr. Blaine escaped the embarrassment of the situation by declining to be a candidate, February 6, 1892. With the situation thus simplified, the party was at liberty to encourage Harrison's candidacy. The logic of the situation pointed to his renomination. All the State Conventions, save one, had endorsed his administration, which had been exceptionally able and pure. Still his enemies persisted, and they conjured with the name of Blaine, despite his letter of declination. On June 4, 1892, Blaine resigned the Secretaryship of State. This action was heralded as his intention to be a candidate. His name went before the Convention with

others. Harrison received the nomination by a vote of 535½, to 182½ for Blaine and 182 for McKinley.

The platform affirmed the doctrine of American protection; favored bi-metallisms with legislative restrictions; demanded a free ballot and honest count; denounced Southern outrages; favored the extension of foreign commerce and the enforcement of the Monroe Doctrine; opposed the immigration of paupers; declared in favor of the separation of Church and State, and efficient railroad laws for the protection of employees; opposed trusts; favored extension of the free delivery of letters and a reduced postage; commended the Civil Service; favored the Nicaragua Canal, the admission of Territories as States, the World's Fair; opposed intemperance; favored pensions; endorsed Harrison's Administration.

The news of Harrison's nomination was well received.

The Democratic National Convention met at Chicago, June 21, 1892. The leaders of the party, especially those representing Tammany Hall, were opposed to the renomination of ex-President Cleveland, but the sentiment of the masses favored him. The situation was involved at first, but under judicious leadership it began to clarify, and Mr. Cleveland became the nominee by a vote of 617½, as against 115 for Senator Hill, 103 for Gov. Boies, and 74 scattering.

The platform pledged the party to the principles of Jefferson; opposed the so-called "Force Bill;" denounced protection as a fraud and unconstitutional, and the McKinley Act as the "culminating atrocity of class legislation;" declared reciprocity as a sham; opposed trusts and the giving away of public lands to railways; denounced the Coinage Act of 1890; recommended the abolition of the tax on State banks; held public office to be a public trust; opposed the Republican foreign policy; extended sympathy to the oppressed in other lands; opposed pauper immigration; denounced the Harrison administration as corrupt in the execution of pension laws; favored Mississippi improvements, the Nicaragua canal, the Columbian Exposition, popular education and the admission of new States; advised legislation for the protection of railway em-

ployees, and for the abolition of the "sweating system;" opposed all sumptuary laws.

The nomination of Mr. Cleveland was applauded by the newspapers and the masses of his party.

The Prohibitionists met in National Convention at Cincinnati, June 30, 1892, and nominated General John Bidwell, of California, for President, and James B. Cranfill for Vice-President.

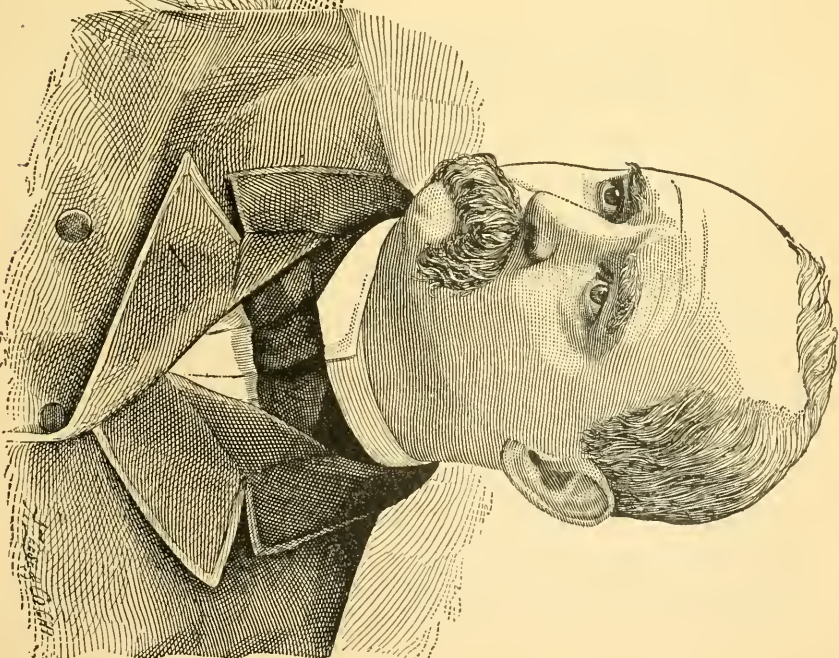
The platform declared (1) the liquor traffic to be a foe to civilization; (2) for voting and wages without regard to sex; (3) for an increase in the volume of money, said volume to be fixed at so much per head and increase with the increase of population; (4) for a tariff for defense, revenue being incidental, and all revenue to be derived from duties on what we possess, not on what we consume; (5) public corporations to be controlled by Government, and profits limited to fair interest; (6) revision of immigration and naturalization laws in the interest of our own citizens and voters; (7) no lands for non-resident aliens, and all unearned land grants to railroads to be reclaimed; (8) protection of citizens by right of trial in constitutional tribunals; (9) legal protection for the right to rest one day in seven; (10) arbitration for international differences; (11) suppression of speculation on margins; (12) pledges the granting of pensions to disabled veterans; (13) favors public schools, but not sectarian schools; (14) arraigned both old parties as faithless to their traditions and the "higher law," and as courting the support of the lower elements.

The People's Party, or "Populists," as they came to be known, met in National Convention at Omaha, July 2, 1892, and nominated General James B. Weaver, of Iowa, for President, and General James G. Field, of Virginia, for Vice-President.

The platform deprecated the moral and political ruin of the nation, the corruption of ballot-boxes, legislatures and congresses, the demoralization of the people, the muzzling of newspapers, the prostration of business, the mortgaging of homes, the impoverishment of labor, the concentration of lands in the hands of capitalists; the denial of the right—for workmen to organize;



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ADLAI E. STEVENSON.

the importation of pauper labor; a hireling standing army; the building of large fortunes; the presence of tramps and millionaires; demanded the limitation of State and National revenues; the keeping of money as much as possible in the hands of the people; opposed subsidy of any kind; favored a graduated income tax and its application to the reduction of the burdens of taxation; declared that the war was over and a "United Brotherhood of Freemen" was in demand; demanded a free ballot and fair count; a safe, sound and flexible National Currency, legal tender, directly distributed, at a tax of not exceeding two per cent.; free and unlimited coinage of silver; increase of the circulating medium to \$50 per capita; postal savings banks; that Government own and operate the railroads, telegraphs, telephones and postal system; an eight hour law; denounced the Pinkerton system; alien and railway ownership of land; favored rigid civil service regulations; liberal pensions to soldiers; denounced the two leading political parties as corrupt and not acting in the interest of the masses.

The campaign was remarkable for its absence of excitement, its freedom from personal aspersion and the confidence entertained by both sides till the very last. The Democrats had the prestige of their victory of 1890 which involved the question of Free-trade *vs.* Protection, and they repeated their arguments of that year, giving emphasis, especially in the South, to their opposition to the so-called "Force Bill." They had in their candidate a powerful personalism, representative of the masses rather than the leaders. The Republicans had an equally strong personalism in President Harrison, and the advantage of a pure and able administration. They made the issue of protection, of a standard dollar, and of opposition to a wildcat currency, a square one. New York, Connecticut and New Jersey, as of old, were conceded by both parties to be the battle-ground, though the Democrats made coalitions with the Populists of the West and Northwest, with the hope of diminishing the Harrison vote, even though it did not directly augment that of Cleveland. The result of the campaign was a surprise to both parties. The quietude, not to say apathy, of the campaign led to a vote far

below expectation, yet one fraught with marvellous changes. The labor which had all along sought and insisted on protection revolted against its employer. The Alliance, or Populist, vote figured far beyond the anticipations of either party, and actually carried several States. All the elements of discontent conspired to diminish the Republican vote, and that in a way which was not apparent on the surface, nor within the shrewdest calculation. The defeat of the party in power was decisive; far more so than the victory of the party out of power.

The glory of victory on the national ticket was somewhat dimmed by a reduced majority in the House of Representatives, though the hope of a Democratic Senate, for the first time in thirty years, served as a palliative.

FIFTY-SECOND CONGRESS—Second Session.—Met Dec. 5, 1892. It was evident from the beginning that no serious legislation was contemplated, except that designed to prepare the way for the incoming administration, which would have a large majority support in the House, with the probabilities of a Democratic majority in the Senate.

The President's message was a full, forcible document, abounding in contrasts of existing wealth and prosperity with those of 1860. It dealt in exact figures instead of generalizations, and was evidently meant to stamp a situation so indelibly on the minds of the people that any departure from it would be quickly noticeable. It advised the Congress to which it was addressed to throw the full responsibility of tariff revision, and all other measures involved in the campaign, over on to the administration which had been chosen to represent the latest wishes of the people. It found our foreign relations satisfactory, showed a favorable condition of the National Treasury, and of the departments, recommended the abolition of the Sinking Fund, the maintenance of the pension system, the restriction of immigration, and measures for securing fair elections. The strength and boldness of the paper, in the face of recent defeat, commended it to his party, and invited the criticism of the opposition.

In view of what was soon to happen to the economic policy and industrial and commercial condition of the country, this last message of President Harrison became historically valuable for the contrasts it afforded. Its opening paragraph ran :—" In submitting my annual message to Congress, I have great satisfaction in being able to say that the general conditions affecting the commercial and industrial interests of the United States are in the highest degree favorable. A comparison of the existing conditions with those of the most favored period in the history of the country will, I believe, show that so high a degree of prosperity and so general a diffusion of the comforts of life were never before enjoyed by our people."

In aid of the comparisons alluded to, the following figures were shown :

Total Wealth of Country in 1860.....	\$16,159,616,000
" " " " " 1890.....	62,610,000,000
A gain of 287 per cent.	

Railroad Mileage in 1860.....	30,626 miles
" " " " 1890.....	167,471 "

Capital in Manufactures in 1880.....	1,233,000,000
" " " " 1890.....	2,900,735,000
Employees in 1880.....	1,301,000
" " " 1890.....	2,251,000
Wages earned in 1880.....	501,965,000
" " " 1890.....	1,222,000,000
Value of Products in 1880.....	2,712,000,000
" " " " 1890.....	4,860,000,000

After mention of the immense number of factories started in 1892, especially for the manufacture of new productions, the message showed that the foreign trade had increased, for 1892, \$128,000,000 over the year 1891, or \$400,000,000 more than the average for the ten years preceding. The coast-wise trade showed a proportionate increase.

Deposits in Saving-funds in 1860.....	\$149,277,000
Number of Depositors " "	693,870
Deposits in Saving-funds in 1890.....	1,524,844,000
Number of Depositors " "	4,258,893

The rate of wages touched a point higher than was ever before reached in time of peace.

Value of Farm Products in 1860.....	\$1,364,000,000
“ “ “ “ “ 1891.....	4,500,000,000

The report of the Secretary of the Navy coming, as it did, at a time when the policy of enlarging the Navy was expected to yield substantial results, was looked for with interest. It was not disappointing, for it showed an increase in tonnage, for four years, from 69,000 to 169,000 tons; an increase in the number of first-class vessels from 3 to 19; and with enough in contemplation to raise the number to 42, thus giving to the United States rank among the first naval powers of the world. Besides this, the policy of navy enlargement had resulted in a home ability to roll armor-plate and construct machinery and projectiles better than any other country.

The session opened in the desultory way incident to last sessions of a Congress. All measures affecting the status of parties, or of paramount importance, had been so fully relegated to the new administration and the Fifty-third Congress by President Harrison in his message and by the common consent of legislators, as to leave little in hand outside of ordinary routine. Yet, there were mutterings in the House, and various pointers in the shape of bills to repeal the Sherman Silver Act of 1890, which indicated the coming struggle over the silver question. The silver men, advocates of the free coinage of silver, were in impatient mood over the adjournment of the International Silver Congress, which had long been in session in Brussels, and which had adjourned, without having accomplished anything definite, on Dec. 17, 1882, to meet again in May, 1893. This adjournment was regarded as final, unless President Cleveland should again call the Congress together, an event of which there was no likelihood.

In the Senate a source of excitement and tumult was found in the attempt of the Democratic members to interest themselves in the election of senators of their faith in Wyoming, Montana, Kansas, Nebraska, and wherever the results of the elections had left the political complexion of the State Legislatures in doubt. This contention never rose much above the dignity of a party squabble, in which all the advantage was with the

Democrats, who had but to look after their many secret alliances and profit by Republican demoralization.

The session of the Senate did not progress far before heated debate upon the silver question took form. As the time for his inauguration drew near, President-elect Cleveland grew solicitous about the situation and urged his party to repeal the Sherman Silver Act. This urgency took even the shape of a threat that, if the obnoxious measure were not put out of the way, a special session of Congress would have to be called for the purpose.

But the utmost that could be accomplished was a denunciation of the Sherman Act as a vain, if not dangerous, compromise, and there was a total failure either to formulate a satisfactory repeal bill or support it with any degree of unanimity. Such an one as took shape was defeated by a decisive vote. Thus the matter was forced over upon the incoming administration and the succeeding Congress. The House made a similar disposition of the matter, and also of general tariff legislation.

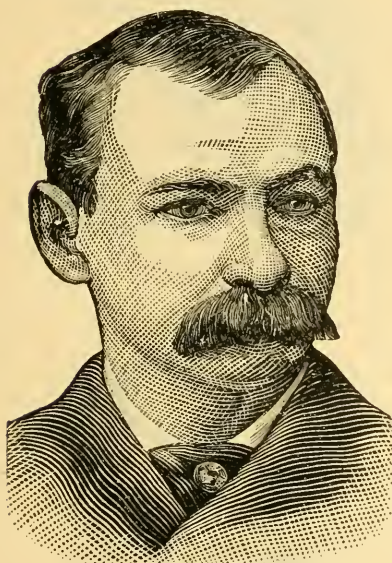
The month of January, 1893, was eventful in the respect that its death roll bore the names of such distinguished citizens as General B. F. Butler, who died suddenly at Washington on Jan. 10; Ex-President Rutherford B. Hayes, who died at his home in Spiegel Grove, Ohio, on Jan. 17; and James G. Blaine, who died at Washington on Jan. 27.

The same month also witnessed a revolution in Hawaii which deposed the reigning queen and resulted in a provisional government, republican in form, and a seeker for annexation to the United States. This was the active beginning of what afterwards became the celebrated and troublesome Hawaiian question. The new government sent its representatives to the United States, as did the deposed government, and after a hearing, President Harrison, Feb. 15, 1893, sent a message and treaty to the Senate, looking to the annexation of the Hawaiian group of islands. This treaty was not passed upon during Harrison's term, and was withdrawn by Mr. Cleveland shortly after his inauguration.

On Feb. 15, President-elect Cleveland announced in advance his choice of Cabinet officers as follows:

Secretary of State.....	Walter Q. Gresham, Ind.
Secretary of Treasury.....	John G. Carlisle, Ky.
Secretary of War.....	Daniel S. Lamont, N. Y.
Postmaster-General.....	Wilson S. Bissell, N. Y.

The announcement of Mr. Gresham's name for the Secretary-



DANIEL S. LAMONT.



WILSON S. BISSELL.

ship of State confirmed a rumor many weeks old. It was received with a shake of the head by Democrats of the older school. By others it was deemed a master-stroke on the part of Mr. Cleveland, as serving to permanently estrange the Populist element of the West from Republicanism and cement it indissolubly to the Democracy. Mr. Gresham had been tendered the nomination for the Presidency by the Populists, but had declined it.

Before his inauguration Mr. Cleveland also announced the following members of his Cabinet:



HOKE SMITH.



HILARY A. HERBERT.



RICHARD OLNEY.



J. STERLING MORTON.

Secretary of Navy Hilary A. Herbert, Ala.
 Secretary of Agriculture J. Sterling Morton, Neb.
 Secretary of Interior Hoke Smith, Ga.
 Attorney-General Richard Olney, Mass.

The second session of the Fifty-second Congress adjourned by limitation on March 3, 1893. The great topics which had engaged this Congress, as has already been learned, were those of Tariff, Silver, anti-option and the reduction of appropriations. Out of all these questions practically nothing came. Among the secondary questions were the appropriation to the Columbian Exposition, Behring Sea Arbitration and Hawaiian Annexation: The sum of \$2,500,000 was voted to the Columbian Exposition, the Behring Sea matter was referred to arbitration, the Hawaiian affair hung fire. As to the reduction of appropriations, it proved to be a vain desire, for though much was saved by sundry paring-down processes, it was more than overbalanced by a generous output for that very comprehensive and vague purpose of improving harbors and rivers.

XXVII.

CLEVELAND'S SECOND ADMINISTRATION.

March 4, 1893—March 4, 1897.

GROVER CLEVELAND, N. Y., *President*; ADLAI E. STEVENSON, *Vice-President*.

*Congresses.**Sessions.*

FIFTY-THIRD CONGRESS { Extra Session, August 7, 1893—Nov. 3, 1893.
 1st Regular Session, December 4, 1893—
 2d " " December 3, 1894—March 4, 1895.
 FIFTY-FOURTH CONGRESS { 1, December 2, 1895—
 2, December 7, 1896—March 4, 1897.

ELECTORAL VOTE FOR PRESIDENT, 1892.

States.	Basis of 173,901.	Votes.	Republican. Harrison.	Democrat. Cleveland.	Populist. Weaver.
Alabama	9	11		12	
Arkansas	6	8		8	
California	7	9	1	8	
Colorado	2	4			4
Connecticut	4	6		6	
Delaware	1	3		3	
Florida	2	4		4	
Georgia	11	13		13	

Electoral Vote—Continued.

States.	Basis of 173,901.	Votes.	Republican. Harrison.	Democrat. Cleveland.	Populist. Weaver.
Idaho.....	1	3			3
Illinois.....	22	24		24	
Indiana.....	13	15		15	
Iowa.....	11	13	13		
Kansas.....	8	10			10
Kentucky.....	11	13		13	
Louisiana.....	6	8		8	
Maine.....	4	6	6		
Maryland.....	6	8		8	
Massachusetts.....	13	15	15		
Michigan.....	12	14	9	5	
Minnesota.....	7	9	9		
Mississippi.....	7	9		9	
Missouri.....	15	17		17	
Montana.....	1	3	3		
Nebraska.....	6	8	8		
Nevada.....	1	3			3
New Hampshire.....	2	4	4		
New Jersey.....	8	10		10	
New York.....	34	36		36	
North Carolina.....	9	11		11	
North Dakota.....	1	3			3
Ohio.....	21	23	22	1	
Oregon.....	2	4	3	1	
Pennsylvania.....	30	32	32		
Rhode Island.....	2	4	4		
South Carolina.....	7	9		9	
South Dakota.....	2	4	4		
Tennes-ee.....	10	12		12	
Texas.....	13	15		15	
Vermont.....	2	4	4		
Virginia.....	10	12		12	
Washington.....	2	4	4		
West Virginia.....	4	6		6	
Wisconsin.....	10	12			
Wyoming.....	1	3	3	12	
Totals.....	356	444	144	277	23

The popular vote was—Cleveland, Democrat, 5,545,227; Harrison, Republican, 5,126,418; Weaver, Populist, 1,125,842; Bidwell, Prohibitionist, 262,386.

THE CABINET.

Secretary of State.....	Walter Q. Gresham, Ill.
Secretary of Treasury.....	John G. Carlisle, Ky.
Secretary of War.....	Daniel S. Lamont, N. Y.
Secretary of Navy.....	Hilary A. Herbert, Ala.
Postmaster-General.....	Wilson S. Bissell, N. Y.
Secretary of Interior.....	Hoke Smith, Ga.
Secretary of Agriculture.....	J. Sterling Morton, Neb.
Attorney-General.....	Richard Olney, Mass.

THE POLITICAL SITUATION.—President Cleveland was inaugurated for his second term on March 4, 1893, amid impos-

ing ceremonies. He was the only President who had ever been re-elected after his retiracy from the high office. The popular acclaim over his election was abundantly supplemented by that of the inaugural occasion. It is doubtful whether any President ever entered on his administration under more favorable auspices. The hostility manifested in the convention which nominated him had not survived the campaign. He had managed to retain that almost idolatrous hold on certain elements of his own party and on conservative Republicans which had served his fortunes so well during his first candidacy. He had succeeded in defeating an opponent who was closing one of the purest, ablest and most gratifying administrations in history. He had the satisfaction of assisting in and witnessing that wonderful upheaval in the Republican ranks which demolished all party traditions, burst all the ties of fealty, changed the political complexion of States, and set at naught the shrewdest forecasts of leaders. If there were elements of the sudden and remarkable revolution which dazed and even apalled far-sighted Democrats, there were none just then apparent which did not enure to the glory of Democratic victory and the humiliation of Republican defeat.

President Cleveland's inaugural was a terse, well-digested effort. It opened with a warning against the conditions and tendencies which menaced the integrity and usefulness of the government; made an emphatic demand for sound money; pronounced against government paternalism; insisted on an economic public service; proclaimed trusts to be unwholesome and dangerous; repeated his well-known views as to the necessity for tariff reform; and concluded by an expression of confidence in the wisdom and judgment of the people. The inaugural was well received by the public. Even those who differed with Mr. Cleveland's views were not disposed to be severely critical because those views had only met a measure of expectancy.

The choice of Mr. Cleveland's Cabinet showed a consciousness of power which produced uneasiness among his former advisers and the party leaders. It was not a geographic nor diplomatic cabinet, such as it had been the custom to choose so as to honor sections, harmonize elements, secure the highest

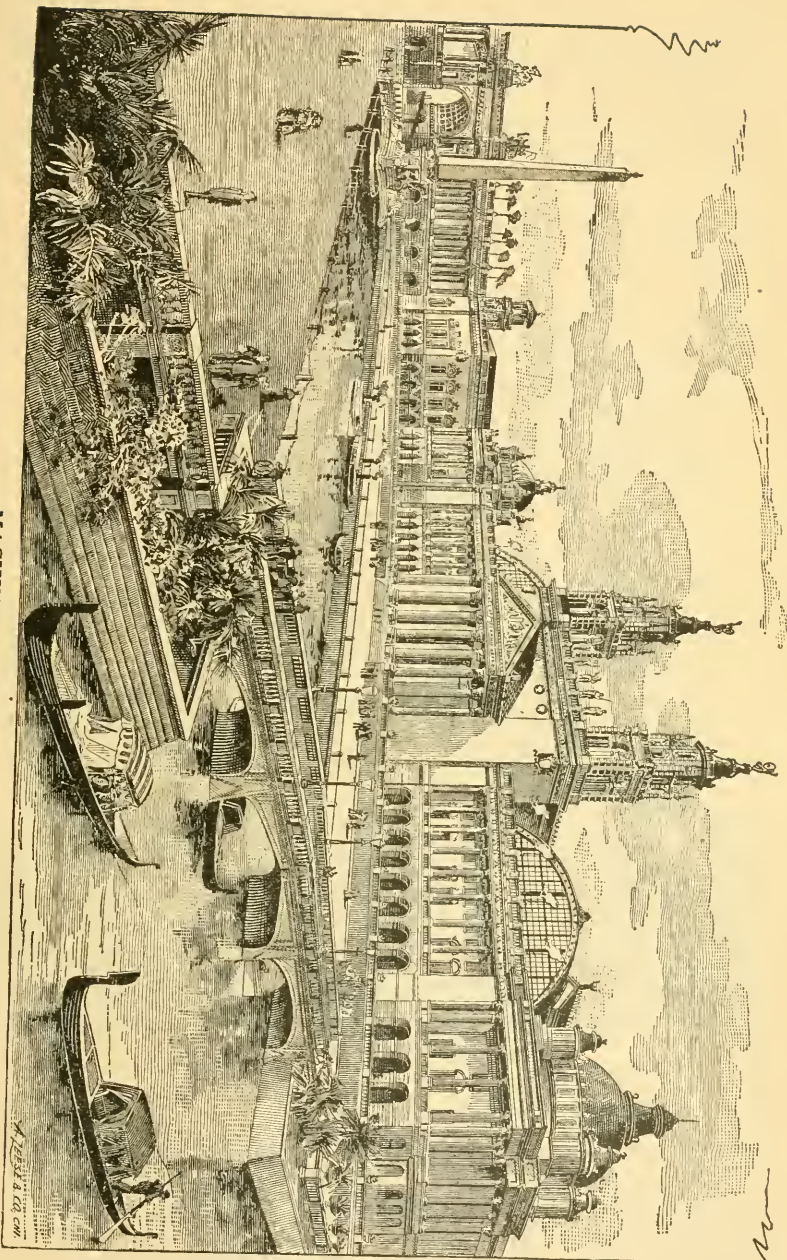
types of political thought, and engage the widest recognized ability. It was rather a personal cabinet, suited to the President's own views and predilections. Perhaps it was none the less able on this account, but it was less satisfying to that general judgment which former Presidents had found it a pleasure and duty to regard in the make-up of their administrative family.

The Senate, which was convened in extra session for the purpose of confirming nominations, organized in a very slow manner, on account of the numerous contested seats, and the novel principles of choice of members involved in the contests. After its political complexion became clear, it showed 43 Democrats, 37 Republicans, 5 Populists, and 3 vacancies. It acted very tardily on the President's nominations, but finally confirmed those necessary to start the wheels of the new administration.

At the dawn of Mr. Cleveland's second term, partisanship was at its lowest ebb. Indeed it might have been better if such had not been the case, for so many moorings had been lost during the political storm of 1892, that tumult and uncertainty were to some extent reflected over into the ranks of the victors. Yet Mr. Cleveland stood at the head of the most exultant and hopeful political organization in the history of our country, when the sun set on the day of his inauguration. It was in control of every branch of the government for the first time in thirty-two years.

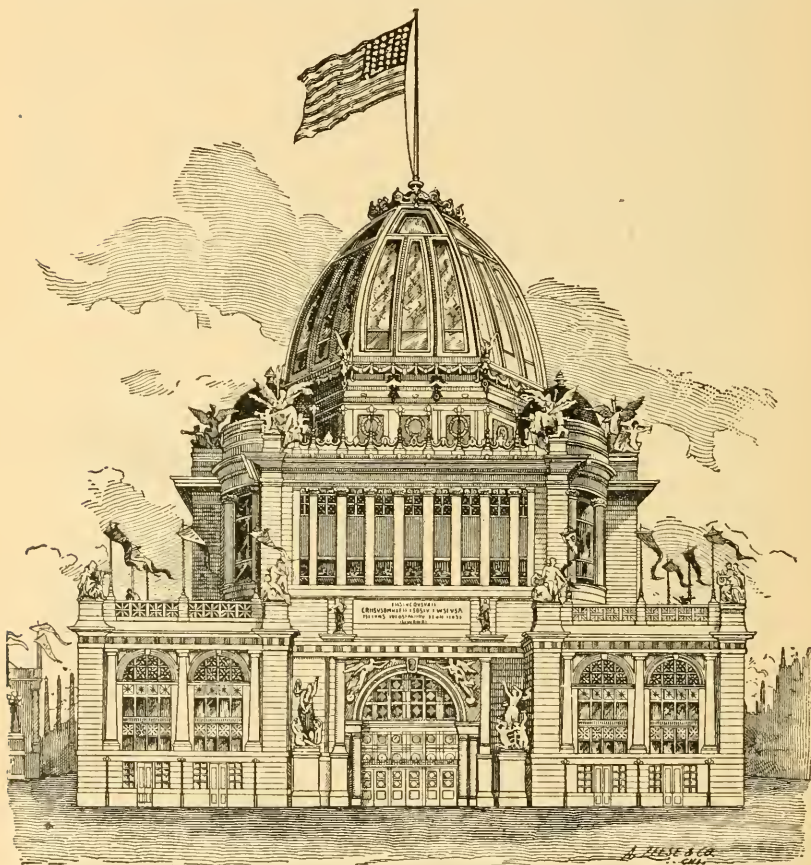
This roseate and inspiring situation quickly changed its hue and consistency. The recall from the Senate of the Hawaiian treaty; the sending of a special commissioner thither whose report discredited that of a former minister, and was in turn discredited; the abrupt change of the long-established American policy of annexation to one which annihilated the provisional republican government of the islands and looked to the restoration of a deposed heathen queen;—these things served to shock the national pride, awaken mistrust and criticism, and intensify the despondency which was settling deeply and fastly on the country for industrial and commercial reasons.

THE COLUMBIAN EXPOSITION.—It had long been practically agreed upon by two Continents to hold an Inter-



MACHINERY HALL.

national Exposition in the United States, in order to celebrate the four hundredth anniversary of the discovery of America by Columbus. Chicago was selected as the site of this Exposition. The time was to be the year 1892. Plans were elaborated,



ADMINISTRATION BUILDING.

money was subscribed and appropriated, the largesse of the government being \$2,500,000, a series of suitable buildings were erected, whose extent, architectural beauty and adaptation far surpassed any ever before designed for a similar purpose. The scale of structures and grounds, the magnitude, wealth and

elegance of exhibits, the grandeur and completeness of the scheme carried astonishment to every beholder and won the applause of the civilized world.

The Exposition was dedicated on the date corresponding with that of the discovery, Oct. 21, 1892, by a series of fêtes in which two Continents joined. The formal opening was not to be till the next year, owing to the incompleteness of the structures. The exhibition proper would, therefore, become an episode in the administration of President Cleveland. May 1, 1893, witnessed the grandly formal opening of the Exposition in the presence of the President and his Cabinet, dignitaries from foreign nations, and a countless assemblage of private citizens. It remained open throughout the summer, attracting a total of nearly 30,000,000 visitors, and was officially closed on Oct. 31, 1893. Notwithstanding the business depression and financial gloom which pervaded the country, this bold and unique enterprise proved to be a remarkable success in every way, and its existence was a source of energy, profit, light and gladness denied to other sections and enterprises by the prevailing conditions.

THE CRISIS OF 1893.—As the magnitude and import of the political revolution of 1892 began to be studied and realized, a feeling of discontent and a sense of danger began to haunt the commercial centres. There came a heavy drain of gold abroad. The Treasury gold reserve of \$100,000,000 was rapidly depleted. Imports fell off, and the revenues from duties and internal taxes no longer sufficed to meet the expenses of the government. The Secretary of the Treasury, Mr. Carlisle, whose record in the House and Senate had been that of a free silver coinage man, seemed to encourage the idea that a further issue of silver certificates might become necessary in order to put the Government in funds. At once a solid dread fell on banks and capitalists, lest the country should be plunged into a silver medium and lose its basis of gold circulation and redemption. Credits shrank so suddenly and ruinously that universal panic seemed to impend. Banks closed their doors by the hundreds and without respect to location. Corporations and firms went into

bankruptcy by the thousand. Business demoralization became well-nigh universal.

For lack of a better cause for such appalling results, one was found, by a very large sentiment, in the existence of the Sherman Silver Act of 1890. President Cleveland favored its repeal as a means of relief. In this he had less the candid support of his own party than of the Republicans, though the latter took the ground that the Act had proven harmless under the former administration, and that the disease which afflicted the country was due more to the then standing threat upon its industries than to the Silver Act itself.

It was well known to the President that a large sentiment existed in the South and West, in his own party and among the Populists, in favor of the free and unlimited coinage of silver, and in opposition to the repeal of the Sherman Act, provided nothing more favorable could be substituted for it. Though persuaded in his own mind that the existing deplorable conditions were due to that Act and could only be remedied by its repeal, though urged to call an extra session of Congress to get the obnoxious measure out of the way, the President did not feel that it would be safe to relegate so momentous a measure to the newly chosen and untested membership of the Congress, till the full effects of the crisis had been felt in every Congressional district, and had served as an object lesson to teach the necessity for party unanimity in favor of repeal. He delayed the call of a special session, and this delay, while perhaps serving its purpose, but intensified the general feeling of mistrust. The crisis grew more alarming daily, and threatened more than ever to burst into panic. Values shrank till the estimated shrinkage was placed at figures in excess of the cost of the Civil War, credits were suspended, and hoarding usurped the province of investment.

At length, June 30, 1893, the President called the Congress in extra session, to meet August 7. Between the date of the call and the meeting the crisis enlarged and took the shape of more frequent failures of manufacturing firms, the closing of mills and the turning forth of operatives. The currency crisis, grow-

ing out of the probable failure to preserve the country's credit by redeeming every obligation in gold, was augmented in seriousness by an industrial crisis, precipitated by the conviction that such a change in the tariff laws as was in store for the country under the new administration, would prove ruinous in the extreme. Merchants ceased to give orders for goods, which might in a few months be landed from abroad at reduced prices. Manufacturers could not operate without orders, or if with orders, then only on the basis of foreign pay for labor. Thus the industrial crisis of 1893 became more far-reaching and disastrous than that of the currency had been, because it touched the vitals of all enterprise and stretched along every avenue of investment down to the very hearthstones of labor.

FIFTY-THIRD CONGRESS, EXTRA SESSION.—The Congress met in extra session, Aug. 7, 1893, and received the President's message. It was a brief, direct paper, which deprecated existing commercial and industrial conditions and limited itself to the object of the call, viz., the repeal of the Silver Act of 1890, using every argument thus far evoked by politicians and business men in favor of such repeal. The paper gave intense satisfaction to a majority of the Republicans who favored repeal. It embittered the free silver coinage men of both parties. As the majority of these were in the Democratic ranks, the President ran great risk of disrupting his party and defeating the object of his call, but he trusted largely to his personal and administrative powers, to the value of the object lessons of the preceding months, and to the necessity of party cohesion, to sustain him in his course.

The House found itself largely Democratic, the division being, after making allowance for vacancies and the doubtful, 221 Democrats, 125 Republicans, and 10 Populists. It organized by re-electing Mr. Crisp, Ga., as its Speaker. It went at once about the business of repeal of the Sherman Act. The attitude of the Republicans, except those who belonged to the free silverites, was not hostile, though they took advantage of the occasion to make their belief known that the existing crisis was due more to the threat on the industries of the country,

found in Democratic ascendancy, than to any silver legislation. By Aug. 28 the House debates on the bill closed, and it was passed by a vote of 240 to 110.

The Senate took the repeal bill up in a leisurely way, and debated it for two months. In this body the tactics of the opponents of repeal were those of delay, which they carried out by dilatory motions and interminably long speeches. A vote was not reached until Oct. 30, when repeal was carried by 43 yeas to 32 nays, both parties being divided. The object of the extra session having been accomplished, it adjourned Nov. 3, 1893.

The country felt a sense of relief after the repeal of the Sherman Act. But it very soon became manifest that the substantial results expected to flow from the repeal were not to be realized. Banks felt easier and credit became bolder, but there was now little use for money. Industrial enterprise was paralyzed, and it became more and more so as the time approached for the first regular meeting of the Fifty-third Congress, Dec. 4, 1893, and the conviction became fixed in the public mind that the policy of protection, which had existed for over thirty years and had found its broadest exemplification in the McKinley Act, was to be attacked and overthrown. The approach of winter served to introduce into the gloom of existing conditions the elements of suffering and despair. The armies of idle workmen in the cities and about the mining and manufacturing centres became objects of charitable solicitude, and problems of how to feed, clothe and warm them and their families engaged the thoughts of and employed the means of philanthropists all over the land.

The November elections of 1893 showed the extent of dissatisfaction and the dread of danger which pervaded the country. They unfolded a revolution, less diffused, but more emphatic than that of 1892. States that had gone Democratic in 1892 came back to their Republican moorings with the largest majorities in their annals. Democratic States, as that of New York, were carried by the Republicans and by majorities which were in the nature of surprises to both parties. It was evident that the country was in the midst of violent reaction, and that

the determination existed either to signally rebuke those who were held responsible for prevailing conditions or to cut the causes of prevailing conditions up by the roots with the axe of public sentiment.

FIFTY-THIRD CONGRESS, FIRST REGULAR SESSION.—This Congress met in first regular session on Monday, Dec. 4, 1893. The President submitted a lengthy message, with full reviews of the various Department reports, but with brief and somewhat vague allusions to definite lines of policy. He was firmest in his adhesion to the principle of tariff reform, and broadest in his request that his party should respect the verdict of 1892, and incorporate the pledges of its platform into legislation.

Having been previously organized, the Congress was ready for work from the start. The most important document it received was the Report of the Secretary of the Treasury, which was withheld for an unprecedentedly long time. It gave official information of the fact that the daily expenditures of the Government were exceeding its receipts, and that the fiscal year would show a deficit of \$28,000,000. It contained many propositions, and full discussion of the same, for overcoming the difficulty. One of these was to issue bonds, under the act of 1875, but while the act gave an undoubted right to the Secretary to issue bonds for the purpose of maintaining the gold reserve, it was doubted whether he could use the proceeds of said bonds to pay current expenses. Another was a proposition to coin into silver dollars the seigniorage in the Treasury, estimated to be \$50,000,000. These were expedients to tide the Treasury over an emergency and until sufficient permanent revenues could be derived from such Internal Revenue and Tariff bills as might be framed.

The House Committee of Ways and Means, whose chairman was Mr. Wilson, W. Va., had already largely formulated a Tariff bill. After brief hearings of those interested, and some modifications, it was reported to the House and discussed, under close rules and with little opportunity for amendment, till its passage. The bill had been framed on the principle of tariff for

revenue as against that for protection. The free list, so much enlarged under the McKinley Act, was more enlarged, wool, coal, various ores, agricultural products, and numerous manufactures being made free, and the bounty on domestic sugar being removed. There was a general shift from specific to ad valorem duties. But as discussion of the bill proceeded, and notwithstanding the able arguments of Republicans against it, it was found that timidity was not a virtue of the bill. Day by day it grew easier to make it more destructive of the protective idea and more expressive of the free-trade tendency. It was virtually ready for passage on its merits when the thought that it would create a deficiency of duties, estimated by some as high as \$70,000,000 annually, sent a thrill of alarm along the line of its advocates. It would jeopardize the principle of "tariff for revenue only" if such legislation should result in so enormous a deficit, or any deficit at all.

The impulse was to increase the internal revenue tax on whiskey and beer, and impose a duty on sugar. But these impositions would prove unpopular. There seemed to be nothing left but to impose a tax on incomes sufficient to make up the deficit. Therefore an Income Tax bill was framed, taxing all incomes over \$4000 a year two per cent. Those who had the tariff bill in charge were at first fearful that it would be defeated if the income measure was attached to it, but seeing the drift of Southern and Western sentiment, they yielded, and the two bills were blended. In this form it passed the House on Feb. 1, 1894, by a vote of 204 for to 140 against. The vote was almost a strict party one, only seventeen Democrats having voted in the negative with the Republicans, and four Republicans, of Populistic turn, in the affirmative with the Democrats.

While the Wilson bill met the views and won the almost undivided support of the Democratic majority in the House, it was bitterly denounced by the Republicans as the boldest step toward free-trade made since the celebrated Walker bill of 1846, as a partisan bill framed in the interests of the South and containing a blow at the wealth and industry of the North, and as utterly ruinous to American prosperity. It was speedily sent to

the Senate, where it was placed in the hands of a sub-committee on Finance, composed of Senators Mills, of Texas; Jones, of Arkansas, and Vest, of Missouri, for supervision and report.

The Democratic majority in both Houses disposed very promptly of the Federal Election laws by their repeal. This action swept away all the legislation that existed for the purpose of enforcing the provisions of the 15th amendment to the Constitution and guarding the election of Congressmen.

Questions which haunted the early days of the session were those relating to the President's policy respecting Hawaii, and to the right of the Secretary of the Treasury to use the proceeds of the sale of bonds for the current expenses of the Government. The former was handled in a way to condone for the error of the President without committing his party to a policy which popular sentiment had swiftly and almost unanimously denounced. The question as to the use to be made of the proceeds from the sale of bonds became a wide one, eliciting lengthy debate, and demanding further legislation.

The depleted condition of the Treasury, the daily growing deficit, the immediate need of money to carry on the operations of the Government finally forced Secretary Carlisle to issue and sell \$50,000,000 of bonds. In the latter part of January, 1894, he made it known to New York capitalists that the gold reserve had fallen \$30,000,000 below the traditional and supposedly permanent and necessary reserve of \$100,000,000, and that instead of the \$28,000,000 deficit he had estimated in his Report as likely to exist at the end of the fiscal year, it was more likely to be \$68,000,000. The capitalists came to the rescue of the Secretary, subscribed for his \$50,000,000 of bonds at 3 per cent interest, and thus raised the gold reserve to above the \$100,000,000 standard, but with the question still open as to his right to again reduce it by using it for current expenses. This was the first direct increase in the public debt since the policy of gradually reducing it had been begun a generation before.

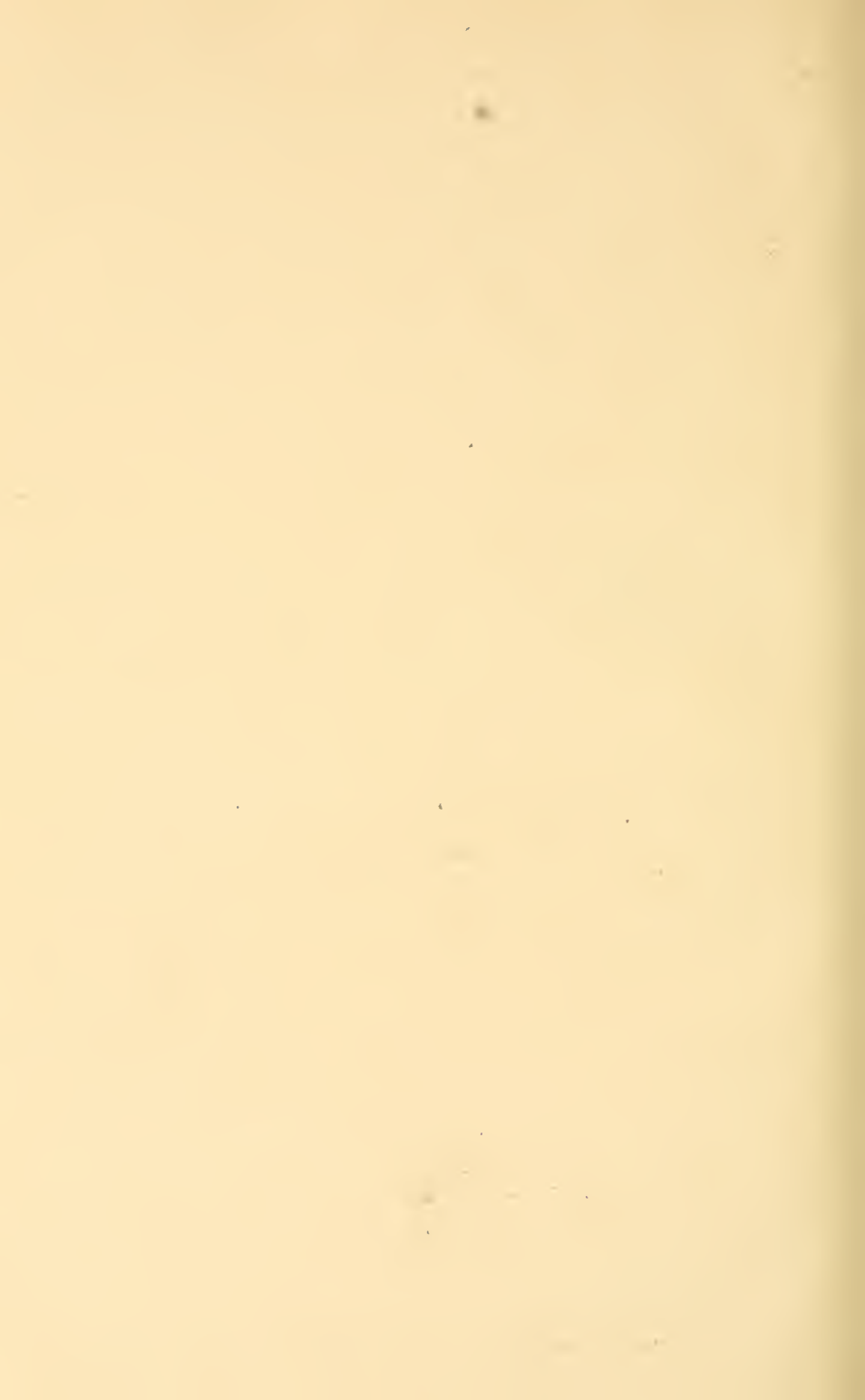
As another means of tiding the Treasury over its strait the idea of coining the Treasury seigniorage became popular. A bill for that purpose found its way into the House under the lead of

Mr. Bland, and it was championed by all the free silver coinage men, who saw in its passage a return of the opportunity they had lost during the special session of the Congress. The estimated value of this seigniorage was \$55,000,000, which, if coined into silver dollars, would be so much gain to the Treasury. This was Mr. Bland's theory respecting the bill. It was strenuously opposed by the Republicans, and an able Democratic contingent, as sheer inflation, without a particle of security behind it, since the value of silver bullion in the Treasury, against which \$153,000,000 of silver certificates had been already issued, had fallen from \$126,000,000 to \$97,000,000. Add the entire value of the seigniorage (\$55,000,000) to that \$97,000,000, and the sum would be still short of the \$153,000,000 of certificates which were to be protected.

President Cleveland had not been fortunate thus far in some of his important appointments. The Pension Office rulings worked great hardships and had to be reversed. Mr. Van Alen, appointed Minister to Italy, withdrew his name; Mr. Hodge, appointed Consul General to Amoy, was diplomatically dropped; Mr. Smythe, Minister to Haiti, was charged with interfering with the affairs of the Island; Mr. Hornblower was rejected by the Senate as Judge of the Supreme Court, in place of Judge Blatchford, deceased, as was also Mr. Peckham. The President seemed to have entirely broken with his party in the Senate over the question of a New Yorker as Judge Blatchford's successor, and finally chose Edward D. White, of Louisiana, who was confirmed.







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